Great Books of Islamic Civilization

The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad

Volume III

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidā' ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,[1] and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur'ān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.[2] He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿAẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and 'Umar Riḍā Kahhāla's *Muʿjam al-Mu'allifīn* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzāli's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

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The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."[6] Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".[7] And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."[8]

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.[9]

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of *Prophet Muhammad, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."[10]

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".[11] Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."[12] As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."[13] Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. Ibid., 300.

13. Ibid., 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.[14] Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."[15] The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."[16]

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."[17]

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.

15. Ibid., 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways."[18] Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."[19] From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."[20]

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."[21]

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.[22] He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah*.[23]

18. See Goldziher's chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford Univesity Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. Ibid., 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

> "In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr's books. ʿUrwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."[24]

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."[25] "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."[26]

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."[27] For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."[28]

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. Ibid., 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith.* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. Ibid., 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,[29] "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."[30]

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29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
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VOLUME III

THE YEAR 3 AH.

Early that year the Najd expedition, known as the raid on Dhū ʿAmarr, took place.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the expedition to al-Sawīq, he remained for roughly the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja and then attacked Najd, seeking out Ghaṭafān; this expedition is known as that of Dhū ʿAmarr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He remained for all, or almost all, of Ṣafar in Najd and then returned without being ambushed."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "News reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that a force of Ghaṭafān fighters, from Banū Thaʿlaba, Ibn Muḥārib, had gathered at Dhū ʿAmarr intending to attack him. He therefore left Medina on Thursday, 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in 3 AH, placing ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command of Medina. He was away for 11 days, and was accompanied by 450 men.

"The bedouin fled from him away into the mountains. He travelled on until he reached a well known as Dhū ʿAmarr, where he made camp. Much rain fell and the clothes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were soaked. He dismounted beneath a tree there and hung out his clothes to dry, in full sight of the polytheists, who were keeping to themselves.

"The polytheists then sent out one of their warriors, a man named Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith, or Duʿthūr b. al-Ḥārith, telling him, 'God has enabled you to kill Muḥammad!'

"That man then went forth armed with a well-polished sword and reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stood before him, his sword drawn, and asked, 'Muḥammad, who will protect you from me now?' 'God will,' he replied. Then Gabriel gave the man a push in the chest and the sword fell from his hand.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked it up and said, 'And who will protect you from me?' 'No one', the man replied, 'and I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is God's messenger! I swear, I'll never gather a force to attack you.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him back his sword.

"When the man rejoined his men, they criticized him and asked what had happened. He explained, 'I saw a tall man who pushed me in the chest and made me fall over on to my back. I knew him to be an angel. I then testified that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God and that I would not gather a force against him.' He then began inviting his people to accept Islam.

"It was about this incident that God Almighty stated, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a force had prepared to stretch out their hands against you, but He held back their hands away from you'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.11).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "A similar account will be given about the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqāʿ; there may be two different incidents."

I comment that if the above account is correct, then the other is definitely not. Because in that case – the man's name also being Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith – he did not accept Islam but retained his old faith, and he did not vow to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he would not attack him thereafter. But God knows best.

THE ATTACK ON AL-FURŪʿ OF BUḤRĀN.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He remained for almost all of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in Medina, but then mounted an expedition against Quraysh."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He continued on to Buḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz over towards al-Furūʿ."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent from Medina only for ten days." But God knows best.

An Account of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ who dwelt in Medina.

Al-Wāqidī claimed that this relates to a Saturday (during the first) half of Shawwāl in 2 AH. But God knows best.

It is to them that reference is made in the words of the Almighty: "Like those shortly prior to them; they experienced the ugly consequences of what they did, and they shall have painful punishment" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.15).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was at the time of these raids made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the affair of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ arose.

"People say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled them in their market and addressed them, saying: 'O Jews, beware of God afflicting you as He did Quraysh. And so accept Islam. You well know that I am a prophet sent with a mission; you find that to be so in your Book and in God's pact with you.'

"They responded, 'Muḥammad, do you think we are your people? Don't delude yourself, just because you did battle with those who lacked knowledge of warfare, and so you could take advantage of them. If you fight against us, you'll find us to be real men!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A freed-man of Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The following

verse was revealed specifically concerning them. "Tell those who disbelieve: 'You shall be defeated and herded into hell, a terrible abode. A proof of this came to you when two forces clashed.'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.11). This refers to the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to those who participated at Badr, and to Quraysh. (Along with:) "One side fights for God's cause, while the other is unbelieving, whom they see with their own eyes to be twice their like. And God aids with His help whomsoever He wishes. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight."'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.12).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Banū Qaynuqāʿ were the first of the Jews who broke their pact and fought in the period between the battles of Badr and Uḥud."

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama related, from Abū ʿAwn, 'The problem with Banū Qaynuqāʿ arose as follows. An Arab woman took an ornament of hers and sold it in the market of Banū Qaynuqāʿ. She sat there with one of their goldsmiths and the men present began pestering her to uncover her face. She refused, but the goldsmith managed to attach the hem of her dress to her back. When she got up, she was exposed, and they all laughed at her. She screamed and one of the Muslim men attacked and killed the goldsmith, who was a Jew. The Jews then seized the Muslim and killed him. The Muslim's family called for help from the other Muslims against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and so enmity arose between them and Banū Qaynuqāʿ.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, 'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), besieged them until they surrendered to him.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Sallūl went to him after God had given him power over them and said, "Muḥammad, treat my allies kindly!" They were allies of Banū al-Khazraj. He turned away from him, however, and so ʿAbd Allāh put his hand inside the pocket of the chain-mail of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Ibn Hishām stated that this pocket was known as the *dhāt al-fuḍūl*, "the bounteous".

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him 'Let go of me!' His face darkening in rage, he repeated, 'Let go of me, I say!'

"ʿAbd Allāh replied, 'No; I'll not do so until you agree to treat my allies well. Four hundred men without armour and three hundred with chain-mail have protected me from all and sundry, and you would mow them down in one morning! I'm a man who is afraid of turns of fate.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to him, 'They are yours!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir in charge (of Medina) during his siege of them, which lasted for 15 days."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting ʿUbāda b. al-Walīd, from ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'When Banū Qaynuqāʿ opposed the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy remained allied with them and protected them, while ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who had the same alliance with them as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave them over to him, renouncing his pact with them in favour of God and His Messenger. ʿUbāda told him, "O Messenger of God, I ally myself with God, His messenger and the believers, and I renounce my association and alliance with these unbelievers."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "It was about him and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy that the following verses were revealed, 'O you who believe, do not ally yourselves with the Jews and the Christians; they are allied with one another'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.50). This referred to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy. And "... those who ally themselves with God and His messenger and those who believe; they are the party of God who will triumph" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.56). This referred to ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit. We have discussed this in our *Tafsīr*.

THE ATTACK MADE BY ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA AGAINST THE QURAYSH CARAVAN WHICH WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY ABŪ SUFYĀN AS WELL AS, IT IS SAID, BY ṢAFWĀN.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as follows, "This occurred six months after the battle of Badr."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The account of it related that Quraysh became insecure about the route they usually followed to Syria, after the events of Badr, and so they took the Iraq route. Some of their merchants, including Abū Sufyān, who was bearing a large quantity of silver which was the greater part of their merchandise, left, having hired as a guide for that route a man of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil named Furāt b. Ḥāyyān, that is al-ʿIjlī, who were allied to Banū Sahm.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Zayd b. Ḥāritha who met up with them at a well called al-Qarda. He seized the caravan, and all it contained, but its men escaped. He returned with the spoils to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about this:

'Say farewell to the rivulets of Syria, for in the way
are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels hurting
from eating *arāk* leaves
In the hands of men who have moved off towards their
Lord and to His helpers in truth, and in angels' hands.
If they proceed to the lowlands from the sand valley,
then tell them, "the route is not there!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "This *qaṣīda* is included in the verses by Ḥassān; Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed a response to them."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "This foray by Zayd b. Ḥāritha occurred at the start of Jumādā al-Uwlā, some 28 months after the Hijra. Ṣafwān b. Umayya was the leader of this caravan.

"The reason he sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha was that it was Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd, then still a follower of his own people's religion, who had come to Medina with news of this caravan. This Nuʿaym had met with Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, along with some of Banū al-Naḍīr, among whom was Sulayṭ b. al-Nuʿmān, of Aslam. They had been drinking, this being before the prohibition of wine. Nuʿaym had talked of the departure of the caravan with Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and of the valuables it carried. Sulayṭ had immediately left and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had promptly despatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha. His force met and seized the caravan, but the men accompanying it escaped. They did capture a man or two, then took command of the caravan and brought it in. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided it up into five portions, each of which amounted to 20,000 dirhams. He apportioned four-fifths of it to the expedition. Among those captured was the guide, Furāt b. Ḥayyān. He accepted Islam, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Wāqidī asserted that in the spring of that year ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that she was brought to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira."

THE KILLING OF KAʿB B. AL-ASHRAF, THE JEW.

He was of the Ṭāʾī tribe, part of Banū Nabhān; but his mother was of Banū al-Naḍīr.

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus, before the withdrawal of the Banū al-Naḍīr. Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī, however, noted it following their accounts of the Banū al-Naḍīr affair. Ibn Isḥāq was correct in relating it as he did, as will be clear from what follows, namely that the Banū al-Naḍīr matter occurred after the battle of Uḥud. It was in the siege of the enemy then that wine was prohibited, as we will later explain, if God wills it.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī stated, in a section entitled, "The killing of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf", that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that ʿAmr stated, "I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who will deal with Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf? He has sought to harm God and His Messenger." Muḥammad b. Maslama arose and replied, "O Messenger of God, do you wish that I kill him?" "Yes," he answered. "Then please permit me to say something." "Do so," he was told.

"'Muḥammad b. Maslama then approached him (Kaʿb) and said, "This fellow (i.e. the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), asked us for charity, but he has become a nuisance to us. I've come to you to ask you to give us a loan."

"'He responded, "So, by God, you too are tired of him!"

"'Muḥammad b. Maslama responded. "Having followed him, we don't want to abandon him until we see how it turns out for him. We'd just like you to make us a loan."

"'All right; give me some security.' 'What would you like?'

"'Pledge me your womenfolk!'

"They objected, 'How could we pledge you our women, you being the most handsome of the Arabs!'[1]

"'Then pledge me your sons', he asked.

"'How could we pledge you our sons?' they demanded, 'and have them insulted by being told they are only worth the value of a *wasq* or two! That would be shameful for us. But we will pledge you our *la'ma*.' Sufyān said that by this he meant their weapons.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then made a night rendezvous with him and did go to him one night, accompanied by Abū Nā'ila, who was Kaʿb's foster-brother. Kaʿb invited them into his castle and came down to them. His wife asked him, "Where are you going at this late hour?" (According to another account, one not from ʿAmr, she commented, "I hear a voice dripping blood!")

"He replied, 'It's only my brother Muḥammad b. Maslama and my foster-brother Abū Nā'ila. A man of honour, if invited to a stabbing at night, would still accept!'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went in accompanied by two men. He told them, 'When he comes, I'll lean over towards his hair to smell it. When you see me seize his head, then you come on over and strike him.' He went on, 'I'll do it once, then let you smell.'

"When Kaʿb came down, he was wearing a loose sash and was redolent with perfume. Muḥammad b. Maslama commented, 'I never smelled a finer scent than today!'" (According to the other tradition, he (Kaʿb) commented, "I have the best-perfumed and best-looking women of all the Arabs!")

ʿAmr went on, "He then asked, 'Would you permit me to smell your head?' 'Certainly,' Kaʿb replied.

"He then smelled it and had his companions do the same. He then asked, 'Do you permit me?' 'Yes,' Kaʿb replied. And then he (Muḥammad b. Maslama) seized him, calling out, 'Get him!' And they killed him. They then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and informed him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was of the Ṭā'ī tribe, of the sub-tribe of Banū Nabhān, though his mother was of Banū al-Naḍīr. He received news of the deaths of those at Badr after the arrival of Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He commented, 'By God, if Muḥammad has really struck down those people, then better be inside the earth than upon it!'

"When this enemy of God was sure of this news, he left for Mecca, where he visited al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʿa b. Dubayrat al-Sahmī, whose wife was ʿĀtika, daughter of Abū al-ʿĪṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf. She accommodated him graciously and he began instigating an attack upon the

1. The Arabic of this comment, curious since it is being made to a Jew, reads, *wa anta ajmalu al-ʿarab*.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speaking verses and mourning the deaths of those polytheists killed at Badr."

Here Ibn Isḥāq gave his poem which begins with the verse,

> "The Badr millstone ground to death those killed there,
> and for the like of Badr one speaks and weeps."

He also gave the response to this poem by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, as well as verse by others.

He went on, "Kaʿb then returned to Medina where he composed verses that were suggestive about the Muslim women and critical of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his followers."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was of Banū al-Naḍīr, or associated with them; he harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by ridiculing him in verse and he rode in to Quraysh to incite them further. Abū Sufyān, in Mecca, asked him, 'In your view, I pray you tell me, which religion is more favoured by God, that of Muḥammad and his friends, or our own? Which of us, do you think, is more correct and appropriate? We slaughter our meat generously, give milk-topped water to drink, providing food for all and sundry who come.'

"Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf replied, 'You are better-guided in your path than they are.'"

Mūsā went on, "And so God revealed to His Messenger the verses, 'Have you not considered those given a part of the Book who believe in enchantment and devils, and who say to those who disbelieve, "These are better guided on the path than those who believe (in God)." They are indeed cursed by God; those whom God curses you shall find to be without succour'" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.51, 2).

Both Mūsā and Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "He went to Medina where he proclaimed his enmity and incited people to go to war. He had not left Mecca before he had united them to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he then began composing amatory verse about Umm al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥārith and other Muslim women."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, as ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīth b. Abu Burda related to me, 'Who will take care of Ibn al-Ashraf?'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, responded, 'I'll take care of him for you, Messenger of God. I will kill him!'

"'Do so then, if you can,' he told him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Maslama then returned and stayed three days and nights eating and drinking nothing except what was essential. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he summoned him and asked, 'Why have you given up food and drink?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I promised you something that I don't know whether I can fulfil or not.' He was told, 'You only have to try.'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, we'll have to say certain things.'

"'Say whatever you think fit; you will be free of blame for doing so.'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then set about killing Kaʿb with Salkān b. Salāma b. Waqsh, who was known as Abū Nāʾila. He was of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. He was, moreover, the foster-brother of Kaʿb b. Ashraf. Also with them were ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, along with al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr, a brother of Banū Ḥāritha."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They then dispatched to Kaʿb, that enemy of God, Salkān b. Salāma Abū Nāʾila. When the latter was with him, he talked with Kaʿb and they recited poetry to one another; Abū Nāʾila was a poetry reciter. He then told Kaʿb, 'I'm so sorry, Ibn al-Ashraf, but I've come to you about something I want to discuss, and for you to keep confidential.' 'I'll do that,' he said.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went on, 'This man's arrival among us was a disaster! The Arabs became hostile to us, and united against us. They have cut off our routes, so that our young are deprived and scared. We and our families are suffering greatly.'

"Kaʿb commented, 'I'm al-Ashraf's son! Didn't I tell you, Ibn Salāma, that things would turn out this way?'

"Salkān then told Kaʿb, 'What I wanted was for you to sell us some food for which we would give you a surety and keep trust with you; you'll do well by that.'

"He asked, 'Will you give me your sons as surety?'

"'You want to disgrace us? I have companions who share my views, and I wanted to bring them to you for you to sell to us, by which you would do well, and we would give you an equivalent pledge in weapons.'

"Salkān wanted him not to refuse to have weapons present when they brought them. Kaʿb agreed, saying, 'Weapons would be good security.'

"Salkān then returned to his companions and informed them what had transpired. He told them to get their weapons and to set off, and to meet up with him. They then assembled with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Thawr b. Zayd related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled with them as far as Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, and there he dispatched them, saying, "Go in God's name! O God, give them help!" He then returned home. It was a moonlit night, and the men set off and reached Kaʿb's castle.

"'Abū Nāʾila called up to him. Kaʿb had recently taken a new wife, and he jumped up wrapped in a coverlet. His wife took hold of its hem and said, "But you're a man engaged in combat! Warriors don't go down at such a time as this!" Kaʿb replied, "But it's Abū Nāʾila. He'd not have woken me if I had been asleep." She commented, "I swear I sense evil in his voice!" Kaʿb replied, "If a man of honour were invited to a stabbing, he'd still accept!"

"'He then went down and engaged them in conversation. Eventually they asked him, "Ibn al-Ashraf, would you like to take a walk with us to Shiʿb

al-ʿAjūz, where we can spend the rest of the night talking?" "If you wish," he replied. And so they left and walked for a while.

"'Eventually Abū Nāʾila touched the hair at Kaʿb's temple with his hand, which he then sniffed, saying, "I swear, I've never before this night smelled anything so fine!" He then walked further, then did the same, to make Kaʿb feel secure. Having gone yet further, he then took hold of Kaʿb's hair at both temples and said, "Strike down the enemy of God!" Their swords rained blows upon him, but to no effect.'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama continued, 'I then remembered a poignard I had with my sword and drew it, Kaʿb meanwhile making such a din that all the forts thereabouts had lit up. I stabbed my dagger into his lower stomach and bore down on it till it reached his scrotum. The enemy of God then collapsed. Meanwhile al-Ḥārith b. Aws had suffered a wound from one of our swords in his leg or on his hand.

"'Thereafter we left, our path taking us past Banū Umayya b. Zayd, then Banū Qurayẓa and then Buʿāth. After that we went on up the stony tract of al-ʿArīḍ. On account of the blood he was losing, our companion al-Ḥārith b. Aws was lagging behind and so we halted for a while. When he came up, following our tracks, we carried him and so arrived at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the night was ending and he was engaged in prayer. We greeted him and he came out to us. We told him of the execution of God's enemy. He then spat upon our companion's wound and we went on to our families. By next morning the Jews were in shock at our attack upon God's enemy; every Jew feared for his safety.'"

Al-Wāqidī claimed that they had brought the head of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses about this affair:

'Kaʿb having been left lying stretched out, after his
demise al-Naḍīr were humiliated.
As he lay prostrate on his hands, our men with drawn
swords having overcome him
Upon Muḥammad's order, when he told Kaʿb's brother to
slip by night secretly to Kaʿb.
And he tricked him, bringing him down by deceit, yet
praiseworthy is he, worthy of trust and brave.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "These verses are from an ode he composed about the battle with Banū al-Naḍīr that will be quoted hereafter."

I note that the death of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf at the hands of Aws came after the battle of Badr. Khazraj killed Abū Rāfiʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq after the battle of Uḥud, as will be explained hereafter, if God, in whom is all trust, so wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq also gave the following verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit:

"How fine a party of men you met, O Ibn al-Ḥuqayq, and
you too, Ibn al-Ashraf

Men who travelled by night to bring their light swords
to you, as cheerful as lions prowling in their lairs.
They came to you in your own territory, making you
taste death with their swift-killing blades
Foreseeing the victory of the religion of their
prophet, minimizing every matter of danger."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Kill whatever Jew you may conquer!'

"Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd of Aws thereupon attacked and killed Ibn Sunayna, a Jewish merchant who used to associate with them and do business with them. His brother Ḥuwayyiṣa b. Masʿūd was older than Muḥayyiṣa and had not yet accepted Islam. When the latter killed the Jew, Ḥuwayyiṣa began hitting his brother and shouting, 'You enemy of God, you! Have you really killed him? Yet much of the fat in your belly is from his money!'

"Muḥayyiṣa replied, 'I was ordered to kill him by someone who, if he ordered me to kill you, I would strike your neck!' He also said that this was the start of Ḥuwayyiṣa's acceptance of Islam.

"Ḥuwayyiṣa asked, 'Do you really mean that if Muḥammad told you to kill me, you would do it?'

"Muḥayyiṣa reiterated, 'Yes, by God! If he were to order me to strike your neck, I would do so.'

"'By God, any religion that would so affect you is truly wonderful,' said Ḥuwayyiṣa, and he accepted Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A freed-man of Banū Ḥāritha related this to me, from Muḥayyiṣa's daughter, from her father.

"Muḥayyiṣa spoke the following verses about this:

"A mother's son complains that if I were ordered to
kill him, I would strike him with my sharp sword at the
nape of his head.
Its blade salt-like in colour, it is so well burnished;
when I aim it, it never deceives.
It would not have pleased me to kill you voluntarily,
even if we owned all between Buṣrā and Maʾrib.'"

Ibn Hishām recounted, from Abū ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī, that this story relates to the time following the battle with Banū Qurayẓa, and that the man killed was Kaʿb b. Yahūdhā. He stated that when Muḥayyiṣa executed him on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the battle with Banū Qurayẓa, his brother Ḥuwayyiṣa said what he did and Muḥayyiṣa replied as above. And so that day Ḥuwayyiṣa accepted Islam. But God knows best.

Note: al-Bayhaqī and al-Bukhārī related the Banū al-Naḍīr affair before the battle of Uḥud, but what is correct would be to refer to it thereafter, as did Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and other authorities on the early military engagements.

The proof of this is that wine was prohibited on the nights when Banū al-Naḍīr were being besieged. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that some of those who died as martyrs at Uḥud had been drinking that morning. This indicates that wine was permitted at that time and was only prohibited later. And so it is clear that the Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud. But God knows best.

A further note: the affair relating to the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ came after the battle of Badr, as told above. The same applies to the killing of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, the Jew, at the hands of Aws.

The Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud, as will be told hereafter. The same is true of the death of Abū Rāfiʿ, the merchant Jew from Ḥijāz who was killed by Khazraj.

The account relating to the Jews of Banū Qurayẓa will be given after the report of the battle of the *aḥzāb* – "the clans" – and after that of al-khandaq, "the trench".

THE BATTLE OF UḤUD, IN SHAWWĀL, 3 AH.

A supplementary note from the author on the naming of Uḥud: Uḥud was so named because of its unique[2] distinction among these mountains.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection it states, "Uḥud is a mountain that loves us and that we love. It is said that its name refers to its inhabitants. It is also said that it is so named to affirm the closeness of one's family on one's return from a trip, as does a lover. It is also said to mean, *ʿalā ẓāhirihi*, i.e. 'in a concrete and literal interpretation', as in God's words, 'some of them tumble down in fear of God'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.74).

In a *ḥadīth* from Abū ʿAbbās b. Jabr, it states, "Uḥud loves us and we it; it stands at the gate of paradise. And it is (like a) wild ass that loathes us as we it. It stands at one of the gates of hell."

Al-Suhaylī commented, in substantiation of this *ḥadīth*: "It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'A man is with whomever he loves.'"

Al-Suhaylī's comment is strange. For this *ḥadīth* relates to people and a mountain could not be referred to as human.

This battle took place in Shawwāl, 3 AH. This is stated by al-Zuhrī, Qatāda, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Mālik.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It occurred in the middle of Shawwāl." Qatāda said, "It took place on Saturday, the 11th of Shawwāl."

Mālik stated, "The battle took place early in the day, and it is commonly agreed that the reference is to it in the words of the Almighty: '... when you went forth from your family in the morning to set the believers in their positions for the battle; and God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. When two groups from

2. The Arabic root *aḥad* implies the number one and singularity or uniqueness.

among you were inclined to being cowardly, even though God was their ally. It is in God that believers should trust. And God did aid you at Badr when you were weak. Be pious in God, that you may give thanks. (Remember) when you said to the believers, "Is it not enough for you that your Lord give you the aid of 3,000 angels He has sent down? Yes indeed! If you remain fast and pious and they charge straight down upon you, your Lord will send down 5,000 of the angels to cause havoc ..." and so on to the words, "... and God is not one to leave the believers in circumstances such as yours without differentiating evil from good. Yet God is not one to reveal to you the unknown"'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.120–124 and v.178).

We have sufficiently discussed details relating to all this in our *Tafsīr*. And all praise and reliance is for God.

We will relate herewith the essentials of the battle as in the accounts given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, and other scholars expert in this field.

(Ibn Ishaq stated) "Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh and others of our scholars related to me various aspects of the battle of Uḥud. What follows is a composite of all their accounts.

"When those polytheists of Quraysh suffered their fate of burial in the pit, the remnants of their force returned to Mecca, as did Abū Sufyān with his caravan. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa, ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl and Ṣafwān b. Umayya gathered with others of Quraysh whose fathers, sons or brothers had been struck down at Badr. They talked with Abū Sufyān and with others of the Meccan merchants who had been with that caravan, as follows: 'O Quraysh, Muḥammad has done you great harm and has killed your élite. Give us your assistance with this wealth to make war on him and to take revenge on him.' They agreed."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was about them, so I have been told by certain scholars, that Almighty God revealed the words, 'Those who disbelieve are spending their wealth to block off God's path. And they shall spend it and then they shall suffer regret and be defeated. Those who disbelieve will be herded together into hell' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.36).

"And so Quraysh gathered to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Abū Sufyān and the caravan owners did this, assembling their Abyssinian mercenaries and those of the tribes of Kināna and the lowlands who accepted their authority.

"Abū ʿAzza ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jumaḥī had been treated kindly by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Badr. He was a poor man with children and responsibilities and had been taken captive. Ṣafwān b. Umayya now asked him, 'Abū ʿAzza, you are a poet. Help us with your voice and go forth with us,' He replied, 'But Muḥammad was kind to me, and I don't want to oppose him.' Ṣafwān persisted, 'Yes indeed, so help us with your mind; I swear that if you

return safe, I will make you wealthy. If you are killed, I swear I'll treat your daughters just like my own. Whatever happens to my children, good or bad, will be their lot too.'

"So Abū ʿAzza went off into the lowlands calling upon Banū Kināna and reciting,

> 'O Banū ʿAbd Manāt, brave men, you are fine warriors,
> as were your fathers too.
> Let not your help be promised a year from now; do not
> let me down, for letting me down[3] is not right.'

"And Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhayfa b. Jumaḥ went out to Banū Mālik b. Kināna haranguing them and saying,

> 'O māl(ik), *māl* (possessed of) prominent repute, I
> appeal to ties and to covenants
> Whether to relatives or to those not related, by the
> alliance amidst the holy city,
> At the venerated wall of the *kaʿba*.'

"Jubayr b. Muṭʿim summoned an Abyssinian warrior slave of his, named Waḥshī, who could toss a spear in the Abyssinian manner, rarely missing, and told him, 'Go forth with our men; and if you should kill Ḥamza, the uncle of Muḥammad, in revenge for my uncle Ṭuʿayma b. ʿAdī, then you are a free man.'"

"And so Quraysh went forth fully armed and accoutred and with their Abyssinian mercenaries and clients from Banū Kināna and the lowlands. They also took with them their womenfolk in *howdahs* (camel litter, sedan chairs) to keep their spirits high and so that they would not take flight.

"Abū Sufyān, Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, he being their commander, went forth too, accompanied by his wife Hind, daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa.

"ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl also went out with his wife, his cousin Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra. His uncle al-Ḥārith b. Hishām also went, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra.

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya was accompanied by Barza, daughter of Masʿūd b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr, a lady of Thaqīf; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ had with him Rayṭa, daughter of Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj, she being the mother of his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr."

Ibn Isḥāq also mentioned other Quraysh men who were accompanied by their womenfolk.

He went on, "And whenever Waḥshī passed by Hind, daughter of ʿUtba or she passed by him, she would say, 'Go to it, Abū Dasma,[4] avenge us and help yourself too!' That is, she urged him on to kill Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

"They advanced and made a halt at ʿAynayn, on a mountain at the Sakhba valley of Qanāt, on the edge of the *wādī* facing Medina.

3. The poet uses the word *islām*, here connoting "abandonment".
4. That is, "father of blackness", a reference to his black Abyssinian colouring.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of this, he told the Muslims, 'I swear by God, I had a favourable vision! I saw a cow being slaughtered and noticed a nick on the tip of my sword blade. Then I saw I had thrust my hand through a strong coat of mail. This I interpreted to be Medina.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) whom they quoted as follows, "I saw in a dream that I was leaving Mecca for some land where there were palm trees. I thought that it was either al-Yamāma or Hajar, but then I realized that it was the city of Yathrib (Medina). In that vision, I saw myself wielding a sword, the middle of which broke. And that was what happened to the believers at the battle of Uḥud. I then wielded it again and it became better than ever. And that was what happened when God gave victory and united the believers. In the vision, I also saw a cow. And, by God, this was good, for it represented the band of believers at the battle of Uḥud. And the good was what God brought forth from the good, and the reward of the truth that came to us after the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, as did al-Aṣamm, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Wahb, while Ibn Abū Zinād informed me from his father, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took possession of his sword *Dhū al-Fiqār* at Badr. And it was about that sword that he saw the vision on the day of the battle of Uḥud.

"'When the polytheists came at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Uḥud, it was his view that he should remain in Medina and fight them there. But people who had not witnessed Badr told him, "Let's go out, Messenger of God, to them and fight them at Uḥud." They hoped to attain some of the credit that had accrued to those at Badr. They kept on at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he put on his chain-mail. Then they repented and told him, "O Messenger of God, stay here. Your view must prevail."

"'He told them, "It is not proper for a prophet to take off his armour after dressing in it until God decides between him and his enemy."

"'Before putting on my armour that day,' he had been telling them, 'I had a vision of myself in stout armour – which I interpreted to be Medinā – and that I made the (squadron) leader ride behind me; this I interpreted as the leader of the squadron. I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqār*, had been notched; this I interpreted as a weakness in you. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered, its stomach open. I swear by God, it was good."'"

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father.

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth marfūʿan*, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Anas, back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "I had a vision as if I had made the (squadron) leader ride second saddle. And the blade

of my sword seemed to have been damaged. This I interpreted as meaning that I would kill the enemy's leader. I interpreted the damage to my sword's blade as being the death of a man from my own family."

And Ḥamza was killed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed Ṭalḥa, who was in charge of their banner.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When Quraysh returned (from Badr) they brought in all the Arab polytheists whom they controlled. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb then went forth with a Quraysh force, it being in Shawwāl of the year following the battle of Badr. They halted in the middle of the *wādī* across from Uḥud. There were some Muslims who had not been present at Badr and who regretted the distinction that they had lost. They were eager to meet the enemy to attain what their brethren had achieved at the battle of Badr.

"When Abū Sufyān and the polytheists halted at the base of Uḥud, the Muslims who had not attended Badr were delighted at the enemy's approach to them. They told one another that God had fulfilled their dreams.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a vision on the Friday night. When he arose next morning a group of his Companions came to him and he told them, 'Last night in my sleep I saw a cow being slaughtered, and by God, it was good. And I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqār*, had been notched on its blade.' (Or he said, 'And it had notches in it, and I hated this. These were two disasters.') 'And I saw myself in stout armour and that I was making a (squadron) leader ride second saddle.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them of his visions, they asked, 'O Messenger of God, what interpretation do you give your visions?' He replied, 'I interpreted the cow I saw as one among us and among the enemy; I disliked what I saw happen to my sword.'

"Some men say that what he saw in his sword was what was to strike his face, for the enemy did wound him in the face that day; they broke one of his front teeth and tore his lip. They claim that it was 'Utba b. Abū Waqqās who threw it. The cow represented those of the Muslims who were killed at that battle.

"(The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said) 'I interpret the *kabsh*, to be the (squadron) leader of the enemy, God damn them, and the stout armour to be Medina. So remain here, drawing the families into the citadels. When the enemy attacks us through the alleys, we'll fight them and fire down at them from on top of the houses.' The Muslims had lined the alleys of Medina with fortifications so that they had become like fortresses.

"Those Muslims who had not been present at Badr said, 'We had been looking forward to this day, and praying to God for it. God has brought it to us, and made the outcome close at hand.'

"One of the *anṣār* asked, 'When will we do battle with them, O Messenger of God, if not right here in our area?'

"Others asked, 'What about our people; what will we be able to defend, if we can't defend ourselves in war because of fear?'

"Others made statements agreeing with him or going even further. One of these men was Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, 'By Him who revealed the Book to you, we shall take issue with them!'

"Nuʿaym b. Mālik b. Thaʿlaba, he being of Banū Sālim, said, 'O Prophet of God, do not deprive us of paradise! By Him who holds my soul in His hands, I shall enter it!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'By what?' 'By my loving God and His Messenger, and I will not run away on the day of war.' 'You have spoken the truth,' commented the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And the man did die a martyr on that day.

"Many of the Muslims insisted on going forth to battle, refusing to accept the words and views of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If they had been content with what he had told them, it would have turned out so. But fate and destiny were to triumph.

"Most of those advising him to go forth were men who had not been present at Badr; they were aware of the credit that had earlier accrued to those who were present at it.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the Friday prayer, he preached to the congregation and enjoined them to fight hard and well. Having finished his address and his prayer, he called for his armour and dressed in it. He then made announcement to the people that they were to go forth to battle.

"Aware of all this, some men of good sense observed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to remain in Medina and he knows best about God and what He wants; revelation comes to him from heaven.'

"They addressed him, 'O Messenger of God, remain here, as you told us to do.' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet who has put on armour for war and given the order to proceed to battle the enemy to return without fighting. I did call upon you to do that, but you insisted on going out to battle. You must fear God and remain firm in the violence when you meet the enemy. Look for what it is God has ordered you, and do it.'"

The account continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left with the Muslims. They took the route through al-Badāʾiʿ and numbered 1,000 men. There were 3,000 in the polytheist force. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on till he reached Uḥud.

"Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went back with 300 men, there remaining 700 with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is what is widely known among scholars of early military affairs – namely, that their force remained at 700 fighting men."

Al-Zuhrī, however, was of the opinion that they had 400 fighting men left.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān related it thus from Uṣbugh, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī; but by this chain of authorities the number was also given as 700. God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The polytheists' cavalry was under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. They had with them 100 horses. Their banner was in the charge of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa. The Muslim force did not have a single horse." He then related the battle, as will now be done in detail, if God wills it.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had related his visions to his Companions, he told them, 'If you agree to remain in Medina and leave them where they have halted, that spot will turn out bad for them, while if they come in after us, we will fight them in the town.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl agreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they should not go forth to meet the enemy.

"Some Muslims, however, including some whom God granted martyrdom at Uḥud and others who had not attended at Badr, said, 'Messenger of God, lead us forth to our enemies so that they won't consider us to be scared of them, or too weak.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy stated, 'Messenger of God, don't go out to attack them. Whenever we have left the town to do battle with an enemy, we have been beaten, whereas whenever they came in we beat them.'

"People kept on badgering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he went in and dressed in his armour. That was on Friday, after he had finished the prayer. A man from Banū al-Najjār named Mālik b. 'Amr had died that day. He said prayers for him and then went out to his men. They were now repenting their attitude and saying, 'We made him do what he did not wish, and we had no right to do that.'

"When he came out to them, they told him, 'Stay here if you wish, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'It would not be fitting for a prophet who put on armour to take it off before he did battle.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth with 1,000 of his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He went on as far as al-Shawṭ, between Medina and Uḥud, and there 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy withdrew back with one-third of the men. He said, 'He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) agreed with them, but not with me. We don't know why we should kill ourselves out here, men!'

"He returned home with those of his tribe who were hypocrites and doubters. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī, the father of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, went after them, saying, 'People, I enjoin you by God not to abandon your people and your Prophet when their enemy is at hand!' They replied, 'If we knew that you would do battle, we would not surrender you; but we don't believe there will be any fighting.'

"When they disobeyed ʿAbd Allāh and refused to change their decision to retreat, he commented, 'May God banish you, you enemies of God; His Prophet (ṢAAS) will do without you!'"

I comment that these people are those to whom reference is being made in the words of the Almighty, "And so that He would know the hypocrites who were told, 'Come fight in God's cause, or defend yourselves.' They replied, 'If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you.' On that day they were closer to disbelief than to faith. They spoke with their mouths what was not in their hearts. But God knows well what they conceal" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.166).

This meant that they were lying in their statements, "If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you." This is because the occurrence of the fighting was completely clear and evident, not something unknown or in doubt.

About them God also revealed, "What ails you then, that you have become two parties about the hypocrites; God had subverted them because of what they had earned" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾi*'; IV, v.88). This is because one group had said, "We shall fight them!" while others said, "We will not fight them!" This is made clear and is well-established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Zuhrī stated that on that day the Companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to enlist the aid of their Jewish allies in Medina, but that he replied, "We have no need of them."

ʿUrwa b. Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubbay and his men withdrew, Banū Salama and Banū Ḥāritha were about to lose courage, so God Almighty gave them strength. He therefore revealed, "When two of your parties were about to lose courage, yet God was the protector of them both, and it is upon God that believers rely" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.123).

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh stated, as is established about him in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, "I would not have liked it if it had not been revealed, for '... God was the protector of them both.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, passing through the stony tract of Banū Ḥāritha. A horse swished its tail and caught against the hilt of a sword and jerked it out. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told the man whose sword it was, 'Sheathe your sword; I can see swords are to be drawn today.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked his Companions, 'Who can take us close to the enemy by a path that will not take us past them?' Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith replied, 'I will, Messenger of God.' He then led them out into the territory of Banū Ḥāritha, passing through their properties. Eventually Abū Khaythama led him into the farm of Mirbaʿ b. Qayzī. This man was a hypocrite and also blind. When he heard the sound of the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him passing by, he began tossing dirt into their faces, saying, 'If you are the Messenger of God, then I do not permit you to enter my garden!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "It was told to me that he then took up a handful of dirt, saying, 'By God, if I knew I'd strike no one but you, Muḥammad, I'd hit you in the face with this!' The Muslims charged at him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Don't kill him! This sightless fellow is blind both in his heart and in his eyes!' But Saʿd b. Zayd, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, had already charged at him before the command of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had hit him with his bow in his head and split it open.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded ahead and came down the defile from Mt. Uḥud, at the head of the valley, at the mountain. He positioned his camels and his men towards Uḥud and said, 'Let no one begin fighting before I give the order to attack.'

"Quraysh had released their camels and horses in the fields at al-Ṣamgha, part of Qanāt that was Muslim territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the order not to attack, one of the Companions asked, 'Are the fields of Banū Qayla to be grazed without us going to battle?'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made ready for battle. His force consisted of 700 men; he appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, in charge of the archers. He stood out by being dressed in white clothing; the archers totalled 50 men. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said 'Fend off the cavalry from us with your arrows, so that they don't come at us from the rear. Whether the battle goes for or against us, hold your position so that we can't be attacked from your direction.'"

This statement will receive testimony in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, if God wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out wearing two sets of armour; that is, he wore one suit of chain-mail above another. He gave charge of the banner to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār."

I comment that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back a group of young men from the battle of Uḥud, not permitting them to be present at the fighting because of their youthfulness. These included ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He stated, "I was offered to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the battle of Uḥud, but he would not allow me. I was later presented to him for the battle of al-khandaq, 'the trench', at a time when I was 15, and he then did permit me to participate."

On that occasion he also rejected Usāma b. Zayd, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, Usayd b. Dhahīr and ʿArāba b. Aws b. Qayẓī. Ibn Qutayba related this and al-Suhaylī also gave it. It is of the last-mentioned that al-Shammākh stated:

> "If a banner be raised for glory, then ʿArāba will take
> it in his right hand."

Ibn Saʿd b. Khaythama was also one of these. Al-Suhaylī mentioned him too. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) allowed all of these to participate at the battle of al-khandaq.

He had sent back from Uḥud Samura b. Jundub and Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, both of these being 15 years of age. But someone told him that Rāfiʿ was an archer, and so he let him stay. Then someone told him that Samura could wrestle Rāfiʿ down, and so he let him stay too.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Quraysh positioned their forces. They numbered 3,000. They had brought 200 horses with them which they positioned on the flanks, with Khālid b. al-Walīd in charge of the right flank of the cavalry and ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl b. Hishām in command of its left."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will take this sword, along with its rights?'

"Various men arose, but he refrained from giving it to them. Then Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha, brother of the Banū Sāʿida, came to him and asked, 'What are its rights, Messenger of God?'

"'For you to strike the enemy with it until it bends.'

"'I will take it, Messenger of God, along with its rights,' he agreed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave it to him."

Ibn Isḥāq related this anecdote thus, *munqaṭiʿan.*[5]

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and ʿAffān related to us as follows, 'Ḥammād, he being Ibn Salama, related to us, and Thābit informed us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) that at Uḥud he picked up a sword and asked, "Who will take this sword?" Some men began examining it and he then asked, "Who will take it along with its rights?" The men withdrew, but Abū Dujāna Simāk responded, "I will take it with its rights." And he did take it and cleaved a path with it through the middle of the polytheists.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from ʿAffān.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna was a brave man who engaged in bravado when he went into battle. He had a red headband he would put on to set himself apart in battle and it would be known that he was preparing to fight."

He went on, "When he took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he took out the red headband and put it on. He then began strutting about between the two lines.

"Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aslam, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb related to me, from one of the *anṣār* of the Banū Salama, who related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when he saw Abū Dujāna strutting, "That is a way of walking that God dislikes except in circumstances like this!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Abū Sufyān had told those of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār who were in charge of the banner, inciting them to battle, 'Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, you were in

5. This word indicates a *ḥādīth* of which the line of transmission is incomplete.

charge of our banner at the battle of Badr, and you saw what happened to us. Men will only fight for their flags; if once they are lost, they withdraw. Either take care of our banner for us, or give it over to us and we will relieve you of it.'

"They were angered at this and threatened him, saying, 'We give over our banner to you? You will learn tomorrow, when we meet in battle, how we will behave!' That was the response that Abū Sufyān wanted.

"When the forces met and drew close to one another, Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, arose amidst the women accompanying her, and they took up tambourines and began beating them, positioning themselves behind the men and urging them on to battle. Hind spoke the following verses:

'Go to it, ʿAbd al-Dār, go to it protectors of the rear!
Strike with your sharp weapons!'

"She also said,

'If you advance we will embrace and spread out cushions;
But retreat and we'll leave and love not!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbdu ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī b. Mālik b. al-Nuʿmān, one of Banū Ḍubayʿa, had left for Mecca, having disagreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ); he was accompanied by 50 young men of Aws, though some say they were 15 in number. He had been promising Quraysh that if he were to meet up with his people, no two men of them would quarrel with him.

"When the sides clashed, the first to meet them was Abū ʿĀmir with the Abyssinians and the slaves owned by the Meccans. Abū ʿĀmir shouted out, 'Aws, I am Abū ʿĀmir!' They responded, 'May God grant you no ease, you sinner!'

"Before Islam, Abu ʿAmir had been known as 'the monk'; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him 'the sinner'.

"When Abū ʿĀmir heard their reply, he shouted, 'So, evil has befallen my people since I left!' He then engaged them in fierce battle, eventually casting stones at them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The sides advanced until the warfare grew intense and Abū Dujāna progressed deep into the enemy's force."

Ibn Hishām stated, "More than one scholar related to me that al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām said, 'I was offended when I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the sword and he refused it me and gave it to Abū Dujāna. I told myself, "I'm the son of his aunt Ṣafiyya, and of Quraysh. Also, I went up and asked him for it before he did, yet he gave it to Abū Dujāna, rejecting me. By God, I'll watch what he does!"

"'So I followed him. He took out a red headband and put it on his head. The *anṣār* then said, "Abū Dujāna has put on the death headband!" This is what they

would say to him whenever he did this. He then went forth to battle, reciting the words,

> "I am one with whom my companion made a pact, when we
> were there on the hillside amidst the palm trees
> I'll never remain at the rear; I'll strike hard with
> the sword of God and His messenger."'"

Al-Umawī stated, "Abū ʿUbayd related to me, quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that a man had approached him while he was battling with it and he had asked him, 'If I give it to you, you'll probably fight at the rear.' 'No, I won't,' the man replied. So he gave the man the sword, who then recited the words,

> 'I am one with whom my companion made a pact;
> I'll never remain at the rear!'"

This is a *ḥadith* that is related from Shuʿba. Isrāʾīl also related it, both of them quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Hind, daughter of Khālid; others also give it, attributing it directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The word used in the above *ḥadīth* interpreted as "the rear" is the noun *al-kayyūl*, a word I have not encountered elsewhere. It is said by some scholars to mean "the ranks at the back".

Ibn Hishām(s text) stated, "Every man he met, Abū Dujāna killed. Among the polytheists there was one man who executed every man he wounded. This man and Abū Dujāna came ever closer to one another, and I prayed to God to bring them together. And they did meet. They exchanged a couple of blows. The polytheist then struck at Abū Dujāna, who fended off the blow with his shield which trapped the man's sword. Then Abū Dujāna struck and killed him. I next saw Abū Dujāna aiming at the centre of the head of Hind, daughter of ʿUtba. But he turned his sword aside, and I commented, 'God and his messenger know best!'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth* in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), quoting Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who gave it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna said, 'I saw one man who was giving great encouragement to his side, so I headed for him. When I attacked him with my sword, he let out a scream and I saw it was a woman! I respected the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by refraining from striking a woman with it.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), refused ʿUmar's request when he made it for the sword and when next al-Zubayr sought it he rejected him too. This troubled them both. When he offered it a third time and Abū Dujāna asked for it, he gave it to him, and he did give the sword its rights.

He went on, "People claim that Kaʿb b. Mālik said, 'I was among those Muslims who went forth to the battle. When I saw that the dead on both the Muslim and polytheist sides were similar, I moved forward to participate. I then

saw that one polytheist, heavily armoured, was striking the Muslims hard and saying, "Come on then, you sheep gathering for the slaughter!" But then I saw one Muslim, fully armoured, waiting for him and I went on over behind him and began comparing the Muslim with the polytheist. The latter was better in equipment and in form. I kept on waiting until they met. The Muslim then struck the unbeliever a blow with his sword on his shoulder artery. The sword came right down through to his thigh, cutting him into two. Then the Muslim uncovered his face and said, "What about that, Ka῾b! I'm Abū Dujāna!"'"

THE DEATH OF ḤAMZA, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥamza b. ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib fought on until he killed Arṭāt b. ῾Abd Shuraḥbīl b. Hāshim b. ῾Abd Manāf b. ῾Abd al-Dār, who was one of those bearing the banner. He also killed ῾Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa while he was carrying the flag and reciting,

> 'It is the duty of those who bear the flag to keep up
> tall or to be struck down low.'

"Ḥamza then attacked and killed him.

"After that Sibā῾ b. ῾Abd al-῾Uzzā al-Ghubshānī, who was commonly known as 'Abū Niyār', passed him by and Ḥamza called out to him, 'Come on over here, you son of a female who does circumcisions!' The man's mother was Umm Anmār, a freed-woman of Sharīq b. ῾Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī; she was circumcisor (of women) in Mecca. When the two men met, Ḥamza struck and killed him.

"Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ῾im stated, 'I swear, I watched while Ḥamza struck out at everyone with his sword, letting none escape; he was like some gigantic camel. Sibā῾ got to him before me, then Ḥamza said, "Come on over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!" He then struck him so fast that he seemed to have missed his head. So I readied my spear until sure it was well aimed, then I let it fly at him. It hit him beneath his navel and came out between his legs. He advanced towards me, but collapsed. I left him till he died, then I went, retrieved my spear and returned to the camp; my only business was with him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "῾Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. ῾Ayyāsh b. Rabī῾a b. al-Ḥārith related to me, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ja῾far b. ῾Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, who said, 'I and ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Adī b. al-Khiyār, one of Banū Nawfal b. ῾Abd Manāf, went out on a military expedition during the reign of Mu᾿āwiya. Having served with the others, we passed by Ḥimṣ, where Waḥshī, the freed-man of Jubayr, had taken up residence. When we got there, ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Adī asked, "Should we go to see Waḥshī and ask him about the death of Ḥamza, and how he killed him?" "If you would like," I responded.

"'So we went off and enquired about him in Ḥimṣ. When we asked a man about him, he told us, "You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He has become addicted to wine; if you should find him sober, you'll find him to be a true Arab man and you'll get what you want from him and he'll tell you whatever you ask him about. But if you find him under the influence, you'd better just leave him alone."'

"He continued, 'So we went off to visit him and found him in the courtyard of his house on a rug. He was a large old man who looked like a *bughāth*, a blackish bird.[6] He was sober and in good health and we greeted him when we reached him.

"'He raised his sight to ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī and asked, "Are you the son of ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār?" "Yes, I am," he replied. Waḥshī commented, "Well, I swear, I've not seen you since I handed you to your mother, al-Saʿdīya, who was suckling you, at Dhū Ṭūwā. I lifted you up to her as she sat on her camel. She took hold of you around the waist and your feet shone as I handed you up to her. I swear, I therefore recognized your feet as soon as you stood before me!"'

"He went on, 'So we sat down with him and told him, "We have come to you to ask you about the death of Ḥamza; how did you kill him?"

"'He replied, "Shall I tell it to you just as I did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he asked me about it? I was a slave of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, whose uncle was Tuʿayma b. ʿAdī, who was struck down at Badr. When Quraysh went forth to Uḥud, Jubayr told me, 'If you kill Ḥamza, Muḥammad's uncle, in retaliation for my uncle's death, then you will be a free man.'

"'"So I went out with the warriors. I was an Abyssinian and could throw the spear like my countrymen; I rarely missed with it. When the forces met in battle, I went forth looking for Ḥamza to lie in wait for him. I found him right amidst the fray, like an enormous camel, striking out viciously at our men with his sword, nothing withstanding him. I made use of bushes and rocks to get close to him, but Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā got to him before me. When Ḥamza saw him, he said, 'Come over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!' He then struck him a blow so quickly that it appeared to have missed his head. I aimed my spear carefully, and when sure of it, I hurled it at him. It struck him below his navel and emerged between his legs. He tried to move towards me, but was overcome. I left him with the spear until he died. Then I went over to him, retrieved my spear and returned to camp, where I stayed. I had no business with anyone other than him. I only killed him to gain my freedom.

"'"When I reached Mecca, I was manumitted and remained there until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca. I then fled to Ṭāʾif, where I stayed. When the Ṭāʾif delegation left to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to accept Islam, I didn't know what to do. I told people, 'I'll go to Syria or Yemen or some other country!' I was in this state of indecision and anxiety when

6. Ibn Hishām adds the comment to Ibn Isḥāq's account that the word stands for "a kind of bird inclining to black in colour". See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.753.

someone told me, 'Come on now! I swear, he'll not kill anyone who has adopted his religion and testified to the truth.'

"'"When he told me that, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, surprising him by standing before him and speaking the testimony of the truth.

"'"When he saw me, he asked, 'Are you Waḥshī?' I replied, 'Yes, O Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Sit down and relate to me how you killed Ḥamza.'

"'"So I related it as I did to you both. When I finished my account, he said, 'Remove your face from me; I'll not see you!'

"'"So I used to avoid the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wherever he might be so that he would not see me, and eventually God, Almighty and Glorious is He, took him to Himself.'

"'"When the Muslim force went to war against that liar Musaylima,[7] who controlled Yemen, I accompanied them, taking the spear with which I killed Ḥamza. When the forces met, I saw Musaylima standing sword in hand, though I didn't then know for sure the man was him. I prepared to attack him, as did another Muslim, an *anṣārī*, coming from the other side. Each of us was heading for him. I steadied my spear until I felt good about it and then let it loose at him. It pierced him. The *anṣārī* then attacked him with his sword. So God alone knows which of us killed him. If it was I who killed him, then I killed the best of men after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and also killed the worst of them!"'"

I note that the *anṣārī* was Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha.

Al-Waqidī stated in his account of *al-ridda*, "the apostasy wars", as follows: "He was 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Āṣim al-Māzinī. Sayf b. 'Amr stated, 'He was 'Adī b. Sahl. And it was he who spoke the verses,

"Do you not know that it was I and their Waḥshī, who
killed Musaylima, who sowed dissension.
People ask me about his death and I reply, 'I struck
and he pierced!"'"

What is well known is that it was Waḥshī who struck him when he attacked and that Abū Dujāna finished him off when wounded. This is because of what Ibn Isḥāq related, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "I heard someone shout out at the battle of Yamāma, 'It was the black slave who killed him!'"

Al-Bukhārī related the story of the killing of Ḥamza through 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Salāma al-Mājishawn, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. He said, "I went forth to battle with 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Adī b. al-Khiyār." And he then related the incident as given above. He recalled that 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Adī was wearing a

7. A self-styled prophet of Yemen whose Banū Ḥanīfa forces were defeated by the Caliph Abū Bakr's army under Khālid b. al-Walīd at 'Aqrabā' in 12 AH.

turban, and that all Waḥshī could see of him was his eyes and his feet. And he related as above from his knowledge of him.

This was a great piece of detection, comparable to Mujazziz al-Mudlijī's noticing a similarity in the feet of Zayd to those of his son Usāma despite the difference in their complexions.

He (al-Bukhārī) quoted Waḥshī as saying, "When the men were lined up for battle, Sibā went out and said, 'Will someone accept my challenge?' Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came forward and answered, 'So Sibā, it's you, son of Umm Anmar, the woman who does circumcisions! Do you challenge God and His messenger?' He then attacked him and it was all over for Sibā."

Waḥshī continued, "I was lying in wait for Ḥamza beneath a rock. When he came close to me I hurled my spear at him and it hit him beneath the navel and emerged between his thighs. And that was the end of him."

His account continued until he said, "And when God took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) unto Himself and the pretender Musaylima appeared, I said, 'I'll go out after Musaylima in hopes of killing him to atone for Ḥamza.' So I did go forth with our force and the warfare progressed. Then I saw a man standing in a gap in a wall, looking like an enormous camel, rearing its head. I hurled my spear at him; it struck him in the middle of the chest and emerged between his shoulders. Then one of the Helpers charged at him and struck him with his sword on the top of his head."

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl stated, "Sulaymān b. Yasār related to me that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar say, 'A girl at the back of the house screamed, "The Commander of the Faithful! The black slave killed him!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "I have heard that Waḥshī continued being punished for abuse of wine until he was eventually removed from the pension list. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, 'I always said God would not leave Ḥamza's killer unpunished!'"

I note that Waḥshī b. Ḥarb, Abū Dasma, known as Abū Ḥarb, died in Ḥimṣ; he was the first person to wear his clothes *madlūka*, rubbed clean and hand-pressed.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr fought on, protecting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he was killed. It was Ibn Qamiʾa al-Laythī who killed him, thinking that Muṣʿab was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went back to Quraysh and announced, 'I have killed Muḥammad!'"

I note that Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, to the effect that the man who killed Muṣʿab was Ubayy b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner into the charge of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "The banner was first with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that ʿAbd al-Dār had

charge of the polytheists' banner, he said, 'We have a greater right to their allegiance than they do!' He then took the banner away from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and gave it to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr. When Mus.ʿab was killed, he awarded the banner again to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Muslim warriors fought the enemy."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Maslama b. ʿAlqama al-Māzinī related to me, 'When the fighting grew fierce at the battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat beneath the standard of the *anṣār* and sent a message to ʿAlī, saying, "Bring the banner forward!" ʿAlī went forward, shouting, "I am Abū al-Qaṣm!" Abū Saʿd b. Abū Ṭalḥa, he being the standard bearer of the polytheists, called back, "Will you accept single combat, Abū al-Qaṣm?" "Yes," he replied. So they both went forth between the opposing sides and exchanged two blows. Then ʿAlī struck him down, but left without killing him off.

"'Some of the men asked him, "Why didn't you finish him off?" He replied, "He exposed his private parts to me and I had pity on him because of our ties of kinship. And I knew that God had condemned him to death."'"

ʿAlī himself, may God be pleased with him, did this at the battle of Ṣiffīn. When Busr b. Abū Arṭāt came up to kill him, he exposed himself to him and Busr withdrew from him.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ acted similarly when ʿAlī came over to kill him in one of the battles at Ṣiffīn; he exposed himself and ʿAlī withdrew. On this subject al-Ḥārith b. al-Naḍr spoke the following verses:

"Is there at every battle a knight not yet expired,
with his private parts visible amidst the dust?
Because of this ʿAlī holds back his spearhead, and
Muʾāwiya secretly scoffs at this!"

Yūnus related, from Ibn Isḥāq, that Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdarī, standard bearer of the polytheists that day, made a challenge for single combat, but the men held back from him. Then al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out to him and leapt up on to his camel with him. He then hurled him down from it on to the ground and killed him with his sword. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised him, saying, "Every prophet has his disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr."

He then said, "If he had not gone out to fight him, I would have done so myself, having seen how everyone held back!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ killed Abū Saʿd b. Abū Ṭalḥa.

"ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ fought and killed Nāfiʿ b. Abū Ṭalḥa and his brother al-Ḥallās with arrows. One went to their mother Sulāfa and laid his head in her lap. She asked, 'Who was it shot you, son?' He replied, 'As he shot me, I heard a man say, "Take that; I'm Ibn Abū al-Aqlaḥ!"' She then swore that if God gave her ʿĀṣim's head, she would drink wine from it."

ʿĀṣim had sworn to God that he would never touch a polytheist or have one touch him. That is why God protected him at the battle of al-Rajīʿ, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥanẓala b. Abū ʿĀmir met in battle with Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Ḥarb. Ḥanẓala was known as ʿAmr; he was also known as ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī. His father, Abū ʿĀmir, was known in the *jāhiliyya*, as 'the monk', because he prayed so much. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him 'the sinner' since he opposed the truth and those believing in it and fled from Medina abandoning Islam and in opposition to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ḥanẓala was also known as *al-ghasīl*, 'the washed one', since he was washed by the angels, as will be related.

"When Ḥanẓala bested Abū Sufyān, Shaddād b. al-Aws, known as Ibn Shaʿūb, saw this and struck Ḥanẓala down, killing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Your friend is being washed by the angels in heaven; ask his family about his circumstances.'

"So they did ask his wife. According to al-Wāqidī, she was Jamīla, daughter of Ubayy b. Sallūl; she had become his bride that night."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "She replied, 'When he went forth on hearing the call to arms, he was in a state of ritual impurity.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'And so the angels washed him.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that his father struck him in the chest with his foot and said, "Two sins you committed. I forbad you this fate of yours. And, by God, now you've achieved mercy, thanks to your father!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ibn Shaʿūb recited on this subject,

> 'I guard my companion and myself with a thrust like a flash of sunlight.'"

Ibn Shaʿūb spoke the verse,

> "Were it not for my defence, Ibn Ḥarb, and my presence, you would have been unresponsive at the mountain-slope battle.
> And had I not brought the colt back to the hilltop, hyenas or jackals would have devoured it."

Abū Sufyān spoke the verses,

> "Had I wished, my red-black swift-footed horse would have saved me and I would bear no debt of thanks to Ibn Shaʿūb.
> And my colt would have stayed a safe distance from them, that morning and on till dusk,
> While I fought them, crying, 'Hail to the victor!' fending them off with a stout arm.
> Weep on, caring not for how others rebuke you, nor tire of your tears and sighs,

For your father and his brothers who have passed away;
their fate deserves tears.
I am relieved of my earlier pain, now that I have
killed all the great chiefs of Banū al-Najjār,
And a fine leader of Hāshim, and Muṣʿab too, a man who
was never timid in the fray.
Had I not relieved my mind by killing them, my heart
would have been hurt and scarred.
They withdrew, their *jalābīb*[8] now dead, their wounds
gaping and oozing blood,
Struck down by men not equal to them either in descent
or in rank."

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered him with the verses,

"You mention the fine leaders of Banū Hāshim, and here
you are stating no lie.
Are you pleased at having struck down Ḥamza, a great
chief, as you yourself said,
And did they not kill ʿAmr, and ʿUtba and his son,
along with Shayba, al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb,
That morning when al-ʿĀṣī challenged ʿAlī and he scared
him with the blow of a blood-stained sword?"

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then God sent down victory for the Muslims, fulfilling his promise to them. They massacred them with swords, ultimately cutting them off from their camp. The enemy's defeat was indisputable.

"Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father ʿAbbād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I swear, I remember seeing the legs of Hind, daughter of ʿUtba and her companions, their clothing tucked up as they fled. Almost nothing prevented them being captured when the archers turned away to the camp after we had blocked the enemy from reaching it. But this meant we had left our rear open to the cavalry, and they came at us from behind. Someone yelled, "Muḥammad has been killed!" So we turned back, the enemy reeling back on us too, after we had killed their standard bearers, preventing any of them from approaching it.

"'And a scholar in the traditions told me that their standard remained down until ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAlqama, the Ḥārith woman, raised it again for Quraysh, and so they rallied back around it. The banner had been in the charge of Sawāb, an Abyssinian slave of Banū Abū Ṭalḥa. He was the last of them to take it; he fought on with it until his hands were cut off. He then crouched down

8. Guillaume offers an interesting discussion of this word. Normally meaning "leather smock", it seems here to have a pejorative sense of "vagabond" or "tramp". See *op. cit.* p.378.

over it, holding the banner between his neck and chest. He was killed right over it, and as he died, he said, "O God, have I *ʾazartu*" (for *ʾadhartu*, improperly pronouncing the dh sound) that is, 'Am I absolved?"'

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

> 'You were proud of your flag, yet poor pride it was to
> give it over to Ṣawāb
> You entrusted your pride in it to a slave, grovelling
> in the dust on the ground
> You thought – and a fool too has thoughts – though
> rarely does he get them straight
> That fighting us would be as when we would meet in
> Mecca, with you selling us red leather bags.
> It pleased us well when his hands turned red, though it
> was not dye that made them so.'

"Ḥassān also spoke the verses that follow regarding how it was ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAlqama, who raised their banner for them:

> 'When the ʿAdl were led to us, like gazelles of Shirk,
> their eyebrows prominent,
> We set at them, thrusting at them from all sides,
> destroying, punishing and aggrieving them,
> Were it not for the woman of al-Ḥārith having taken
> their banner, they would have been sold in the markets
> like slaves.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslim ranks broke and the enemy gained advantage over them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured some with martyrdom. At last the enemy broke through to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was hit with a rock and fell on his side, breaking his front teeth, slashing his face and splitting his lip. The man who struck him was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

"Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The front tooth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was broken at the battle of Uḥud, and he was slashed in the face. Wiping off the blood, he said, "How could any people prosper who would bloody the face of their prophet while he invites them to come to God?" And so God sent down the verse: "You have no say in the matter; He may indeed forgive them or punish them (though) they are wrongdoers"'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr stated in his history, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn related to us, as did Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl, as did Asbāṭ, from al-Suddī, who said, 'Ibn Qamiʾa al-Ḥārithī came up and cast a rock at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which broke his nose and his front teeth, gashed his face and knocked him over. His Companions then scattered away from him, some going back to Medina and others climbing up the mountain to al-Ṣakhra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began calling out to

everyone, "Come to me, servants of God! Come to me, servants of God!" Thirty men did gather around him, then began moving out ahead of him, only Ṭalḥa and Sahl b. Ḥanīf staying. Ṭalḥa shielded him and was struck by an arrow in his hand that became paralysed. Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī then approached; he had sworn to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I really will kill him!" He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "You liar! Where will you hide?" Ubayy then attacked, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) pierced him through the chain-mail over his chest and Ubayy was slightly injured. He fell, bellowing like a steer and they carried him off, telling him, "You've not been badly wounded; what is upsetting you so?" He replied, "Didn't he say, "I shall certainly kill you!" If all Rabī'a and Muḍar had assembled, he would have killed them!" And it was only a day or so thereafter that Ubayy did die of that wound.

"'Word spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been killed. Some of those up at al-Ṣakhra said, "We'd better send an envoy to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and have him get us a truce from Abū Sufyān. People! Muḥammad has been killed! Go back home before they get to you and kill you!"

"'Anas b. al-Naḍr responded, "People; even if Muḥammad has been killed, Muḥammad's God has not. Fight on for what Muḥammad (ṢAAS) strived for. O God, I apologize to You and seek Your forgiveness for what these people have said." He then gripped his sword and fought valiantly until he was killed.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) hurried off to summon his men and reached those at al-Ṣakhra. When they saw him coming, one of them put an arrow to his bow to shoot, but he called out, "I'm the Messenger of God!" They were overjoyed to see him and he too was delighted to have found some of his men to protect him. When they gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) their depression lifted, and they advanced, talking of victory, how it had escaped them and making mention of their comrades who had been killed.

"'And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the following verse about these men who had said, "Muḥammad is dead! So go back to your people!" It was: "Muḥammad is only a messenger, and messengers have passed away before him" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.144).

"'Abū Sufyān then advanced and took a position where he could look down upon them. When the men looked up at him, they forgot their enthusiasm and Abū Sufyān became their sole concern. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "It must not be that they overcome us: O God, if this group of men are killed, then You will not be worshipped on earth." His Companions then repented and hurled rocks at the enemy until they forced them down.

"'Abū Sufyān said on that day, "Raise up Hubal! Ḥanẓala for Ḥanẓala! The battle of Uḥud for the battle of Badr!"'"

He then went on to relate the rest of the story. This account is very strange and objectionable in part.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Rubayḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd claimed, quoting his father, from Abū Saʿīd, that it was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who shot at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), breaking his lower right incisor and damaging his lower lip. He stated further that ʿAbd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī wounded his forehead, and that ʿAbd Allāh b. Qamiʾa cut open his cheek, making two rings of his chain-mail helmet pierce it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then fell into one of the pits Abū ʿĀmir had prepared for the Muslims. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib took him by the hand and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh raised him up till he could stand straight. Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Saʿīd, sucked the blood from the cheek of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and swallowed it. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Whoever has had his own blood touch mine will not be touched by hell-fire.'"

I comment here that Qatāda related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness when he fell on his side. He stated that Sālim, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa, went over to him, sat him down and wiped the blood from his face. As he came to, he said, "How could any people succeed who have done this to their prophet while he invited them to come to God?" And so God revealed, "It is not your business" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr gave this tradition, incomplete in its line of transmission; discussion of this will come later, separately.

I would comment that early in the day the Muslims had the upper hand over the unbelievers. As God Almighty stated, "God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave, until you failed and disputed about what to do and were disobedient after He had demonstrated to you what you liked. Some among you desire this world, while others of you desire the next. He then put you to flight before them, to test you all. And He has now forgiven you; God is generous to believers. Remember when you went rushing up the hill, while the Messenger called you from your rear. And so He exchanged for you one sorrow for another" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.151, 2).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd related to us, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zinād informed us, from his father, from ʿUbayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, 'God never had a victory anywhere as He did at Uḥud.'

"He (ʿUbayd Allāh) said, 'We contradicted this', and Ibn ʿAbbās responded, 'The Book of God stands between me and anyone contradicting that. God states about Uḥud, 'God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave.'" Ibn ʿAbbās then said, 'In this text the word *al-ḥass* means "killing". The text continues, "... until you failed" and so on till the words, "... and He has forgiven you; God is generous to believers." By this he was referring to the archers. This is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) placed them in a position and said, "Protect our backs. If you see us being killed, don't come to our aid. And if you see us winning, don't join us."'

"But when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was winning and laid open the polytheists' camp, all the archers lost control of themselves and went in for plunder; the ranks of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then met up with them and intermingled with them in confusion.

"When the archers left the position they had had, the enemy cavalry attacked the men of the Prophet (ṢAAS) from that spot. The forces engaged in a general confused mêlée, and many of the Muslims were killed. The battle had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) early in the day, to the point where seven or nine of the standard-bearers of the polytheists had been killed. The Muslims went on, making a circuit towards the mountain; they did not reach the place where people say is the cave, which was beneath the large hollowed-out rock.

"Then Satan shouted, 'Muḥammad has been killed!' It was not doubted that this was true. And we went on believing that this was so until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared amidst a group of men of Banū Sa῾d; we recognized him from the distinctive way he walked. We were so overjoyed that it was as if we had not suffered what we had. As he approached us, he was saying, 'God will be extremely angry with a people who have bloodied the face of the Messenger of God!' He also said, 'O God, it must not be that they overcome us!'

"Eventually he reached us and stayed awhile. Then Abū Sufyān lower down on the mountain began shouting, 'Raise up Hubal! Raise up Hubal!' His reference was to his god. (He also shouted), 'And where is Abū Kabsha's son? And where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? Where is al-Khaṭṭāb's son?'

"At this, ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) 'Shouldn't I answer him back?' 'You should,' the latter replied. And so when Abū Sufyān next said, 'Raise up Hubal!' ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb responded, 'God is far higher and more Glorious!' Abū Sufyān then said, 'Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the war has favoured us. Give it up!'

"He then said, 'And where is the son of Abū Kabsha? Where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? And where is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?' ῾Umar responded, 'This, here, is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this, here, is Abū Bakr. And here am I, ῾Umar.'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for that of Badr. Battles move in cycles. Warfare has its ups and downs.' ῾Umar replied, 'They're not equivalent. Our dead are in heaven, yours in hell!'

"He responded, 'That's what you claim! If that were indeed so, then it is we who have failed and lost!' Abū Sufyān went on to say, 'Regarding your discovery of some mutilated bodies among your dead, this was not from a decision of our leadership.' But then his pagan fanaticism got the better of him, and he said, 'However, if we had deliberated the matter, we might well not have decided against it!'"

Ibn Abū Ḥātim related this, as did al-Ḥākim in his compendium. Al-Bayhaqī related it in his *Dalā᾿il* (*The Signs*), from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Dā᾿ūd al-Hāshimī.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral". It is one of the incomplete traditions ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās. A variety of authorities testify to it, and we will quote those we can, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust, upon Him all reliance. It is He to whom one goes for help.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "It was on that day that we met the enemy in battle. The Prophet (ṢAAS) positioned a contingent of archers, placing ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr in charge of them, and telling them, 'Don't leave here; if you see us defeat them, don't leave. And if you see them defeat us, don't come to our aid.'

"When we met the enemy in battle, they fled in such disorder that I saw their women scurrying up into the mountains raising their legs and exposing their ankles. Our troops began calling for plunder, but ʿAbd Allāh replied, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) charged me not to let you leave.' But they rejected this and no sooner had they done so than they became completely confused.

"70 men were killed and then there was Abū Sufyān looking down on us and asking, 'Is Muḥammad there among the men?' He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) told us not to respond. Abū Sufyān then demanded, 'And is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among you?' Again he told us not to reply. Now Abū Sufyān asked, 'Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then commented, 'Well, these men have been killed; if they were alive, they would have responded.'

"ʿUmar could no longer contain himself. He shouted, 'You lie, you enemy of God! May God give you lasting torment!'

"Abū Sufyān now said, 'Raise up Hubal!' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give him an answer!' 'What should we say?' the men asked. He replied, 'Say: God is far higher and more Glorious!'

"Abū Sufyān responded, 'Consolation is ours; you have none.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) told them, 'Answer him back!' 'What should we say?' they asked. He replied, 'Say; "God is our master, but you have no master."'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for the battle of Badr. Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.'"

And this is one of the traditions that al-Bukhārī includes, but Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā related to him, as did Zuhayr and Abū Isḥāq, that al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr over the archers, who were 50 men in all, at the battle of Uḥud. He positioned them in a particular site and told them, 'If you see the vultures flying off with us don't leave until I send you a message. If you see us victorious over the enemy and trampling them underfoot, don't leave until I send you a message.'

"Our forces defeated them and, I swear by God, I saw their women scurrying up the mountain, their ankles and legs exposed as they raised their garments.

"The men under ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr asked, 'The plunder! Let's go for the booty, men! Your troops have won, so what do you think?'

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr replied, 'Have you forgotten what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said?' They replied, 'By God, we should go and join our forces and get some of the booty.'

"And when they did join them, everyone became confused and they suffered a defeat and went on ahead, while the Messenger (ṢAAS) called at them from behind.

"Only 12 men were left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 70 of our men were struck down; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his forces had taken out 140 of the enemy at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken prisoner.

"Abū Sufyān then asked, 'Is Muḥammad among the men?' He said this three times, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them not to respond.

"Then he said, 'Is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among the men? Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then went forward to his own force and said, 'Those people have been killed; you have requited them.'

"ʿUmar could not restrain himself from saying, 'You lie, you enemy of God. Those you enumerated are all alive. And the living will bring your harm!'

"Abū Sufyān commented, 'A battle for the battle of Badr! Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.'

"He then began chanting, 'Raise up, Hubal! Raise up, Hubal!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his men, 'Aren't you going to respond to him?' 'But Messenger of God,' they asked, 'what should we respond?' He told them, 'Say: "God is far higher and more Glorious!"'

"Abū Sufyān then commented, 'We have consolation, not you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'Won't you respond to him?' They asked, 'What should we respond, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'Say: "God is our master and you have no master."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, he being Muʿāwiyya's son, in abbreviated form. His version has been related above through Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit and ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the polytheists overwhelmed the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was in the company of seven of the *anṣār* and one man of Quraysh, he said, "Whoever will repel them from us will be my companion in paradise!" At this, one of the *anṣār* came up and did battle until he was killed.

The account goes on that when they next overwhelmed him, he again said, "Whoever will repel them will be my companion in paradise!" And eventually all seven were killed.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Our forces have not treated us fairly."

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from an account of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), giving his chain of transmission from ʿUmāra b. Ghaziyya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, "The men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uḥud. Eleven of the *anṣār* and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh remained with him as he climbed on up the mountain, but the polytheists caught up with them. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'You stay where you are,' he told him. One of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' and he fought hard in defence of him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed up higher, along with those men remaining with him. Then the *anṣārī* was killed and the enemy again caught up with them. Again the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded as before and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as before. Another of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' And he fought on while his companions went on up. Eventually he was killed, and the polytheists caught up with them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on saying as he had the first time, with Ṭalḥa always volunteering, but being restrained, and another of the *anṣār* asking permission to do battle. He would be permitted to do so and would fight on as had those before him.

"Eventually only Ṭalḥa was left with him. The enemy was again attacking them, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked once more, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded that he would and he fought on as had all those before him. He was injured in his fingertips and called out in pain. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If you had called out the words, 'In God's name!' the angels would have raised you up while everyone looked on at you, until they carried you right on up into the air of heaven.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then climbed up to join his men who were gathered there."

Al-Bukhārī related, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, from Wakīʿ, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who stated, "I saw Ṭalḥa's hand to be a stump, and with it he defended the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uḥud."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, who said, "During some of those days when he engaged in battle, no one remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), except Ṭalḥa and Saʿd, according to their accounts."

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa stated that it was related to him by Marwān b. Muʿāwiyya, from Hāshim b. Hāshim al-Saʿdī, who said, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'I heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took the arrows out of his quiver for me at the battle of Uḥud and said, 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom!'"'"

Al-Bukhārī derived this *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Marwān.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *ḥadīth* traced from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād who quoted ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib as follows, "I never heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) swear by both his parents to anyone except Saʿd b. Mālik. At Uḥud I heard him say, 'Saʿd, shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by a member of Saʿd's family, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās., that at Uḥud he shot his arrows from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Saʿd said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!' He even handed me arrows without points, saying, 'Shoot with this!'"

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from his grandfather, that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ said, "At the battle of Uḥud I saw to the right and to the left of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) two men dressed in white who were fighting fiercely; I never saw them before that, and I never saw them thereafter." He was referring to Gabriel and to Michael, peace be upon them both.

Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us and Thābit recounted to us, from Anas, that at the battle of Uḥud Abū Ṭalḥa was shooting from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was shielding himself behind him. As he shot, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would raise himself up to see where the arrows would strike. At this Abū Ṭalḥa would say, as he brought his chest up to its full height, 'Let it be so, may my father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God; no arrow will hit you. My chest will be in the way of yours.' Abū Ṭalḥa would position himself directly before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, 'I am sturdy, Messenger of God. Direct me according to your needs and order me to do whatever you want.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿmar – ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-ʿAqdī, that is – related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (b. Suhayb), from Anas, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud occurred the men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile Abū Ṭalḥa was directly in front of him, protecting him with a leather shield he had. Abū Ṭalḥa was a marksman and a very vigorous man who broke two or three bows that day. As the man with the leather bag of arrows would pass, he (the Prophet) would say, 'Hand them over to Abū Ṭalḥa.'"

He went on, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would rise up to observe the enemy and Abū Ṭalḥa would say, 'May my father and mother be your ransom! Don't stand up! An enemy arrow may strike you. My body shields yours.' And I saw ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and Umm Sulaym with their garments tucked up so that I could see their anklets, carrying water containers on their backs that they would empty into the mouths of the troops, return to refill them and empty them as before. The sword fell from the hands of Abū Ṭalḥa twice or thrice."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khalīfa told me, 'Yazīd b. Zarīʿ related to us, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas, from Abū Ṭalḥa, who said, "I was one of those

overcome by lassitude at the battle of Uḥud, so that my sword kept falling from my hands. It would fall and I would pick it up once more.""

Al-Bukhārī reported it thus, along with an affirmative commentary. In testimonial of this there are the words of God Almighty, "Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you. Another group had been made anxious by themselves; they have incorrect thoughts about God, thoughts of ignorance, saying, 'Does the matter affect us at all?' Say: 'The entire matter is in God's hands.' They conceal within their souls what they would not reveal to you. They say, 'Had we had any hand in this, we would not have been killed here.' Say: 'Even if you had stayed at home, those destined for being killed would still have gone forth to the places where they died. And so that God would test what was in your hearts and that He might purge what was in your hearts. And God knows what is inside one's heart. Those of you who retreated on the day the two forces met were merely induced by Satan who made them slip on account of some things they had done. God, however, has pardoned them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.153, 4).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbdān – ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Marwazī – related to him, quoting Abū Ḥamza, from ʿUthmān b. Mawhab, who said, "A man arrived to make the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*. He saw a group seated and asked, 'Who are those people seated?' He (ʿUthmān b. Mawhab) replied, 'They are men of Quraysh' The man then asked, 'And who is the sheikh, the elder?' 'He's Ibn ʿUmar,' they told him. The man then went over to him and said, 'I'd like to have you respond to something I ask you. Please, I charge you by the sanctity of this place, do you know if ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān fled from the battle of Uḥud?' 'Yes,' the sheikh replied. The man asked, 'And do you know him to have been absent from Badr, and not to have witnessed it?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'And do you know that he missed the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, "the pledge of willingness", and did not witness it?' 'Yes,' he replied again. The man then, in satisfaction, affirmed the greatness of God.

"Ibn ʿUmar then said, 'Come on over so I can tell you more, and explain more about what you asked me. Regarding his fleeing at Uḥud, I bear witness that God forgave him. Regarding his absence from Badr, his wife was the daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and she was ill. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You will receive the same full share of the spoils as a man who was present at Badr.'

"Regarding his absence from the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, if there had been anyone more respected in the valley of Mecca than ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, he would have sent him in his place. The *bayʿat al-riḍwān* took place after ʿUthmān had gone to Mecca. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, referring to his right hand, 'This is ʿUthmān's hand.' He then clasped it to his other hand, saying, 'This is for ʿUthmān.'

"'Now take this information away with you,' Ibn ʿUmar told him."

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place. Al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* has a chain of authorities from Abū ʿAwāna, from ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawhab.

Al-Umawī, in his military chronicle, quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād related to me, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, on the occasion when his men had fled in defeat away from him, some of them going as far as the sandy hillock below al-Aʿwas, while ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Saʿd b. ʿUthmān, one of the *anṣār*, had fled and reached al-Jalʿab, a mountain near Medina, adjoining al-Aʿwas. They stayed three nights there, then returned. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'You went there by chance.'"

All this shows that at Uḥud some of the same things happened as at Badr. One such is the occurrence of the *nuʿās*, the lassitude, amidst the warfare. This is an indication of their security of mind in God's help, and the totality of their reliance upon their Creator and Exculpator.

Comment has been previously made concerning the words of God Almighty concerning the expedition to Badr: "When He made lassitude overcome you as a security from Him" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). Regarding Uḥud, He stated, "Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.153). The reference here is to the perfect Muslims. As Ibn Masʿūd and others of the early authorities stated, "Lassitude in war stems from faith, while lassitude in prayer stems from hypocrisy. This is why God stated thereafter, 'another group had been made anxious by themselves'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). And another similarity is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appealed for help at Uḥud as he had at Badr, saying, "If it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth."

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and ʿAffān both related to us, as follows, 'Ḥammād related to us, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud, "O God, if it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth."'"

Muslim related it from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "At the battle of Uḥud a man said to the Prophet (ṢAAS) 'If I am killed, where will I then be?' 'In heaven,' he replied. Thereupon the man threw the dates out of his hand and fought until he was killed."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

And this is similar to the story of ʿUmayr b. al-Humām, which is given above relating to the expedition to Badr. May God be pleased with both these authorities.

Section: Concerning the treatment received that day by the Prophet (ṢAAS) from the polytheists, God damn them!

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled: "On the injuries done to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Isḥāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Hammām b. Munabbih, who heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The wrath of God is great towards those who did this" (pointing to his lower teeth) "to His prophet. Great is God's wrath towards a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause!"'"

Muslim related this through ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Makhlad b. Mālik related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī, quoting Ibn Jurayj from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Great was the wrath of God against those whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed in God's cause. Great was the wrath of God against a people who bloodied the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

(Imām) Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud as he wiped the blood from his face, "How could any people prosper who struck their prophet and broke his front teeth while he called people to God?" And God sent down, "It is not your business whether He forgives them or punishes them; they are wrong-doers" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Muslim related this from al-Qaʿnabī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Hushaym and Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had his front teeth broken and was struck in the face so that his blood flowed, and that he said, "How could a people prosper who did this to their prophet while he was calling them to their Lord?" And so God Almighty sent down, "It is not your business" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, who heard Sahl b. Saʿd being asked about the injuries suffered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I swear by God, I certainly do know who it was who washed the wounds of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who poured the water and with what he was treated. Fāṭima, his daughter washed him, and ʿAlī poured the water from a shield. When Fāṭima saw that the water was only increasing the blood flow, she took a piece of matting, set fire to it, then attached it to the wound; the blood ceased flowing. And his front tooth was broken that day, his face was wounded, and his helmet was crushed on to his head."

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *Musnad ḥadīth* collection, that Ibn al-Mubārak related to him, from Isḥāq, from Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh quoting ʿĪsā b. Ṭalḥa from ʿĀʾisha, *umm al-muʾminīn*, the "mother of the believers", as having stated, "Abū Bakr would say, regarding Uḥud, 'All credit that day was due to Ṭalḥa!' He then would relate as follows, 'I was the first one to return. I saw a man fighting hard in front of him in God's cause. I saw him shout, "To the defence!"

I responded, "(Let it) be Ṭalḥa!" having lost track of things. Then I told myself, "I hope he is someone from my own people." Between myself and the polytheists there was a man I did not know. I was closer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than he was, but he walked faster than I did. Then I saw him to be Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his front teeth had been broken and his face had been gashed. Two links from the chain-mail of his helmet had pierced his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Both of you, take care of your companion!" meaning Ṭalḥa. He was bleeding profusely, but we disregarded his words.'"

He went on, "'I went over to pull it out of his face, but he (Abū ‘Ubayda) said, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." I left him to do it, but he was reluctant to take it in his hand and so hurt the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So he put his mouth over it and drew out a link, one of the front teeth falling with it. I then went over to do as he had, but he said again, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." He then did as he had before and the other tooth dropped along with the link. It turned out that Abū ‘Ubayda was great at tooth extraction!

"'Having treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) we then went over to Ṭalḥa who was in one of the pits there. He had some 70 wounds, including spear thrusts, arrow wounds and cuts. His fingers had been sliced off. We gave him treatment.'"

Al-Wāqidī recounted, from the son of Abū Sabra, from Isḥāq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Nāfi‘ b. Jubayr, who said, "I heard one of the *muhājirīn* saying, 'I was present at Uḥud and saw the arrows coming in from all directions, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) right in their middle, but all of them were diverted from him. And I saw ‘Abd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī that day as he said, "Direct me to Muḥammad; I'll not survive if he does." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was right there at his side, with no one else with him. He went on past and Ṣafwān b. Umayya criticized him for that. ‘Abd Allāh responded, "By God, I didn't see him! I swear by God, he is forbidden to us. There were four of us who agreed together and made a pact to kill him, but we couldn't get to him."'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In my opinion, it is well established that it was Ibn Qami᾽a who shot the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the cheek and ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who hit him in the lip and struck his lower teeth."

An account similar to this has been given above from Ibn Isḥāq; it states that his front tooth that was broken was his lower left incisor.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to him, from someone who related it to him, on the authority of Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who said, "I was never more determined to kill anyone than I was to kill ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ; I knew him to be a man of evil character and hated by his people. And the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was enough for me – that 'Great is God's wrath against those who bloodied the face of His messenger.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that Maʿmar related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUthmān al-Ḥarūrī, from Miqsam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ when he broke his lower teeth and bloodied his face, saying, "O God, may change not come to him, so that he dies an unbeliever!"

And no change did come over him, so that he did die an unbeliever, bound for hell-fire.

Abū Sulaymān al-Jawzajānī stated, that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥarb, from his father, from Abū Umāma Sahl b. Ḥanīf, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated his face at Uḥud with a dried bone.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral", and I found it in the military chronicle of al-Umawī regarding the battle of Uḥud.

When he had done injury to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿAbd Allāh b. Qamiʾa went back and said, "I've killed Muḥammad!" And on that occasion that devil the *ʿizb*[9] of al-ʿAqaba shouted at the top of its voice, "Hear this! Muḥammad has been killed!"

Consternation spread among the Muslims. Many people believed it, and yet remained determined to fight on in defence of Islam until they died in the same way as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Anas b. al-Naḍr and others of whom mention will be made were among these.

Almighty God had sent down consolatory verses to deal with this eventuality. He had stated, "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. And if he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? Whoever should turn on his heels will do no harm to God thereby. And God will reward the grateful. And no soul shall die except with God's permission at a specified time. And whoever desires the rewards of this world, those We will give him; and whoever desires the rewards of the hereafter We will give him those. We will reward the grateful. And many are the prophets who have fought along with many worshippers! And they did not weaken because of what befell them in God's cause. They neither weakened nor abased themselves. God loves those who stand firm. And what they said was merely, 'O God of ours, forgive us our sins and our excesses! Set our feet firmly and give us victory against the disbelieving enemy!' And so God did give them the reward of this world and the fine reward of the hereafter; God does love those who do good. O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve, they will turn you back on your heels and you will go back having lost. But God is indeed your master and He is best of all helpers. We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve for their having associated with God that for which He sent down no authority. Hell-fire shall be their abode. And terrible is the abode of the unjust!" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.143–50).

9. See above, Vol. II, pp.138 ref. "Azabb of al-ʿAqaba".

Abū Bakr, "the trusting", made an address at the first assembly he held following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in which he said, "O my people, regarding those who worshipped Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. Regarding those who worshipped God, God is alive and shall not die!" He then recited this verse: "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger." He said, "It was as though the people had never heard this before, and so all, without exception, recited it thereafter."

Al-Bayhaqī related in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubūwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), through Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, who said, "At Uḥud, one of the *muhājirīn* passed by one of the *anṣār*, a man who was covered in his own blood, and asked him, 'Are you aware that Muḥammad has been killed?' The *anṣārī* responded, 'If Muḥammad (ṢAAS) has been killed, then he must have fulfilled his mission! So fight on for your religion!'

"And so the verse was revealed, 'And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him.'"

That *anṣārī* might well have been Anas b. al-Naḍr, may God be pleased with him; he was the uncle of Anas b. Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Ḥamīd, from Anas, that his uncle was absent from the fighting at Badr and said, 'I was absent from the first battle fought by the Prophet (ṢAAS) against the polytheists; if God should have me witness a battle against the polytheists, I'll certainly show him what I can do!'

"When, at the battle of Uḥud, the Muslims gave way, he said, 'O God, I apologize to you for what these men have done' – meaning his fellow fighters – 'and I declare myself innocent of what these others' – meaning the polytheists – have done against You.' He then advanced and was met before Uḥud by Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Saʿd told him, 'I am with you!' And Saʿd also said, 'But I could not do what he did.'

"Some 80 wounds were found on him, consisting of sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures."

He went on, "We used to say that it was about him and his Companions that the verse was revealed, 'and of them there are those who fulfilled their vow; and of them there are those who wait'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

Al-Tirmidhī related this from ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd; al-Nasāʾī related it from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh; both gave Yazīd b. Hārūn as a link. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This tradition is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* conforms to the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from this source.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and Hāshim related to him that Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra quoted Thābit as having said, "Anas (b. Mālik) stated, 'My uncle' – Hāshim gave his name as Anas b. al-Naḍr – 'was the one for whom I was named. He was not present at Badr. This fact troubled him, and so he said, "I was absent from the first battle fought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); if

God allows me to participate with him later in another battle, then he will certainly see what it is I can do!"'"

He (Anas b. Mālik) went on, "He was too much in awe to say anything different. And he was present at Uḥud with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He met up with Saʿd b. Muʿādh, and Anas asked him, 'Abū ʿAmr, where to? How wonderful is the fragrance of paradise I sense before Uḥud!'"

He (Anas b. Mālik) continued, "He fought them until he was killed. Some 80 wounds were found on his body – sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures. His sister, my aunt al-Rabīʿ, daughter of al-Naḍr, said, 'I only recognized my brother by his fingertips.' And this verse was revealed, 'and of them are those who fulfilled their vow, and of them there are those who wait – and they have not changed at all'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

He concluded, "They used to consider that this verse was revealed about him and his Companions."

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Bahz b. Asad. Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. Al-Nasāʾī added to this. Abū Dāʾūd and Ḥammād b. Salama also gave it, and all four of these authorities quoted Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra as a source. Al-Tirmidhī stated the tradition to be *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Abū al-Aswad stated, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, a brother of Banū Jumūḥ, had made an oath in Mecca that he would certainly kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When news of the oath reached him, he said, 'No; I will kill him, if God wills it!'

"When it was time for the battle of Uḥud, Ubayy came forth armoured and helmeted, saying, 'I will not live on if Muḥammad does!' He attacked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) trying to kill him, but Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, met him in defence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed that Ubayy's collarbone was visible between his helmet and his suit of chain-mail, and so he thrust him there with his spear. Ubayy fell from his horse, though no blood was coming from his wound.

"His companions came and carried him off; he was bellowing like a bull, but people told him, 'He's not harmed you; it's just a scratch.'

"He then told them of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely that he would kill Ubayy. He then said, 'I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if what afflicts me were to afflict all the people of Dhū al-Majāz, they'd all die of it!'

"And he did die and go to hell; and damned be all the denizens of hell-fire!"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this tradition in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his way up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him and said, 'I shall not live on if you do!'

"The Muslims asked, 'O Messenger of God, should one of our men go for him?' He replied, 'Just leave him alone.'

"When Ubayy came close, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a spear from al-Ḥārith b. al-Summa. Some people said, as I have been told, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took it from him, he shook himself so hard that they flew off away from him like a hair from the back of a camel stung by a fly! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went towards Ubayy and thrust him in the neck, so that he swayed back and forth several times, then fell from his horse."

Al-Wāqidī recounted much the same from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, from his father.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn ʿUmar used to say, "Ubayy b. Khalaf died in the Rābigh valley. I was once passing through the Rābigh valley late at night when all of a sudden flames flared up, scaring me greatly. And there was a man emerging from it, dragging a chain and with a raging thirst. Then another man said, 'Don't give him anything to drink! He was killed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this man is Ubayy b. Khalaf.'"

This *ḥadīth* is fully authenticated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as stated above, through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Hammām, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Great is God's wrath against a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī related this through Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, with the wording, "Great is God's wrath against someone killed by the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd said, quoting Shuʿba, from Ibn al-Munkadir, who said, "I heard Jābir say, 'When my father was killed, I began to weep and to uncover the shroud from his face. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped me, but he himself did not. Instead, he told me, 'Don't weep for him; the angels kept him shaded with their wings until he was raised up.'"

This tradition is related here in this form with a full chain of authorities. In the section (of his work) on funerals, he (al-Bukharī) gives its provenance as from Bindar, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba. Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related it from various paths, all quoting Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbdān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm's father, to the effect that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was brought food while he was fasting. He then said, "Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed, yet he was better than me. A cloak was used as his shroud. If it was placed over his head, his feet were visible, while if his feet were covered his head was visible." He is also quoted as saying, "Ḥamza was killed, yet he was better than me, while we have been granted earthly favours." He is also quoted as saying, "Things have been given to us here on earth, and we fear that the favours have come prematurely for us." He then wept, till the food was cold.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Zuhayr and al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, who said, "We went forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS), seeking to work in God's cause, and reward from God was our due. Some of us passed away or left without enjoying any part of their reward. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was one of these; he was killed at the battle of Uḥud, leaving nothing but a woollen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet emerged. When his feet were covered with it, his head emerged. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) told us, 'Cover his head with it and place the *al-idhkār*, (an aromatic rush), over his feet. Some of us have their fruit already ripened; he is harvesting them.'"

The rest of the authorities on traditions – with the exception of Ibn Mājah – derive it through various paths from al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud arrived, the polytheists were being defeated. So Satan, God damn him, called out, 'Worshippers of God, look to your rear!' At this the forward lines turned around and began battling with their rear lines. Ḥudhayfa saw his father al-Yamān right there and so he shouted, 'Worshippers of God! My father!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "But, I swear by God they continued fighting until they had killed him. And Ḥudhayfa said, 'May God forgive them.'

"ʿUrwa commented, 'I swear that goodwill continued on in Ḥudhayfa until he joined Almighty and Glorious God.'"

I note that the reason this happened was that al-Yamān and Thābit b. Waqsh were back in the defences with the women because of their age and debility. The two men had said, "There's no more than a donkey's life-span left for our generation." And so they had dismounted to be there at the fighting and their course had taken them over towards the polytheists. Thābit was killed by the polytheists, while al-Yamān was killed by mistake by the Muslims. Ḥudhayfa gave up his claim against the Muslims to blood money for his father and blamed none of them because of the obvious excuse for it.

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye that day, so that it fell out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in for him, using his hand; it was thereafter always the better and sharper of Qatāda's eyes."

There is a *ḥadīth* from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh that Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye at Uḥud, so that it slipped out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in its place and it was thereafter the better and sharper of his eyes. It did not become inflamed when his other eye was so inflicted.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, with a *ḥadīth* that was *gharīb*, "unilateral", from Mālik, from Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṣa῾ṣa῾a, from his father, from Abū Sa῾īd, from his brother Qatāda b. al-Nu῾mān, who said, "Both my eyes were struck at Uḥud and they fell out on to my cheeks. I went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he returned them both to their places. He spat into them and they regained sight."

The first version is the one generally accepted – that he was struck in the one eye. This is why, when his son presented himself to ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-῾Azīz, and the latter asked him to identify himself, he replied, in verse:

"I'm the one whose father's eye slipped out on to his cheek
And it was replaced most effectively by the hand of the Chosen One.
It became again as it had been at first.
How fine an eye it became and how fine a cheek!"

Thereupon ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-῾Azīz responded with the line:

"Those noble qualities were not two cups of milk mixed
with water that would later change into urine!"

῾Umar then welcomed him and rewarded him richly; may God be pleased with him!

Ibn Hishām stated, "῾Umāra's mother, Nasība, daughter of Ka῾b al-Māziniyya, fought at Uḥud. Sa῾īd b. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī recounted that Sa῾d's mother, daughter of Sa῾d b. al-Rabī῾, used to say, '῾Umāra's mother came in to me and I asked her, "Aunt, tell me your story." She replied, "Early in the day I went out to see what our people were doing, bearing a water-skin filled with water. At the time I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was among his Companions, everything was going in the Muslims' favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I stood near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), engaging in the battle, defending him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I was ultimately wounded."'"

Umm Sa῾d went on, "And on her shoulder I saw a deep scar, so I asked her, 'Who was it gave you this wound?' She replied, 'It was Ibn Qami᾿a, God damn him! When our men deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he advanced, saying, "Direct me towards Muḥammad; I will not live on if he survives!" I blocked his way, along with Muṣ῾ab b. ῾Umayr and others who stayed firm with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was then that he gave me this wound; and I struck him many times back, but that enemy of God was wearing double armour.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna shielded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his own body. The arrows fell upon his back while Abū Dujāna leaned over him."

He continued, "῾Āṣim b. ῾Umar b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shot from his bow until its curved frame broke. Qatāda b. al-Nu῾mān then took and kept it.

"Al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfiʿ related to me, he being a brother of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, as follows, 'Anas b. al-Naḍr, uncle of Anas b. Mālik, reached ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh along with some *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* who wanted to surrender. He asked them, "Why are you just sitting?" They replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been killed." "And what will you do with your lives after he has gone?" Anas asked. "Get up and die for the same cause as he has!" He then advanced to the enemy and fought until he was killed. Anas b. Mālik was named after him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'That day we found 70 wounds on Anas b. al-Naḍr. The only person to recognize him, from his fingertips, was his sister.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was related to me by a scholar that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was injured in the mouth and lost some teeth; he had 20 or more wounds, including one in his foot, which made him lame."

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that according to what he was told by al-Zuhrī, it was Kaʿb b. Mālik who first reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the defeat and the report of his death. Kaʿb said, "I saw his eyes gleaming from beneath his helmet. So I shouted at the top of my voice, 'Muslims! Rejoice! This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But he signalled me to be silent."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When the Muslims recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they and he moved on together up into the defile; with him went Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Simma and a group of other Muslims. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had climbed up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him."

Ibn Isḥāq then proceeded to relate how the former killed the latter, in an account similar to that given above.

He then went on, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, so it was related to me by Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, used to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he met him in Mecca, 'Hey, Muḥammad, I've a horse, al-ʿAwdh, that I feed every day with measures of corn. I'll be riding it when I kill you!'

"To this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'No; it is I who will kill you, if God wills it.'

"When Ubayy was taken back to Quraysh having suffered a small injury in his neck, the blood having stopped flowing, he said, 'By God, Muḥammad has killed me!' They told him, 'You've lost your courage! You're not badly hurt.' He replied, 'But he told me in Mecca that he was going to kill me. And, I swear, he'd have killed me if he'd only spat on me!' And that enemy of God did die, at Sarif,[10] while they were transporting him to Mecca."

10. A place some six miles from Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

> 'He inherited evil from his father, did Ubayy, the day the Messenger engaged him in combat.
> You came at him, Ubayy, bearing a rotting bone, threatening him, unaware who he was;
> Banū al-Najjār killed Umayya from among you as he called for aid, "ʿ*Aqīl!*"
> Abū Rabīʿa's two sons died when they obeyed Abū Jahl, bereaving their mother.
> Ḥārith escaped when we were diverted by our work in taking prisoners; capturing him was a trivial matter.'

"Ḥassān also composed:

> 'Who will be my messenger to Ubayy? You have been tossed into deepest hell.
> You longed for evil from afar and swore oaths that you were all-powerful.
> Your designs subverted you from afar, but stating disbelief results in delusion.
> You were struck by a thrust from a man with divine protection, of noble lineage, no sinner he.
> He has precedence over all others alive when disasters occur.'"

Ibn Isḥāq further stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the start of the defile, ʿAlī emerged and filled up his shield with water from the well al-Mihrās. He brought it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he would drink from it. But the latter found it had an unpleasant odour and declined to drink it. But he did wash the blood from his face and poured it over his head, saying, 'Great is God's wrath against whoever bloodies the face of His prophet!'"

Sufficient authentic *aḥādīth* have been given above to testify to this quotation.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there in the defile, along with some of his Companions, a band of Quraysh warriors climbed on up the mountain."

Ibn Hishām added, "Khālid b. al-Walīd was among them."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, 'O God, it is not fitting for them to be above us!'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, fought on until they forced the enemy down from the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) arose to climb upon a rock but, since he was heavy due to his age and the fact that he was wearing a double chain-mail, he could not. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh then bent beneath him and lifted him up upon it.

"Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that day, "Ṭalḥa earned his place in heaven for what he did that day for the Messenger of God."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿUmar, the freed-man of ʿAfra, related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated for the noon prayer the day of

the battle of Uḥud because of his wounds, while the Muslims remained seated behind him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me as follows, 'There was with us a man none of us knew who went by the name of Quzmān. Whenever he was mentioned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, "He will go to hell!"

"'At the battle of Uḥud he fought very fiercely, himself killing some seven or eight of the polytheists. He was a man of great courage. Eventually his wounds disabled him, and he was carried off to the Banū Ẓafar quarter.

"'Some of the Muslims told him, "You fought superbly, Quzmān, cheer up!" "Why should I?" he replied. "It was only for my people's account that I fought; otherwise, I would not have." When the pain from his wounds became extreme he took an arrow from his quiver and used it to kill himself.'"

A story similar to this is also given regarding the fighting at Khaybar, as will be told hereafter, if God wills it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We were present along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, and there was one man claiming to be a Muslim of whom he said, "He'll go to hell."

"'When the fighting began, the man fought most bravely and he was wounded. Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "The man you said was going to hell fought most bravely, but now he's dead." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "He's gone to hell."

"'Some of our men were almost sceptical about this, and while they were in this state it was announced that he had not died, though he was gravely wounded. That night he could no longer stand the pain of his injuries and so he killed himself.

"'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was told of this, he proclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is Most Great! I testify that I am God's servant and His messenger!"

"'He then ordered Bilāl to call out among the Muslims, "Only a Muslim soul shall enter paradise! And God even aids this religion by using sinners!"'"

The compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this tradition from one of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "At Uḥud, one of those killed was Mukhayrīq. He was of Banū Thaʿlaba b. al-Fiṭyawn. On the day of the battle of Uḥud he proclaimed, 'O Jews, you have learned, I swear by God, that it is your duty to help Muḥammad to victory.' They responded, 'But today is the sabbath.' 'You shall have no sabbath,' he insisted.

"He then took his sword and equipment saying, 'If I should fall, then my wealth goes to Muḥammad to do with as he wishes.'

"He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and fought along with him until he was killed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, so I have been told, 'Mukhayrīq is the very best of the Jews.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) converted Mukhayrīq's property, consisting of seven orchards, into a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in Medina."

Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī stated, "This was Medina's very first *waqf*."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh related to me, from Abū Sufyān, the freed-man of Abū Aḥmad's son, from Abū Hurayra, that the last-mentioned used to say, 'Tell me which man it was who entered paradise without ever having performed the prayer?'

"If those there did not know who it was and asked him, he would reply, 'Uṣayrim of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, ʿAmr b. Thābit b. Waqsh.'"

Al-Ḥuṣayn went on, "I asked Maḥmūd b. Asad, 'Tell me about al-Uṣayrim.' He replied, 'He used to deny Islam despite his own people's acceptance of it. But when the day for Uḥud arrived, he accepted Islam. He then took his sword and piled into the thick of the fray, fighting on until overcome by wounds. When some of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were searching out those of them killed in the battle, they came upon him. They commented, "By God, this man is al-Uṣayrim; what brought him here? When we left him he was against this event." They asked him, "What brought you here, ʿAmr? Was it your concern for your people, or a desire for Islam?"

"'"It was my desire for Islam,' he replied. 'I have come to believe in God and His messenger and I have accepted Islam. I took my sword and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought until I was injured.'

"'Soon thereafter he died in their arms. When they told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "He has gone to paradise."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "My father related to me, from elders of Banū Salama, who said, 'ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ was a man who was exceedingly lame. He had four sons who fought battles like lions alongside the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When it came time for the battle of Uḥud, they wanted to restrain ʿAmr, saying that God had excused him. So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "My sons want to restrain me from going forth to battle with you. But, by God, I hope to set foot in paradise despite my lameness!"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Regarding yourself, God has indeed excused you; it is not your duty to fight." Then he addressed the sons, saying, "It is your duty not to restrain him; God might well grant him martyrdom."

"'And so al-Jamūḥ did accompany him to battle and he was killed at Uḥud. May God be pleased with him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "As Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to me, Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, along with other women, mutilated the bodies of the dead Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), cutting off their ears and their noses. Hind would

make the noses and ears of the men into anklets, necklaces and pendants and then give them over to Waḥshī. She also cut open Ḥamza's liver and chewed it. But she couldn't swallow it and so she spat it out."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that it was Waḥshī who cut open Ḥamza's liver and then took it to Hind who chewed it but was unable to swallow it. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Hind then climbed upon a rock overlooking the place and, at the top of her voice, spoke the following verses,

> 'We've now repaid you for the battle of Badr and terrible is the warfare that follows war!
> I could not stand the loss of ʿUtba, of my brother, of his uncle, and of my first-born son.
> Now I have assuaged myself and fulfilled my vow; you, Waḥshī, have relieved my burning breast.
> My thanks to Waḥshī will be due for all my life, until my bones rot in my grave.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "She was answered by Hind, daughter of Athātha b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṭṭalib, who recited,

> 'You were dishonoured at Badr and after Badr too, you daughter of a worthless fellow extreme in his disbelief!
> God brought against you in the early dawn tall, fit Hāshimite warriors
> Each man wielding his sharp sword, Ḥamza, my lion, ʿAlī, my falcon.
> When Shayb and your father sought to deceive me, they put sacrificial blood upon their chests;
> Your oath was evil in the extreme.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Al-Ḥulays b. Zabbān, a brother of Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt, who was at that time commander of the Abyssinian levies, passed by Abū Sufyān while he was striking the jawbone of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with the tip of his spear and saying, 'Taste this, traitor!'

"At this al-Ḥulays asked, 'Banū Kināna, tell me, can this really be, as you see, the Lord of Quraysh mutilating the flesh of his cousin?'

"The reply came, 'Confound you, keep quiet about this; it was done in error.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When wishing to depart, Abū Sufyān ascended the mountain and shouted at the top of his voice, 'A splendid achievement! Warfare goes in cycles. This day for that at Badr! Arise, Hubal!' By this he meant, 'Hubal, your religion triumphs.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar, 'Get up, ʿUmar, and respond to him. Say, "God is far higher and more glorious! There is no equivalence: our dead are in paradise, yours in hell."'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'Come on up to me, ʿUmar!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told ʿUmar, 'Go to him and see what he wants.'

"ʿUmar did so and Abū Sufyān told him, 'I adjure you by God, ʿUmar, have we killed Muḥammad?' ʿUmar replied, 'I swear by God, no; he is listening now to your words.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'I consider you more truthful and artless than Ibn Qamiʾa.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Then Abū Sufyān called out, 'Some mutilation was done to your men. I swear this neither pleased nor angered me; I neither ordered nor forbad it.'

"As Abū Sufyān moved off, he called out, 'We have an appointment with you next year, at Badr!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told one of his men to reply, 'Say: "Yes there is indeed an appointment we have with you."'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then despatched ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib saying, 'Follow after the enemy and see what they do and plan. If they lead their horses and ride their camels, then they will be heading for Mecca. If they ride the horses and lead the camels, they will be heading for Medina. By Him in whose hands is my soul, if they head for Medina, I'll fight them there and annihilate them!'

"ʿAlī said, 'So I followed them to see what they would do; they led their horses and rode their camels and headed for Mecca.'"

An Account of the prayers that the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke after the battle of Uḥud.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Marwān b. Muʾāwiya al-Fazārī related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman al-Makkī, from Ibn Rifāʿa al-Zurqī, from his father, who said, "When the polytheists withdrew after the battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Stand up, so that I may give praise to my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He.' The Muslims assembled behind him in ranks and he then said, 'O God, to You is due all praise. O God, there is no grasping what You have dispersed, nor dispersing what You grasp. There is no guiding aright those whom You have led astray, nor any leading astray of those You have guided. There is no giving of what You have prevented, nor any prevention of what You have given. There is no drawing close what You have distanced, nor any distancing what You have drawn close. O God, spread forth Your blessings, Your mercy, Your generosity and Your favours upon us.

"'O God, I ask of You those enduring blessings that never change nor cease. O God, I ask You for blessings at a time of deprivation, and security at a time of fear.

"'O God, I seek refuge with You against the evil of what You have given us, as well as from the evil from which You have saved us.

"'O God, have us view faith with favour, and endear it to us well. Have us view disbelief, immorality and disobedience with antipathy. Place us among those who are well-guided.

"'O God, take us to Yourself as Muslims and give us life as Muslims. Place us among the virtuous, not the shamed or the demented.

"'O God, do battle with those disbelievers who give the lie to Your messengers and who oppose them. Torment and punish them. O God, do battle against those disbelievers who were given the scripture, O God of the Truth!'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this in his work *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* (*Day and Night*) from Ziyād b. Ayyūb, from Marwān b. Muʿāwiya, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿa, from his father.

Chapter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslims looked for their dead. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa al-Māzinī, a brother of Banū al-Najjār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Who will find out for me what became of Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, whether he is alive or dead?' One of the *anṣār* said he would.

"He searched and found him wounded and barely alive amidst the dead. The *anṣārī* told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to find out whether you are among the living or the dead.' Saʿd replied, 'I'm among the dead; inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this: "Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you: 'May God reward you on our account better than He ever rewarded any prophet on account of his nation.' And greet your people from me and tell them: 'Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you, 'You will find no excuse with God if harm comes to your prophet while you still have one eye to blink!'"'

"Thereupon he died. I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened to him."

I would observe that the *anṣārī* who found Saʿd among the dead was Muḥammad b. Salama, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī. He related that he called out to him twice without him replying, but that when he said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered him to locate him, he responded to him in a very weak voice.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb*, "The man who located Saʿd was Ubayy b. Kaʿb." But God knows best.

Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, God be pleased with him, was one of the leaders at the pledge of al-ʿAqaba. It was he whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established as the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off, so I have been told, to locate Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He found him in the middle of the

valley, his liver having been cut from his mutilated body, from which his nose and ears had been removed.

"Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when he saw the sight, 'If it were not for the sorrow it would cause Ṣafiyya and become a tradition after myself, I would leave him here to find his way into the stomachs of wild beasts and the crops of birds. And if God gives me victory over Quraysh anywhere else, I will have 30 of their men mutilated!'

"When the Muslims saw the sadness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his anger at those who had done this to his uncle, they determined to mutilate their enemy as no Arabs had ever done if God one day gave them victory over them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b, and another reliable source related to me from Ibn 'Abbās, that in that regard God revealed the verse, 'If you inflict punishment then do so in the like manner that you were punished; but if you are patient, it is indeed better for those who are patient' (*sūrat al-Nahl*; XVI, v.126).

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forgave, was patient and forbad mutilation."

I observe that this verse was revealed in Mecca. And the battle of Uḥud occurred three years after the Hijra. How, then, could this relate? But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Samura, who said, 'Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a stop somewhere he would always before he left enjoin charity and forbid mutilation.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood over Ḥamza, he said, 'I shall never be afflicted as you have been; I have never experienced anything that has angered me more than this!' He then said, 'Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza's name is written in the seven heavens in the words, "Ḥamza, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib – lion of God and lion of His messenger."'"

Ibn Hishām also said, "Both Ḥamza and Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad were foster-brothers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All three were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab."

An Account of the Prayers said for Ḥamza and the Dead at Uḥud.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was told by a reliable source, from Miqsam, that Ibn 'Abbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that Ḥamza be covered with a cloak and he then prayed over him. He spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is most Great', seven times. The other dead were then placed next to Ḥamza and he prayed over them and him together, so that a total of seventy-two prayers were spoken over him."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral", and its line of transmission is weak.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "None of the scholars at the major centres of learning support this tradition."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "At Uḥud the women were following behind the Muslim fighters finishing off the polytheists who were wounded. If I had sworn an oath that day that I would have hoped to fulfil, it would have been that none of us desired this world. But this was before God sent down the verse, 'Some of you desired this world, while others of you desired the hereafter; then He turned you away from them, so that he might test you' (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.151).

"When the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disobeyed the orders they had received, he was left with only nine men about him. Seven of these were *anṣār*, two were of Quraysh; with himself added, they totalled ten men. When the enemy set upon him, he said, 'May God have mercy upon any man who repels them from us!' He continued saying this until all seven had been killed. Then he said to his two Companions, 'Our comrades did not treat us fairly!'

"Then Abū Sufyān came and said, 'Arise, Hubal!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his men to respond, 'God is far higher and more glorious!'

"To this Abū Sufyān replied, 'We have (the goddess) al-ʿUzzā; you have no *ʿizzā*, "consolation"!'

"Abū Sufyān then called out, 'A battle for that of Badr. One for us, one against us. One gave us distress, one pleasure. Tit for tat. Man for man.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'There's no equivalence. Our dead live on and are rewarded; your dead are in hell being tortured.'

"Then Abū Sufyān said, 'There has been some mutilation engaged in by our people, though not the result of any decision by us. I neither ordered nor forbad it, liked nor disliked it. It neither annoyed nor pleased me.'

"When they searched, they found Ḥamza. His liver had been cut out and chewed by Hind, but she had been unable to swallow it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked, 'Did she eat any of it?' 'No,' they told him. He commented, 'God would never have allowed any part of Ḥamza to enter hell-fire!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned Ḥamza and one of the dead *anṣār* was brought and placed beside him. When he had prayed over them both, Ḥamza was left there, that *anṣārī* was lifted away and another was brought in his place. This was repeated so that he ultimately said 70 prayers over Ḥamza."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some weakness in its chain of authorities, namely relating to ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib. But God knows best.

The account given by al-Bukhārī is more solid. He stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, (who said) that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would place one piece of clothing over each two of the men killed at Uḥud and then would ask, 'Which of these had a better knowledge of the

Qur'an?' He would then place the one indicated in the grave first, saying, 'I will testify for these at Judgement Day.' He ordered that they be buried in their blood; he did not pray over them, nor were they washed."

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. Other scholars relate it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Sa'd.

Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Ja'far – related to us, quoting Ibn Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, having heard 'Abd Rabbihi relate from al-Zuhrī, from Ibn Jābir, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said about those killed at Uḥud, 'Each wound, each drop of blood will exude musk at Judgement Day.' And that he did not pray over them."

It is well established that he did pray for them some years thereafter, shortly before his death. As al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm related to us, quoting Zakariyyā' b. 'Adī, and Ibn al-Mubārak recounted to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from 'Uqba b. 'Āmir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a prayer for those killed at Uḥud eight years thereafter, just as though he were saying farewell to the living or the dead. He then mounted the *minbar* and said, "I shall stand before you, having preceded you, and will be a witness for you. Your appointment is at the *al-ḥawḍ*, 'the celestial pool', and I look at it now from this position of mine. I do not fear for you that you will (later) become polytheists. What I do fear for you is the influence of this world, that you will compete with one another over it."'"

'Uqba concluded, "And that was the last time I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this elsewhere, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in similar words.

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to me, quoting al-Ḥasan b. 'Umāra, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, who said, "'Ā'isha said, 'We went forth from al-Saḥar, the place through which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left for Uḥud, seeking news. When dawn arose, there was a man barring our way and reciting insistently:

> "Stay awhile. A load will bear witness to the battle."

"'We then saw him to be Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. We stayed where we were after that and then saw a camel approaching, being ridden by a woman seated between two loads.

"'We approached her and found her to be the wife of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ. We asked her for news and she replied, "God protected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while some of the Muslims have been martyred." "God turned back those who disbelieved, in all their anger, and they did not achieve advantage. God sufficed for the believers in the fighting, and God is mighty and powerful" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25).

"'She then told her camel to kneel, and she dismounted. We asked her about her loads, and she replied, "My brother and my husband."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had come forward to see him (Ḥamza), who was her full brother. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her son al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, 'Go and meet her and take her back so that she does not see her brother's state.' Al-Zubayr told her, 'Mother, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) orders you to go back.' She replied, 'Why? I have been told how my brother has been mutilated; that was in God's cause. And that fact has comforted us. I will keep myself under control and remain calm, if God wills it.'

"When al-Zubayr went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported this, he said, 'Let her through.' When she came, she looked at him (Ḥamza), said a prayer over him, asked forgiveness for him and spoke the words, 'To God we belong, and to Him do we return.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that he be buried, and this was done. With him was buried his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, whose mother was Umayma, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He too had been mutilated, though his liver had not been cut out. May God be pleased with them both."

Al-Suhaylī stated, "He was later known as *al-mujaddaʿ*, 'he who was mutilated in God's cause'. And Saʿd related that he and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had said prayers, both of which had been answered. Saʿd had prayed that he meet a polytheist horseman whom he would kill and rob, and that came true. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had prayed that a horseman would meet and kill him and cut off his nose in God's cause. And that came true."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār related that his sword broke at Uḥud, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the bough of a palm tree, which when in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh turned into a sword with which he fought. It was later sold in the estate of one of his sons for 200 dinars.

This is also what had happened earlier to ʿUkāsha at the battle of Badr.

It is also given in, as above, al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to bury two or three men in one grave, and even in one shroud.

He permitted this because of the wounds the Muslims had that would have made it hard for them to dig a grave for each individual. And he would position first in the grave whichever dead Muslim had had a greater knowledge of the Qur'ān.

He would join in the same grave two men who had been close friends, as he did ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, Jābir's father, along with ʿAmr b. al-Jumūḥ. This was because they were friends.

They were not washed, the wounds and blood being left untouched.

Ibn Isḥāq also related from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuʿayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as he was leaving the dead at Uḥud, "I shall bear witness for these men; every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day, his wounds still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "My uncle, Mūsā b. Yasār, related to me that he heard Abū Hurayra say, 'Abū al-Qāsim (i.e. the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, "Every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day while his wounds are still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."'"

This *ḥadīth* is also firmly given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim related to us, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that those martyred at Uḥud should have all articles they wore of iron or leather removed from them. He said, "Bury them in their blood and clothing."'"

Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim.

Imām Abū Dāʾūd stated, in his work *al-Sunan*, "Al-Qaʿnabī related to me that Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. ʿĀmir, who said, 'The *anṣār* went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Uḥud and told him, "We are suffering from wounds and exhaustion; what are your orders?" He replied, "Dig and extend, placing two or three in the one grave."

"'He was asked, 'Which dead man will be placed in it first?" (The reply was) "The one with the greater knowledge of the Qur'an."'"

He then related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. ʿĀmir. His account adds a word, "Dig, deepen and extend."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Some Muslims had borne their dead to Medina and buried them there. But then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad that practice, saying, 'Bury them where they were struck down.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAlī b. Isḥāq related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAttāb, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted ʿUmar b. Salama b. Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī, who quoted his father, as follows, 'I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "My father was martyred at Uḥud. My sisters sent to me for him a transport camel they owned with the message, 'Load your father on this camel and bury him in the cemetery of Banū Salama.'

"'"So I went for him, with some helpers, and news of this reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was seated there at Uḥud. He called for me and told me, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, he'll be buried only with his brothers!'

"'"And he was buried with his comrades at Uḥud."'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from Nabīḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that when those who were killed at Uḥud were being carried away, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shouted out that the dead had to be returned to where they lay.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, while al-Tirmidhī gave it from one of Shuʿba. Al-Nasāʾī also gave it, as did Ibn Mājah, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. All of these were derived from al-Aswad b.

Qays, from Nabīḥ al-ʿAzī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth from Medina to battle the polytheists, and my father ʿAbd Allāh told me, 'Jābir, there'll be no harm in you being among the lookouts of the people of Medina until you know how things fare with us. I swear, if it weren't for my having daughters who will survive me, I'd be happy for you to be killed right before me!'"

Jābir continued, "While I was there among the lookouts, my aunt arrived with my father and my uncle whom she had balanced on a baggage camel. She bore them into Medina to bury them in our cemeteries when a man arrived and called out, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) orders you to return with the dead and to bury them where they were killed.' So we did take them back and buried them where they had been killed.

"During the Caliphate of Muʾāwiyya b. Abū Sufyān, a man came to me and said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, some of Muʾāwiyya's workers have uncovered your father to sight, and part of him is outside the grave.' So I went and found him to be in a similar, unchanged state as when I buried him, except for what always happens to those killed."

The Imām then went on to relate how Jābir paid off his father's debt, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When Muʾāwiyya made the canal where the dead of Uḥud were buried, it being by then 40 years later, we were asked to help. When we arrived there, we brought them out. A spade struck the foot of Ḥamza, and blood came forth."

In Ibn Isḥāq's account, Jābir stated, "We brought them out and it was as though they had been buried the previous day."

Al-Wāqidī related that when Muʾāwiyya was about to dig the canal, he had a crier announce, "Anyone who had a relative killed at Uḥud should be witness." Jābir said, "When we dug for them, I found my father in his grave lying as though asleep, unchanged. We also found that his companion in the grave, ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, had his hand over a wound and when it was removed, the wound emitted blood!"

And it is said that the grave of each one of them, may God be pleased with them, gave forth a scent like that of musk. This was 46 years following the day of their burial.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, quoting Ḥusayn al-Muʿallim, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir, who said, "When Uḥud arrived, my father called out to me in the night, 'I see myself as definitely being one of the first of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be killed. And there will be nothing dearer to me I will leave on earth than yourself, apart from the soul of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have a debt I want you to redeem; and I charge you to take good care of your sisters.'

"When morning came, he was the first to die. I also buried another man in his grave with him. But later it disturbed me to have placed him along with another, so six months thereafter, I exhumed him. I found him to be in the same state as when I put him there, except for his ear."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Jābir, that when his father was killed, Jābir began tearing at his clothing and weeping. People told him not to do this, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Whether or not you weep for him, the angels went on shading him (with their wings) until you had lifted him up."

In one account it is his aunt who is the person who cried.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, both related to us as follows, 'Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Fayḍ b. Wathīq al-Baṣrī, quoting Abū Ubāda al-Anṣārī, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Urwa, from ‘Ā᾽isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Jābir, 'Jābir, shall I tell you good news?' 'Yes indeed, do,' replied Jābir, 'may God give you much good news.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Have you sensed that God gave life to your father and said, "O worshipper of Me, request anything of Me and I shall give it to you."' He responded, 'O Lord, I have truly worshipped you well; I request of You that you return me to the world so that I may battle alongside Your prophet and be killed in Your cause once more.' He (God) answered, 'It has been previously decreed by Me that there shall be no returning there.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abū al-Ma‘ruf al-Asfarāyīnī related to us, quoting Abū Sahl Bishr b. Aḥmad, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr, quoting ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, quoting Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr b. Bashīr b. al-Fakīh al-Anṣārī, who said, 'I heard Ṭalḥa b. Khirāsh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khirāsh b. al-Simma al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī say, "I heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked at me and said, "Why do I see you looking depressed?" I replied, "Messenger of God, my father has been killed and he has left a debt and children." He commented, "Didn't I tell you. God only ever spoke to anyone before from behind a screen, whereas He spoke to your father face to face! He told him, 'O worshipper of Me, ask of Me and I will give it you.' He replied, 'I ask of you that you return me to the world so that I may be killed a second time.' God answered, 'I said previously, "They will not return there!"' He then asked, 'O Lord, then tell those I left behind.' And so God revealed, Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They will be well provided for by their Lord.'"'"'" (*sūrat Āl-‘Imrān*; III, v.169).

Ibn Isḥāq quoted from a colleague of his who related to him, quoting from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqayl, who stated, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Shall I not give you good tidings, Jābir?" "Please do!" I replied. He then said, "God greeted your father right there at Uḥud where he was struck down. He then asked him, 'What is your wish, ‘Abd

Allāh? What do you wish me to do with you?' He replied, 'O Lord, to return me to the world so that I may fight again for You and be killed once more.'" '"

Aḥmad related this from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rabīʿa al-Salamī, from Ibn ʿUqayl, from Jābir. His account adds, "God replied, 'I have decreed that they shall not return to it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he made a reference to those who fought at Uḥud, "O God, how I would have liked to have been left there with them at the *ḥiḍn*, 'the foot of the mountain'" – meaning at the *safḥ*, "the foot of the mountain".'"[11]

Aḥmad is alone in giving this tradition.

Al-Bayhaqī recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Quṭn b. Wahb, from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Hurayra, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Uḥud, he passed on his way by Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr who had been killed. He stood over him, said a prayer for him, then recited, "There are some Muslim men who indeed spoke true in the pact they made with God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23). And he stated, "I testify that these men will be seen as martyrs by God at Judgement Day. So come and visit them. And I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, all who greet them up to Judgement Day will have their greeting returned."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral".

It is related as *mursal*, from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr.

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbbād b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to go to the graves of the martyrs. And when he came to the entry to the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent!' Abū Bakr continued with this tradition after the Prophet (ṢAAS), as did ʿUmar after Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān after ʿUmar."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would visit them every year. When he reached the hollow in the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent.' Abū Bakr did the same every year thereafter, as later did ʿUmar and then ʿUthmān. Fāṭima would weep when she would go to them, and she would pray for them. And Saʿd would greet them, then go over to his companions and ask, 'Won't you greet some men who will respond to you?'"

Al-Wāqidī then related their visit in another *ḥadīth* from Abū Saʿīd, Abū Hurayra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and Umm Salama, may God be pleased with them all.

11. Both words mean the same. It is unclear why the text explains the first word with a synonym; perhaps *al-ḥiḍn* was a rare word in the writer's dialect.

Ibn Abū Dunyā stated, "Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Nāfiʿ, quoting ʿAṭṭāf b. Khālid, who said that his aunt related to me saying, 'I rode one day to the graves of the martyrs' – something she often did – 'and I stopped and prayed for a certain time near Ḥamza. There was no one there in the valley except for the youth standing holding the head of my mount. When I had finished, I made a farewell gesture indicating "Peace be upon you". Then I heard the greeting being returned to me, emanating from beneath the ground! I am as sure of this as I am that Almighty and Glorious God created me, and as I know night from day. Every hair on me stood on end!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, 'When your brothers were struck down at Uḥud, God placed their spirits in the crops of green birds that would go down to the rivers of paradise and feed off the fruits there. Then they would retire to golden candelabra hung in the shade of the throne. Enjoying their food, drink and lodgings so well, they asked, "Who can tell our brothers about us, that we are alive in paradise and being well provided for, so that they will not shirk the battle, not be reluctant in warfare?"

"'God, the Almighty and Glorious, replied, "I will inform them about you!" And so God sent down in the Book His statement, "Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They are being provided for by their Lord"'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.169).

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Murra, from Masrūq, who said, "We asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd about this verse, 'Do not consider those killed' and he replied, 'Actually, we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that and he said, "Their souls are in the crops of green birds that fly wherever they want, then retire to candelabra hanging near the throne. Once when they were there your Lord looked over at them and said, 'Ask whatever you want.' They replied, 'What could we have to ask for, flying about anywhere in paradise as we do?' He repeated His question to them three times and when they realized that they would be asked again and again, they replied, 'We ask of You that You return our souls to our bodies on earth so that we may be killed in Your cause once more.' And when God saw that this was the only request they would make, they were left alone."'"

Section: On the number of the martyrs at Uḥud.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The total of the *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* martyred at Uḥud was 49 men."

It is established in the authentic tradition given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barāʾ that 70 Muslims were killed. But God knows best.

Qatāda stated, from Anas, that 70 *anṣar* were killed at Uḥud, 70 at the battle of Biʾr Maʿūna and 70 at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Ḥammād b. Salama stated, from Thābit, who said that Anas used to say, "Approximately 70 were killed at Uḥud, Biʾr Maʿūna, Muʾta and al-Yamāma."

Mālik stated, on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ansārī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that at Uḥud and al-Yamāma 70 *anṣār* were killed and 70 again at the battle of Abū ʿUbayda bridge.

ʿIkrima, ʿUrwa, al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq all made similar statements about Uḥud and further testimony was given by the Almighty's words, "And when an affliction struck you, you having already afflicted them twice the like, you said, 'Whence comes this?'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.164). This refers to their having killed 70 at Badr and captured 70 more.

Ibn Isḥāq reported that the anṣār who were killed at Uḥud – perhaps he meant Muslims – totalled 65; there were four *muhājirūn*: Ḥamza, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Shammās b. ʿUthmān, while the remainder were *anṣār*.

He listed their names by tribe. Ibn Hishām added 5 more names to these, thus totalling, in his view, 70 men.

Ibn Isḥāq also listed the names of those polytheists who were killed, and they totalled 22 men.

According to ʿUrwa, there were 44 men martyred at Uḥud, though he also gave this number as 47.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that 49 Muslims were killed at that battle, along with 16 polytheists.

ʿUrwa gave this figure as 19, while Ibn Isḥāq stated they numbered 22.

Al-Rabīʿ stated, from al-Shāfiʿī, "The only polytheist captured then was Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaḥī. He had been among the prisoners taken at Badr, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had released him without ransom on condition that he not fight against him again. When Abū ʿAzza was captured at Uḥud, he said, 'O Messenger of God, please release me for the sake of my daughters, and I promise you I won't fight you again.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'll not have you stroking your beard in Mecca and saying, "I've tricked Muḥammad twice over!"' Then he gave orders and he was beheaded."

Some say that it was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair!"

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left for Medina where, so I have been told, he was met by Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. When she was told of the loss of her brother, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, she prayed for forgiveness for him and stated the creed, 'To God we belong and to Him we return.' Then she was told of the death of her uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and she spoke similar prayers for him. Then she was informed of the death of her husband, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and at this she screamed and wailed. The Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) having seen how stoically she had received the news of the deaths of her brother and her uncle and how she lamented for her husband, commented, 'A woman's husband has a very special place with her.'"

Ibn Mājah stated that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to him, quoting Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwa, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, from his father, from Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh, who said that when she was told of the death of her brother, she said, "May God have mercy on him! To God do we belong, and to Him do we return." When she was then told that her husband had been killed, she burst out, "O woe!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "A husband alone has control over part of his wife's feelings."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwn related to me, from Ismāʿīl, from Muḥammad, from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past a woman of Banū Dinār whose husband, brother and father had been struck down while with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Uḥud. When their deaths were reported to her, she asked, "And how is it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" They replied, "He is fine. He's just as you might wish." She then asked, "Show him to me; I want to see him." When he was pointed out to her, she commented, "Every loss after you had gone would be *jalal*, trivial."'"

Ibn Hishām noted, "*Al-jalal* is a word that can apply to minor or to major matters. Here it means 'minor'. Imru' al-Qays spoke the verse,

'Banū Asad's killing of their chief makes anything thereafter jalal.'

"Here the word *jalal* means trivial or few."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived home to his family, he handed his sword to his daughter Fāṭima and said, 'Wash the blood off this, my child. I swear by God, it was true to me today!'

"ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib then handed her his sword repeating, 'Wash the blood off it; I swear by God it was true to me today!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then commented, 'And if you stood true in the fighting, so too along with you did Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated elsewhere, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw ʿAlī's sword tinged with blood, he said, 'If you fought well, then so did ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma and Sahl b. Ḥanīf.'"

Al-Bayhaqī recounted from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Uḥud brought along his sword that had bent and told Fāṭima, "Be thankful when you take this sword, for it satisfied my thirst for revenge!"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, "If you did well in striking with your sword, so did Sahl b. Ḥanīf, Abū Dujāna, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma."

Ibn Hishām stated, "This sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *Dhū al-Fiqār*. And a scholar told me, quoting Ibn Abū Najīḥ, 'A crier called out at the

battle of Uḥud, "There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiqār*."'[12] And a scholar told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿAlī, 'The polytheists will not cause us similar losses again before God gives us victory over them.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the home of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and he heard weeping and wailing over their dead. The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he then said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'

"When Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr returned to the home of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, they ordered their women to dress for outdoors and to go and weep for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥanīf related to me, from a man of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard their weeping over Ḥamza, he went out to them; they were at the door to the mosque, weeping. He told them, "Go home, God bless you all; you have been very kind."'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad public lamentation that day, according to Ibn Hishām. But this *ḥadīth* he gives is *munqaṭiʿ*, 'discontinuous' and *mursal*, 'incompletely transmitted'."

Imām Aḥmad gave the tradition a complete line of transmission, stating, "Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb related to us, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, and Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Uḥud and the *anṣār* women began weeping over those of their husbands who had been killed, he said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'

"He then went to sleep and when he awoke, the women were weeping. He said, 'Today they are weeping and lamenting the loss of Ḥamza.'"

This tradition meets the criteria of Muslim.

Ibn Mājah recounted it, from Hārūn b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by some women of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal who were weeping over their dead at Uḥud. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "But Ḥamza has no women weeping over him."

So then some *anṣār* wives did go and weep for Ḥamza. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awoke, he said, "Confound them! They'll not be upset when they leave! Let them return, and not wail for the dead from this day on!"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off into the alleys of Medina, there was much lamentation in progress in the houses. He asked, 'What's all this?' He was told, 'These are *anṣār* women lamenting their dead.' He said, 'But there are no women lamenting for Ḥamza.' He then prayed for forgiveness for Ḥamza.

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Muʿādh b. Jabal and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa heard this and walked to their homes, where they set about assembling all the

12. The editor of the Arabic printed text observes in a footnote, "Ibn Hishām stated: 'There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiqār*, and no warrior to match ʿAlī!'"

weeping and lamenting women there in Medina. The men told them, 'By God, don't weep for those slain from among the *anṣār* until you have mourned for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He has mentioned how there are no women lamenting him in Medina.'

"They claim that the man who summoned the mourning women was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard them, he asked, 'What's all this?' He was told what the *anṣār* had told their wives; he then prayed for them warmly and asked for them God's forgiveness, saying, 'But I didn't want this; I don't like wailing!' And he forbad it."

Ibn Lahīʿa recounts it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The hypocrites took advantage of the mourning of the Muslims to further sadden them and divide them from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The deceit of the Jews was evident and all Medina boiled with hypocrisy."

The Jews said, "If he were indeed a prophet, they would not have defeated him, and he would not have suffered such losses at their hand. But he's just ambitious to establish a domain under his own absolute control."

The hypocrites said similar things, telling the Muslims, "If you had provided properly for us, those who made you suffer would not have done so."

And so God sent down the Qur'ān concerning the obedience of those who were obedient and the hypocrisy of those who were that, and in consolation for the Muslims, for those of them who were killed, that is. God stated, "And (remember) when you went forth from your family to establish the believers in camps for battle – and God is All-Hearing and All-Knowing" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.120). We have discussed this subject in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God belongs all praise and credit.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, despite their bruises and their wounds, to intimidate and pursue Abū Sufyān and his men as far as Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, following his account of the battle of Uḥud and of the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, "A man from Mecca came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter asked him about Abū Sufyān and his men. The man replied, 'I stayed with them and heard them arguing, some saying, "You have accomplished nothing. You damaged their leadership and their elite, but then you left them without finishing them off. They still have leaders left who will gather men against you."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders for his men – despite their grievous wounds – to move out in pursuit after the enemy in such a way that they would hear of this. He announced, 'Only those who were present at the

battle may go.' ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy asked, 'May I ride with you?' 'No,' he told him.

"And the Muslims did respond to God and to His messenger, despite their suffering, and set off.

"God stated in His Book, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good, and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.171).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give permission to Jābir (b. ʿAbd Allāh) to go forth when he related how his father had ordered him to stay in Medina to care for his sisters.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pursued the enemy as far as Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad."

Ibn Lahīʿa related this similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related in his military chronicle, as follows, "The battle of Uḥud took place on Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl. On the morning of Sunday, the 16th of Shawwāl, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people that they should leave in pursuit of the enemy. His crier also announced that only those who had been present at the previous day's battle should go forth. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh spoke with him and he permitted him to join the force.

"The purpose of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in pursuing was to frighten the enemy. This was by making them aware that they were still powerful and that their losses had not so weakened them that they could no longer face their enemy.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Abū al-Sāʾib, the freed-man of ʿĀʾisha, daughter of ʿUthmān, that a man of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal said, 'I was present at Uḥud, along with a brother of mine. We came home wounded and when the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the pursuit of the enemy, I and my brother agreed that we should not lose the opportunity of participating in another expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) even though we did not (each) have a mount to ride and were badly wounded. So we left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I was less badly wounded than my brother; when he became exhausted, I would let him ride for a while and then he would again walk for a while. Eventually we caught up with the other Muslims.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on as far as Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina. There he remained the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and then he returned to Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that Maʿbad b. Abū Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī passed by them. The Khuzāʿa tribe, both those of them who were Muslims and those who were unbelievers, were secretly the allies of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Tihāma and their understanding with him was that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Maʿbad at that time was a polytheist and he told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way past Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, 'Muḥammad, we're deeply sorry at what happened to your men, and we would hope for God to protect you and them.'

"He then left, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still there at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, and met up with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his men at al-Rawḥāʾ. They had decided to return to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men. They had concluded, 'We have severely damaged the best of his Companions and their chieftains and nobles, so should we now go home before we uproot them completely? We should go back for the rest of them and be finished with them.'

"When Abū Sufyān saw Maʿbad, he asked him, 'How are things back up behind you, Maʿbad?' He replied, 'Muḥammad has come out with his men seeking you in a force the like of which I never saw before. They are truly enraged towards you. He has been joined by those who stayed behind when you did battle with him, and these men much regret what they did. The anger they have towards you is something the like of which I've never seen before.'

"'What are you suggesting, confound you?' Abū Sufyān demanded. He replied, 'I swear, I don't think you'll be able to leave before you catch sight of the forelocks of their cavalry.'

"'But we've decided to attack them to destroy the rest of them!'

"Maʿbad commented, 'I really do advise you against that. I swear, I was so affected by what I saw that I composed some verse on the subject.'

"'What did you compose?' Abū Sufyān asked.

"Maʿbad then recited,

> 'At the noise, my mount almost shied, the earth streaming with masses of fine horses.
> Racing on, their riders like noble lions, men not effeminate in the fray and not poorly armed.
> I ran on, thinking the earth itself moving, as they brought up a leader never to be forsaken.
> And I said, "Woe to Ibn Ḥarb when you meet and the plain shakes beneath the lines of men!"
> I warn the people of Mecca very plainly, addressing every wise and sane man they have,
> Of the army of Aḥmad, not some mixed rabble, and my warning should not be described as mere hearsay.'

"Abū Sufyān and his party were dissuaded from action by this.

"A party of men from ʿAbd Qays passed by, and he asked them where they were headed. When they told him to Medina, he asked why, and they replied that they were going there for supplies. Abū Sufyān asked them, 'Would you deliver a message I will give you for Muḥammad? If you will, I'll load up these camels of yours with raisins at Ukāẓ tomorrow.' They agreed and he then told

them, 'When you reach him, tell him that we have decided to come on after him and his Companions to wipe out the rest of them!'

"The men passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥamrā' al-Asad and told him what Abū Sufyān had said. To this he commented, 'God suffices for us; a fine protector is He!'"

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave the same tradition.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Abū Bakr related to us, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that this phrase *ḥasbunā Allāh wa niʿma al-wakil*, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He" was spoken by Abraham when he was cast into the fire. Muḥammad (ṢAAS) spoke it when they told him, "The people have assembled for you; make them afraid." And he did inspire greater faith in them and they said, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He."'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account.

He also stated, "Muḥammad b. Salām related to us, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, who said to ʿUmra about the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.171): 'Nephew, your fathers were among these, al-Zubayr and Abū Bakr, God be pleased with them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered his losses at Uḥud and the polytheists withdrew, he was concerned that they might return. And so he asked, "Who will pursue them?" Seventy of his men volunteered, including Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr.'"

This is the account given by al-Bukhārī. Muslim gave it in an abbreviated form through Hishām. Saʿīd b. Manṣūr and Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī jointly related this from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Ibn Mājah also verified it through him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa. Al-Ḥākim related it in his compendium through Abū Saʿīd from Hishām b. ʿUrwa; he related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Suddī, from ʿUrwa. He said that both scholars considered the tradition *ṣaḥiḥ*, authentic, but that these scholars had not narrated it.

This is what he stated. But the context of this is very strange. For it is well known by the scholars who have written on the military expeditions that all those who advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Ḥamrā' al-Asad were those who had been present at Uḥud and that these totalled 700, as is told above, of whom 70 were killed, the remainder surviving.

Ibn Jarīr related, through al-ʿAwfī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "God cast terror into the heart of Abū Sufyān after what had happened at Uḥud and he returned to Mecca. The battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwāl. The merchants would come to Medina in Dhū al-Qaʿda, staying once every year at Badr al-Ṣughrā. They arrived again after the battle of Uḥud. The Muslim warriors had suffered severe injuries and were complaining of these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he told his men to go forth and continue what they

had been doing. He told us, 'If you leave now, the month for the *ḥajj* will soon be upon us and they will not be able to do the same again until next year.'[13]

"Then the devil came to scare his deputies, saying, 'The enemy is all gathered against you.' His men refused to follow him and so he said, 'I am going forth, even if no one follows me.'

"Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Talḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd, ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAwf, Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfa left with him, accompanied by 70 men. They went in pursuit of Abū Sufyān as far as al-Ṣafrāʾ. And God revealed the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.171).

This account is also very strange.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū ʿUbayda related to us that when Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb withdrew after the battle of Uḥud, he wanted to return to Medina. But Safwān b. Umayya advised him, 'No, don't do that. The enemy is thoroughly enraged and we fear they might engage in battle differently from before. Return home.' And so they did.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad when he received news that they were about to go home, then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, rocks have been assigned them; if they had been greeted with them, they would have been history!'

"While out there and before his return to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) captured Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's grandfather on his mother's side, she being ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Muʿāwiya, along with Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaḥī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had captured this Muʿāwiya at Badr and then released him. Muʿāwiya asked him, 'O Messenger of God, forgive me!' But he replied, 'No, by God, you'll not stroke your beard in Mecca and say, "I've twice deceived Muḥammad!" Strike off his head, Zubayr!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "Ibn al-Musayyab was quoted to me as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair; strike off his head, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām went on, "Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ was given sanctuary by ʿUthmān provided that he remain only three days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir to capture him, telling them, 'You'll find him in such and such a place; kill him!' And they did so, may God be pleased with them both."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me by al-Zuhrī that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy had a particular spot (in the mosque) he would occupy each Friday; this position

13. The sanctity of the *ḥajj* season would deprive the Meccans of the opportunity of attacking the Muslims.

would not be disputed by anyone else, out of respect for him and his people, he being a chieftain. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his seat to address the people on Friday, ʿAbd Allāh would arise and say, 'People, this is the Messenger of God before you. God has given you honour and glory through him. Give him aid and support and listen and obey.' He would then sit down.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had returned to Medina, following the events at Uḥud, ʿAbd Allāh got up as usual but the Muslims grasped his clothing from all sides, saying, 'Sit down, you enemy of God! You're no longer worthy of that, having acted as you did!'

"He therefore left, stepping over the necks of the men there, saying, 'By God, it's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!'

"At the door of the mosque he was met by some of the *anṣār*, who asked him, 'What's wrong with you?' He replied, 'I arose to express my support for him, but some of his Companions jumped on me and roughed me up. It's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!' 'Go back inside', they told him, 'and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will ask them to forgive you.' 'By God,' he replied, 'I don't want him to ask forgiveness for me!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then referred to what was revealed in the Qur'ān concerning the battle of Uḥud, in *sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, beginning with the verse, "And (remember) when you went forth in the morning from your family to place the believers in positions for the fighting. And God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

He made reference to 60 verses and discussed these.

We have ourselves written at sufficient length on this in our work of exegesis.

He then proceeded to mention the martyrs of Uḥud, enumerating them and their names and those of their fathers, according to their tribes, as was his custom.

He referred to 4 of the *muhājirīn* – Ḥamza, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Shammās b. ʿUthmān, God be pleased with them all. He named 65 *anṣār* who were killed. Ibn Hishām added 5 other names to these; thus in his view the *anṣār* killed totalled 70 men.

Ibn Isḥāq then named those of the polytheists who were killed; these totalled 22 men whom he arranged by their tribes.

I observe that none of the polytheists were captured except for Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaḥī, as al-Shāfiʿī and others report. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had him killed right before him; he ordered al-Zubayr to execute him. It is also said that this was done by ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflaḥ. The man's head was cut off.

Chapter: The verses exchanged between the believers and the unbelievers concerning the battle of Uḥud.

We record here the poems of the unbelievers merely in order to give the responses to them made in the Islamic poetry, emphasizing the aesthetic and intellectual impact of the latter and exposing the idiocy of the former, that rabble!

Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Among the poems spoken at Uḥud was the following by Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, a follower of the religion of his people, the Quraysh,

'Why do I suffer this painful love-sickness that afflicts me for Hind when warriors are on the move?

Hind now blames and reproaches me at a time when warfare diverts me from her,

Easy now, do not reproach me; my character is thus, as you have learned, and I have never concealed.

I give aid to Banū Kaʿb as they require; I bear weights and burdens I suffer from.

I bore my sword upon a tall, long-paced steed, smooth its gait, keeping up with the rest when it runs,

As it races it is like an onager in the wild which, though pursued, stays by the female asses, protecting.

From the line of Aʿwaj he is, and the crowd loves him; he is like the healthy, full branch of a very tall tree.

I readied him along with a fine, select blade and a spear for whatever dangers I might meet.

And also chain-mail, rippling like running water, finely wrought and closely fitting, no faults apparent.

We led Kināna forth from the ends of Yemen across the lands, herding them along.

Kināna asked, "Where are you taking us?" We replied, "To al-Nukhayl."[14] And so they headed for it, and for those there.

We were the knights of the battle on the slope of Uḥud; Maʿadd were afraid, so we said we would go to them.

They feared the blows and thrusts, accurate and damaging, that they had seen when their advance forces were engaged.

Then we arrived like a hailstorm, and up went the bird-spirit of Banū al-Najjār, mourning them,

And their heads in the battle were like ostrich eggs, shattered and scattered.

Or a colocynth plant, its stem dried out, being buffeted by fierce winds.

We expend our funds generously and without accounting and thrust at the knights, in their eyes, from all sides.

Many is the night a man warms himself at a carcass he has slaughtered, but reserved for the wealthy he invited.

And many the frosty and rainless, freezing night of Jumādā I've travelled through,

So bitter cold that dogs would bark only once, and snakes not move.

On such nights I've lit for the needy a big fire, bright as lightning, illuminating all around.

ʿAmr and his father before him bequeathed me this practice, one he would often repeat.

Such men rivalled the stars in brightness, their achievements no less than the greatest of deeds.'"

14. A well near Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded with the following verses."

However, Ibn Hishām said that these were also attributed to Kaʿb b. Mālik and others. In my view the attribution Ibn Isḥāq makes to Ḥassān is more widely and frequently accepted. But God knows best.

"It was your foolishness that made you blindly lead Kināna against the Messenger, for God's forces would humble them.

You brought them down to pools of death that morning, for being killed and hell-fire await them.

You gathered up Abyssinian slaves, devoid of ancestry, you chiefs of disbelief, deceived by your tyrants.

Did you not remember God's horsemen when they killed those at the well, and those they threw therein?

How many were the captives we freed without cost and how many a forelock we cropped of those we mastered!"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also spoke the following verses in response to Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī,

'Has, then, Ghassān heard about us, even though between us and them there is desert land difficult to traverse?

Wastelands and mountains, their dark forms from the distance looking like barren dust columns, widely scattered,

Where young, hardy camels weaken and the annual heavy rain clouds pass over when they come,

Where the bones of the carcasses of exhausted beasts appear stretched out like the linens of traders.

There the wild cows and the antelopes walk in file and ostrich eggs have their shells scattered far.

Our fighters defending our faith are all fine warriors, the crests of their helmets glinting.

Every chain-mail in storage when put on seems like a full-running stream.

But at Badr ask any man you meet and any news of people far away may be useful.

There we were in the land of fear and had others than us been there, they would have left by night, in flight.

When one of our out-riders came he would say, "Prepare for what Ibn Ḥarb is gathering and preparing."

No matter how others would react at what affects us, we would have remained more calm than them.

If others than us had faced such a host, they would have given up and dispersed.

We battled them and no tribe could have withstood us without becoming terrified and taking flight.

When they went to live at al-ʿIrḍ,[15] our chief said, "If we do not protect *al-ʿIrḍ*, the seed, why sow it?

15. A place on the outskirts of Medina. The use of the word *ʿird* again in the same verse, meaning "seed", is, of course, a deliberate pun.

We have a messenger among us whose instruction we obey; when he orders us we do not delay.

The spirit comes down upon him from his Lord, made to descend from the heavens and then to arise again.

We seek his advice on what we want, and our goal is to listen and obey all his wishes."

The messenger said, when they came in our sight, "Give up fear of death and seek it instead;

Be like those who sell their lives by coming close to a King who gives life and restores it.

Take up your swords and put your trust in God; all power rests with God."

We headed straight for them on their mounts, our swords held above us and not afraid,

Our squadron bearing swords and lances, the feet of our mounts not wavering once planted.

We plunged on as into the waves of the sea, amidst which were their Abyssinians, some bearing armour, others not.

They were 3,000 strong, we some 300 or at most 400 choice warriors

When we plunged into them death flowed all around us; we raced towards death's pool and we came first.

Lote-wood bows shot to and fro between us, all with fine strings from Yathrib,

The arrows all made from the holy city of Ṣāʿid, and treated with poison when crafted

That pierced men's bodies and sometimes glanced off their armour, making a noise.

The cavalry on the plain were numerous as locusts on a cool night, brought by an east wind.

Then we clashed and fighting was fierce betweeen us; and there is no denying God's command.

We struck at them until we left their leaders in the hollow lying like felled trees.

That morning and on till refreshed by evening, our energy was like the heat of a fire, consuming all.

They retreated in suffering, as though they were cloud remnants that had shed their water, blown away by the wind.

We advanced, our rearguard following slowly; we were like lions striking out at their game at Bīsha.

We caused casualties, as did the enemy to us; it was we who acted, but God's role was greater.

We fought hard and they fought too, all getting their fill of evil.

We are a people who do not consider that to kill is blameworthy for those who protect and defend their charges.

Stoic in adversity, we never find ourselves to weep over someone killed.

We are warriors who never retract what we said, and we never despair at whatever warfare brings.

We are warriors who, if victorious, never commit atrocities, and we never complain at our injuries.

We are like a flame from whose heat others seek protection while those near it and exposed are scorched.

You claim superiority over me, Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, yet a party went forth in pursuit of you late at night.

And so on the heights of Maʿadd and elsewhere ask yourself about which of all men is the least esteemed,

And who it was the warfare left with nothing to boast of, and whose face was most shamed in the battle.

We attacked you fiercely, with God's help and support, the heads of our spears well directed.

Our lances caused wounds among you like the orifices of waterskins, gushing water.

We headed for the standard-bearers and those who speed to defend the banner are those swiftest in receiving praise.

Yet your men were traitors and gave up in desertion; and God refutes any order but it is He who is most effective.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā spoke the following verses about the battle of Uḥud, he still being a polytheist at that time,

'O rook of ill-omen, since you foretell, then speak; you only announce what is already done.

Both good and evil have their course and both of these have witnesses to them.

For them gifts are valueless and the graves of rich and poor are all alike.

All life, all pleasure, fades and fate's handmaidens toy with us all.

Convey to Ḥassān a message from me, for composing poetry alleviates those in pain.

How many were the skulls you saw at the mountain's foot, how many the severed feet and arms.

How plentiful the fine armour removed from warriors slaughtered in the fray.

How many the noble lord we killed, men of fine lineage, on both sides, leaders and heroes,

Men truly brave, lords of distinction, not cowards when the sharp points struck.

Ask al-Mihrās, the well at Uḥud, what skulls and brains inhabit it, like partridges.

How I wish that my elders at Badr had witnessed the terror of the al-Khazraj when the points struck home,

When warfare scratched its chest at Qubā and killing boiled among the ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

They sped away rapidly then, like young ostriches climbing up the mountain.

Of their nobles we killed twice as many, and we reversed the trend at Badr, and it was equalized.

I am not blaming ourselves, except that if we had done it again we would have harmed them badly

With our Indian swords rising above their heads, drinking deep again and again.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded as follows,

'Ibn al-Zibaʿrā got carried away by a battle in which we had the advantage; if only he had been fair!

We damaged you and you us; warfare sometimes goes in cycles like that.

We put our swords to your shoulders and there we drank your blood time and again.

We made your backsides flow, as happens to old camels eating *ʿaṣal*[16] for medicine!

You took to your heels in flight in the defile, following along like sheep.

Then we attacked you fiercely, forcing you down to the foot of the mountain;

Our groups of warriors were like *ashdāq*[17] in the desert wastes, terrifying whomever came across them.

The defile pressed in upon us and we crossed through it and filled its heights and low places alike,

With men whose equal you are not and who were aided by Gabriel who came down.

It was our piety that won the day at Badr, our obedience to God and our belief in the prophets.

We killed every one of their chieftains and all their nobles in flowing robes.

At the battle of Badr we left shame upon Quraysh and exemplary tales to be told.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in truth was witness to the battle of Badr, while the short, corpulent men

Of Quraysh assembled there were like unattended camels gathering in a pasture.

It is we, not people like you born to your mothers' arses, who face up to the fray when warfare comes!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb recited the following verses honouring Ḥamza and those Muslims, may God be pleased with them all, killed with him at Uḥud,

'You wept. And was it another who made you do so, when it was you who cried when remembering?

Your memory was of a people about whom stories have reached me in this tortuous time.

To think of them your heart throbs in longing and tear-filled sadness.

But those they killed are in pleasant gardens, honoured therein both when they enter or leave

For what they endured beneath the flag, the flag of the prophet at Dhū al-Aḍwuj[18]

That day when all of Aws and Khazraj gave answer with their swords.

Along with Aḥmad's men following the truth, its path so well illuminated.

They kept on striking the warriors as they traversed through the swirling dust.

So it was until the King summoned them to a garden whose entrance was shielded by much foliage.

All of them died heroically, in God's faith, and received no punishment,

Like Ḥamza when he held true, wielding a sharp sword, cutting deep.

16. A word with various connotations, i.e. honey, date juice, flowers, gum from trees etc.

17. The word *shidq*, pl. *ashdāq* means according to the dictionaries, the sides or ends of valleys. It also has a connotation of the sides of the mouth and of being large-mouthed, or talkative and eloquent. Its precise meaning here is unclear.

18. A site near Uḥud.

The slave of Banū Nawfal confronted him, snorting like a black camel,
And ran him through with a spear, fast as a flame blazing up in a fire.
Nuʿmān fulfilled his promise, and Hanzalla, the good, did not turn away
From the truth until his spirit passed on to a place splendid with jewels.
Those were men, not those of yours lying in the furthest depths of hell.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and the Muslims struck down at the battle of Uḥud. It is in the same rhyme as the poem of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt eulogizing the polytheists killed at the battle of Badr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "There are some scholars expert in the poetry who deny that this poem should be attributed to Ḥassān. But God knows best."

(Ḥassān b. Thābit recited),

"O Mayy, arise and lament loudly as the mourning women do,
Like hags bearing heavy burdens, complaining, overladen,
Wailing, and scratching at the faces of other women,
Their flowing tears reminding one of pillars stained with the blood of sacrifice,
Tearing at their hair and letting its ends appear,
Looking like the tails of restive horses being tossed in the morning,
Looking like scraps of meat cut up and left to be blown dry in the wind.
They cry in sadness, mourning women overwhelmed by tragedy,
Their hearts wounded, emitting pus from beneath scabs,
Now that fate has struck down those we relied upon when we feared
The warriors at Uḥud injured, and destroyed by fate,
Our knights and protectors when warriors are sent forth.
O Ḥamza, I will not, I swear, ever forget you as long as time goes on.
You were the refuge of orphans, strangers and modest-eyed widows,
Protecting against that fate that brings successive, searing wars.
O knight and champion, O Ḥamza, you were our gallant defender
Protecting us from terrible, calamitous blows of hate.
I thought of you as the lion of the Prophet, who is himself our champion, our protector,
He who has always been considered when our noble and generous lords are counted.
Towering above all nobles in fame, a man of generosity and pre-eminence,
Not an irresponsible or fearful or weak man who complains at bearing burdens.
A liberal man who would never withhold any generosity or kindness from his neighbours.
Fine young men have perished, men of great esteem,
Men who would provide food in winter when the cattle were dispersed,
Camel meat with chunks and slices of fat on top of it,
Defending their neighbours for so long as those hating them attack.
I grieve for the young men of whom we are deprived, men like shining lamps,
Proud men, lords, nobles, men of generosity and breeding,
Men who purchased praise with their wealth, for praise brings dividends,
Men who jumped to their bridles if there cried out for them

Someone beset by the misfortunes of an evil time,
His mounts moving steadily along on the flat land,
Competing with one another, he being in one group whose chests poured with sweat,
Moving on until success came, but not from the luck of a winning arrow of chance.
O Ḥamza, you have rendered me lonely, like a branch severed by someone pruning it.
I express my pain to you, now that earth and stones are piled above you,
And a flagstone placed on top of you by the gravedigger, completing his work,
On an open plain, covering the grave with earth and smoothing it well.
Our consolation is for us to say, though our speaking it is very hard, that whoever has been spared life's misfortunes
Should come to us for his eyes to weep for our noble dead
Who acted as they spoke, men of generosity and good deeds,
Men whose hands were always stretched forth in liberality."

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most scholars of poetry refute attribution of this poem to Ḥassān."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses eulogizing Ḥamza and his fellow warriors,

'Struck by anxiety, you lay sleepless, worried that joyful youth had been stripped from you,
While a Ḍamrī girl invited your heart to loving; but your passion is of Ghawr, and your wakefulness of Najd.
Abandon excessive pursuit of passion; you were always blamed for acting that way.
It is now time for you to refrain, obediently, and to pay heed when counsel warns.
You were devastated by the loss of Ḥamza, your stomach in confusion.
If Mt. Ḥirāʾ itself suffered such a shock its peaks would collapse.
A chief he was, formed from Hāshim's stock wherein lie prophethood, nobility and leadership,
Leaders who would slaughter big-humped camels when the wind almost froze the water,
Men who would leave their brave foes prostrate on the battlefield, their lances broken in two.
This was a man who strutted in his armour as though he were a huge, brown, big-pawed lion.
He was the uncle and the confidant of the Prophet, Muḥammad, and he went most gloriously to his death.
He went with distinction to his fate, one of a family who aided the Prophet, and of whom some sought martyrdom.
Hind was told the good tidings of this, to alleviate the burning pain inside her,
When we met her folk that morning on the sandhill, that day her happiness fled.
(And we talked) of the well at Badr, when Gabriel and Muḥammad, beneath our flag, repelled the enemy,
So that the Prophet saw their hosts as two parts whom we could either kill or drive away at will,

Left prostrate at the site, they were 70 in number, ʿUtba and al-Aswad among them.

And Ibn al-Mughīra too whom we struck above his neck-artery, making it flow and foam.

And it was a sharp sword in the hands of the believers that set Umayya al-Jumaḥī straight.

The polytheist rabble came to you, chased by the cavalry, like ostriches in retreat.

What a difference there is in those for ever in hell and those who dwell in paradise in eternity!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and his fellow warriors killed at the battle of Uḥud. Ibn Hishām, however, stated that Abū Zayd recited them to him as having been composed by Kaʿb b. Mālik. But God knows best.

"My eyes wept, and they had a right to do so; but weeping and wailing will do no good.

For the lion of God, that day they asked, 'Could that man slain be Ḥamza?'

Through his death all the Muslims were injured there, the Messenger as well.

O Ḥamza, Yaʿlā's father, the very foundations were destroyed; you were the epitome of glory, piety and kindness.

May God's peace be upon you in paradise, in pleasure that will never end!

O Hāshim, of all men the best, be steadfast; and all your deeds were good and generous.

The Messenger of God is noble and patient; it is at God's command he enunciates when he speaks.

Who will inform Luʾayy for me, for after today, the world will be utterly changed.

And before this day they have known and tasted deeds of ours by which the thirst for vengeance was satisfied.

You have all forgotten our blows at the pool of Badr, that day when sudden death struck you.

That day when Abū Jahl fell prostrate, the vultures circled and hovered above him,

And ʿUtba and his son also fell, and Shayba was bitten by the burnished sword.

There we left Umayya stretched out, a slim spear between his ribs.

Ask the heads of Banū Rabīʿa; our swords have notches because of them.

O Hind,[19] weep and tire not of it; for you are passionate, shedding tears as though bereaved of a son.

And You, Hind, show no joy at Ḥamza's death; your exultation is despicable.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ṣafiyya daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses, mourning her brother Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. She was the mother

19. This Hind is presumably Hind daughter of Uthātha b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who had eulogized Ḥamza (see above p.52), while the Hind of the next line would be the daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, the wife of Abū Sufyān, who had sworn to eat Ḥamza's liver when the latter had killed her father ʿUtba at Badr. The two women spoke verses against one another after the battle of Uḥud.

of al-Zubayr and was the aunt of the Prophet (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

'Are you, sisters of mine, asking, in fear, those present at Uḥud, the ignorant and knowledgeable alike?
The knowledgeable replied, "Ḥamza is dead! The adviser, the very best adviser of the Messenger of God!
The God of truth and the throne has summoned him to paradise, where he will live in joy."
That was what we had hoped for; we anticipate for Ḥamza the best of fortunes on assembly day.
By God, I'll not forget you so long as the winds blow; I will mourn and be sad whether I am at home or away.
For God's lion who was a defender who protected Islam from all who disbelieved.
How I wish my *limbs and bones had been there then, for the hyenas and vultures* to attack me!
I say, my family having made louder their lament, "May God reward well this brother, this champion!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Nu'mān, wife of Shammās b. 'Uthmān, spoke the following verses in mourning for her husband; but God, to whom all praise and credit are due, knows best.

'Eyes, weep copiously and without stop for a noble, brave warrior,
A man of firm conviction and fine disposition, a standard-bearer and a horseman.
When his death was announced, I cried in pain, "Gone is the man of generosity! Gone is he who fed and clothed!"
And I said, when his usual places were empty of him, "May God not distance from us our nearness to Shammās!"'

"Her brother al-Ḥakam b. Sa'īd b. Yarbū' responded as follows in consoling her,

'Guard your modesty, in seclusion and dignity; Shammās was just one of our men.
Do not kill yourself because his death has come, in obedience of God, and on a day of violence and terror.
Now Ḥamza was God's lion; so bear up, for he tasted from Shammās's cup that day.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, recited, upon their return from Uḥud,

'I have returned home with my mind in much confusion, some of those I was after having escaped me,
Those of Quraysh at Badr, and others, including some of Banū Hāshim and of the people of Yathrib.
However, I did gain one thing, even if it was not all as I had hoped in my journey.'"

Ibn Isḥāq gives many more such poems. We have left out the others because of our concern not to be long-winded and boring; those poems we have given suffice. And to God be all praise.

Al-Umawī gave in his military chronicles even more poems than Ibn Isḥāq; this was his usual practice, though even more evident here.

Among the verses quoted from Ḥassān b. Thābit were the following delivered about the battle of Uḥud,

> "It was the devil they obeyed, when he let them down and their disgrace and failure was fully evident,
>
> When they shouted in unison with Abū Sufyān, 'Rise up, Hubal!'
>
> We all answered back, 'Our Lord, the All-Merciful, is greater and more splendid!'
>
> Be sure, you used this cry once at the 'pool of death' (at Badr), death being a place to drink.
>
> You should know that when thoughts of death must be slaked, we are cooking pots on the boil.'"

It seems that these verses may well be part of Ḥassān's response to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā; but God knows best.

This brings to an end commentary on the battle of Uḥud.

Division.

There has been recounted above those events, raids and expeditions that occurred in 3 AH. The best-known of these was the battle of Uḥud, that occurred in the middle of Shawwāl of that year, as we have detailed above. And to God be all praise.

At Uḥud, there died as a martyr Abū Yaʿlā, also known as Abū ʿAmāra, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was known as 'God's lion' and 'His messenger's lion'. He was the foster-brother of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as also was Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. All were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab, this fact being established in a reliable *ḥadīth* account.

He would, moreover, have been more than 50 when he was killed. He was a brave, heroic man and a major early trusting follower; at that battle others totalling 70 were killed along with him. May God be pleased with them all!

That same year ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following the death of her sister Ruqayya. His betrothal to her took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of that year, and the marriage was consummated in Jumādā al-Ākhira, as has been told above. Al-Wāqidī related this.

Ibn Jarīr also said of that year: "Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." He added that the same year she conceived al-Ḥusayn; may God be pleased with them all!

In the name of God, the Most Merciful
and Compassionate; O Lord, facilitate!

THE YEAR 4 AH.

In Muḥarram of that year Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad made his foray against Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, and he went on as far as the place known as Qaṭan.

Al-Wāqidī quoted ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd al-Yarbūʿī, from Salama b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abū Salama and others, as having said, "Abū Salama was present at Uḥud, where he was seriously wounded in the upper arm. He rested for a month recuperating and then, in Muḥarram, at the beginning of 35 months after the Hijra, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I want you to go forth into Banū Asad territory and to attack them.'" He charged him to behave with piety and to treat the Muslims with him well.

One hundred and fifty men accompanied him on this expedition.

He went out to near Qaṭan, which is a well belonging to Banū Asad, where Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī and his brother Salama, both sons of Khuwaylid, were also present. He had assembled his allies from Banū Asad with the intention of making war against the Prophet (ṢAAS). But one of their men had come to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of what they were planning against him. He had therefore dispatched Abū Salama on this expedition.

When they (the Muslims) reached their territory, they dispersed, leaving large quantities of camels and goats as booty for them. Abū Salama took all this into his possession, along with three of their slaves he had taken prisoner, and set out to return to Medina. He then awarded a substantial portion of the booty to that man of Banū Asad who had given them information. Having extracted the portion due to the Prophet (ṢAAS), a slave and one-fifth of the booty, he divided up the rest among his companions. Then he entered Medina."

ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd related to him, from ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, who said, "It was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī who injured my father. He spent a month recovering and when he had done so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, in Muḥarram of that year, 4 AH that is, to Qaṭan. He was away for some ten days and when he returned to Medina his wound got the better of him and he died, three days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā."

ʿUmar then added, "My mother then observed the *ʿidda*[20] period of four months and ten days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with her and this he consummated a few days prior to the end of Shawwāl. My mother used to say, 'There's nothing wrong with contracting and consummating a marriage in Shawwāl; it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both contracted and consummated marriage with me.'"

20. The period of waiting prescribed in Islamic law during which a woman may not remarry following the death of her husband.

He stated that Umm Salama died in Dhū al-Qaʿda, 59 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

I observe that we will report in regard to the latter part of this year, 4 AH, that it was in Shawwāl that the Prophet (ṢAAS) arranged his marriage with Umm Salama. (I will also comment) on whether the son negotiates on his mother's behalf in marriage, and I will note the views of scholars in that regard. If God Almighty wills it so, and in Him is all confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-RAJĪʿ.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Ṣafar – of the year 4 AH – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men to the Meccans to receive safe passage from them."

He added, "Al-Rajīʿ is positioned some eight miles from ʿAsfān."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent out a reconnaissance expedition, having appointed ʿĀṣim b. Thābit as their leader; he was the grandfather of ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

"They travelled out to a point between ʿAsfān and Mecca and there news of them reached a tribe of Banū Hudhayl known as Banū Liḥyān. The latter proceeded to pursue them, their force consisting of some 100 archers. They followed their tracks to a camp site where they had made a halt and there they found kernels of the dates with which the Muslims had provisioned themselves in Medina. The Banū Liḥyān men recognized these as being from Medina, followed on after them and eventually caught up with them.

"When ʿĀṣim and his companions could go no further, they took refuge on an outcrop of rock where they were surrounded by Banū Liḥyān. The latter told them, 'If you come on down, we give you our pledge and promise not to kill any one of you.' ʿĀṣim replied, 'For myself, I'll not place myself under the security of a non-believer. O God, inform Your prophet about us!'

"The Banū Liḥyān men then attacked and killed ʿĀṣim and seven of his men with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and one other man remained alive. When Banū Liḥyān repeated their pledge and promise, Khubayb and the others came down. When they had them in their power, their enemy untied some bow strings with which they bound their prisoners. The third Muslim remonstrated, 'So now the treachery begins!' He then refused to accompany them. His captors dragged him along, trying to force him to accompany them, but when he resisted, they killed him.

"They then set off with Khubayb and Zayd and sold them in Mecca. The tribe of al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal bought Khubayb; it had been Khubayb who had killed al-Ḥārith at the battle of Badr. He remained with them for some time as their prisoner until they decided to kill him. Khubayb then asked one of

al-Ḥārith's daughters if he could borrow a razor with which to shave his pubic hair and she loaned him one.

"She later said, 'My attention then left a baby of mine who crawled over to Khubayb, who lifted it up on to his lap. When I saw the baby there I was terrified and Khubayb, holding the razor, saw this and asked, 'Are you scared I might kill him? I would hope to God I'd never do any such thing!'

"She used to comment, 'I never saw a better prisoner than Khubayb. I once saw him, bound in irons, eating a large bunch of grapes at a time when there were no such fruit in Mecca; the grapes were nothing but bounty that God bestowed on him.'

"His captors ultimately took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. He asked, 'Allow me to make two *rak'āt* in prayer.' Having done so, he went over to them and said, 'Except for the fact that you would have thought me scared of dying, I would have prayed longer.' He was the first to institute the practice of making two *rak'āt* before execution. Khubayb then said, 'O God, count them one by one, and give them violent death!'

"He also spoke the following verses,

> 'Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God's cause.
>
> For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs.'

"Thereupon 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith went up and killed him. Quraysh later sent for a part of 'Āṣim's body that they would recognize; 'Āṣim had killed one of their leaders at Badr. But God sent down a cloud of wasps; these protected his body from the Quraysh emissaries who could not gain access to him."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Amr, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "It was Abū Sarwa'a who killed Khubayb."

I comment that the man's name was 'Uqba b. al-Ḥāriṯh He accepted Islam thereafter and there is a *ḥadīth* attributed to him concerning the foster relationship. It is said that Abū Sarwa'a and 'Uqba were brothers. But God knows best.

This is the account of the expedition to al-Rajī' as given by al-Bukhārī in the section of military campaigns in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He also related this in his section on *al-tawḥīd*, and on *al-jihād*, through various lines from al-Zuhrī, 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān, Asad b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī, ally of Banū Zuhra. Some authorities give the above name as 'Umar b. Abū Sufyān, though it is widely accepted to be 'Amr.

In one account of al-Bukhārī he states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched ten men on a reconnaisance expedition, appointing 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ as their leader."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, however, offer somewhat contradictory accounts. We will give herewith the wording of Ibn Isḥāq to show the difference and discrepancy. Ibn Isḥāq is, however, the unchallenged leading authority in this, for as al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, put it, "Whoever wishes to research the early military engagements is reliant upon Muḥammad b. Isḥāq."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to him, "A group of men from ʿAḍal and from al-Qāra approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the battle of Uḥud and asked, 'O Messenger of God, Islam has already reached us. Could you now send a group of your Companions to give us instruction in the religion, in how to recite the Qurʾān, and in the laws of Islam?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), therefore did send with them a group of six of his Companions. These were Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, an ally of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – Ibn Isḥāq relates that he was their leader – Khālid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of Banū ʿAdī, ʿAṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Khubayb b. ʿAdī, brother of Banū Jaḥjabī b. Kulfa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Zayd b. al-Dathina, brother of Banū Bayāḍa b. ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq, ally of Banū Ẓafar. May God be pleased with them all."

Ibn Isḥāq, therefore, is stating that they were six in number; Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated the same, and named them as Ibn Isḥāq had done.

Al-Bukhārī, however, states that they were ten in number and, according to him, it was ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflaḥ who was their leader. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥaq went on, "These men went forth as far as al-Rajīʿ, a well belonging to Hudhayl in the Ḥijaz, above al-Hadʾa.[21] There (other persons) betrayed them and aroused Hudhayl against them. The party were there in camp when men bearing swords suddenly descended upon them. They therefore took up their own swords to do battle. Their attackers, however, told them, 'We swear by God we don't want to kill you; we just want to get some money for you from the Meccans. We pledge and promise by God that we will not kill you.'

"Marthad, Khālid b. al-Bukayr and ʿĀṣim b. Thābit, however, replied, 'By God, we'll never accept any pledge or oath made by a polytheist.' ʿĀṣim b. Thābit then recited – and God knows best and to Him is all praise and reliance –

> 'What weakness do I have, a brave archer with a bow that has a tough string?
> Long, thick arrows can wing from it; and death is truth, life false.
> All that God determines comes about for man and man to Him returns.
> If I do not battle you, then may my mother be bereaved!'

"ʿĀṣim also recited,

> 'I am Abū Sulaymān, and I have arrows made by al-Muqʿad[22] and weapons like hell's fire.

21. A location between ʿAsfān and Mecca, some seven miles from ʿAsfān.
22. The name of a well-known Meccan arrow-maker.

> When fighters throng, I'm not afraid; I have my shield of smooth bull's leather.
> And I'm a believer in Muḥammad's mission.'

"He also said,

> 'I'm Abū Sulaymān, an archer, and my people are of noble stock.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then fought until he was killed, as were also two of his companions.

"When ʿĀṣim was killed, Hudhayl wanted to take his head and sell it to Sulāfa, daughter of Saʿd b. Suhayl. She had sworn after he had killed her two sons at Uḥud that if she got possession of ʿĀṣim's head, she would drink wine from his skull.

"But when wasps prevented their getting access to it, they said, 'Let's leave him till nightfall; then they will leave and we will take it.' And so God sent (a flood) into the *wādī* which bore ʿĀṣim away. He had made a pledge to God that no polytheist would ever touch him, or he one of them, because they might sully him.

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, when someone said that the wasps had protected him, 'God does protect believers.'

"ʿĀṣim had sworn that no polytheist would ever touch him or he one of them during his life; and God protected him after his death just as he had defended God while living!"[23]

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "However, Khubayb, Zayd b. al-Dathina and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq were weak and pliant and protective of their lives and so gave themselves up. The enemy took them prisoner and then took them into Mecca to sell them there.

"When they were in al-Ẓahrān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq extracted his hand from his bonds and drew his sword. The enemy, however, kept their distance from him and pelted him with stones until they had killed him. His grave is there at al-Ẓahrān.

"Khubayb b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. al-Dathina were brought on into Mecca where they were bought by Quraysh in exchange for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

"Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb al-Tamīmī, an ally of Banū Nawfal, bought Khubayb on behalf of ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal to kill him for his father; Abū Ihāb was the brother of al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir by the same mother.

"Zayd b. al-Dathina was bought by Safwān b. Umayya to kill him in revenge for his own father. Safwān despatched him to al-Tanʿīm in the company of a freed-man of his named Nisṭās who took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. A group of Quraysh gathered among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Abū Sufyān asked him, as he was being brought forth for execution, 'I implore you, by God, Zayd; wouldn't you like it to be Muḥammad here in your place with us now for us to strike off his head, and for you to be with your own people?'

23. The line could be translated alternatively: "... just as God had protected him while he was alive".

"He replied, 'By God, I would not like Muḥammad, wherever he now is, to be harmed by even a single thorn and for me to be sitting among my people.'

"Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I never saw anyone so love anyone else as Muḥammad's Companions loved Muḥammad.'

"Nisṭās then killed him.

"Regarding Khubayb b. ʿAdī. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that it was related to him from Māwiyya, the freed-woman of Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb, who had accepted Islam, who said, 'Khubayb was kept prisoner in my home. One day I looked at him and saw that he was eating from his hand a bunch of grapes as large as a man's head – and that at a time when I don't know of any grapes being eaten anywhere on God's earth!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that she also said, 'When the time for his execution came, he said, "Send for a steel blade with which I can clean myself off for the execution."' She went on, 'So I gave a razor to a young man from the tribe and told him, "Take this to the man in the house." But no sooner had the youth left with it than I began asking myself what I had done. The man will take his revenge by killing this youth, making it one man for another, I thought. But when the youth handed Khubayb the blade, the latter commented, "Wasn't your mother afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this blade?" He then allowed the youth to leave.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that the youth was her own son."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote ʿĀṣim as saying, "They then took Khubayb out to al-Tanʿīm to crucify him.

"He spoke to them as follows, 'I'd appreciate you letting me alone to make two *rakʿāt* in prayer.' They agreed and he did so very well. Then he went over to those present and said, 'I swear, if I had not been concerned that you would think I had taken a long time out of fear of dying, I would have prayed more!'

"It was Khubayb who was the first to begin the practice by Muslims of making two prayer prostrations before execution.

"They then raised him up to the scaffold and when they had bound him there he said, 'O God, we have announced your messenger's mission, so inform him tomorrow of what is being done to us.' He then said, 'O God, count them and kill them violently; let none of them escape.' They then killed him.

"Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I was there along with others in the company of Abū Sufyān and had him throw me to the ground in fear of Khubayb's curse. People used to say, "A man who has an oath spoken against him can escape it by falling on his side."'"

In the *maghāzī*, military chronicle, collection of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, it states, "Khubayb and Zayd b. al-Dathina were killed on the same day and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of it that very day. He then said, 'May peace be upon you both' – or 'upon you', singular. 'Quraysh have killed Khubayb!'"

It is said that when they crucified Zayd b. al-Dathina, they cast arrows at him to subvert him away from his religion, but this only increased his faith and his acceptance of his fate.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when they raised Khubayb on to the wooden frame, those present called out to him, "Would you not prefer Muḥammad to be in your place?"

He replied, "No, by God Almighty, I'd not have him ransom me by having a thorn pierce his foot!' But they laughed at him. This is reported by Ibn Isḥāq in his account relating to Zayd b. al-Dathina. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "They claim that it was ʿAmr b. Umayya who buried Khubayb."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father ʿAbbād, from ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith, who said, 'I heard him say, "I swear by God, it was not I who killed Khubayb; I was too young for that. It was Abū Maysara, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, who took the spear and placed it in my hand. He then grasped my hand and the spear and pierced him with it until he had killed him."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of our associates told me, 'ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥidhyām al-Juḥamī over part of Syria. He would suffer from fainting spells when he was with people and this was reported to ʿUmar. It was said that the man had some affliction. ʿUmar asked him on a visit he made to him, "Saʿīd, what is it that ails you?" He replied, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, there's nothing the matter with me; it's just that I was among those present when Khubayb b. ʿAdī was killed. And I heard his curse. And whenever I'm meeting people and recall this, I feel faint." ʿUmar thought all the better of him thereafter.'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having said, 'We have been told that ʿUmar said, "Anyone who wants to see a man who is unique should look at Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khubayb remained in their captivity until the sacred months had expired and then they killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, as follows, "Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to me, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him forth alone to get information. He said, 'I made my way to the wooden frame where Khubayb was and climbed up, fearing I might be seen. I released him and he fell to the ground. I then drew away a little, then turned but could not see anything there; it was as if the earth had swallowed him. And not a trace of Khubayb has appeared up to this time.'"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Saʿīd or ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the men were killed at al-Rajīʿ, some hypocrites said, 'How sad for those misguided people who died that way. They neither stayed with their families, nor did they carry out their master's mission."'"

It was about them that God revealed the words, "There may be a person whose words about this life may please you, while he invokes God to witness what is in his heart. Yet he may be the most vehement of enemies" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.204).

And God revealed concerning those who went on this expedition, "There are those who sell themselves seeking God's favour, and God is compassionate to His servants" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.207).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the following verses were spoken about this expedition by Khubayb when people gathered to kill him. Ibn Hishām observed that some authorities deny that he was their author:

"The parties gathered around me, assembled their tribes and collected all the groups together;
All of them showed enmity towards me and antagonism, because I was in bonds, tightly held.
They had gathered their women and children and I was taken to a tall, stout tree-trunk;
I complain to God at my isolation and my torment and at the death the enemy planned for me.
O Lord of the Throne, give me patience to withstand what it is they intend; they have slashed my flesh and my hope despairs.
This is happening in God's cause, and if He wishes He will bless torn-off limbs.
They offered me the choice between disbelief and death, and my eyes were wet from something other than fear.
I have no fear of death – and am already dead; but what I dread is the consuming fire of hell.
By God, if I die a Muslim, I care not in what way my death in God's cause may occur.
I shall not express subservience to the enemy, nor any fear, for it is to God I am returning."

Two of these verses are given also[24] in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. These are the lines,

"I do not care, when I die as a Muslim, in what manner my death in God's cause may occur.
This is happening in God's cause; and if He wishes, He will bless torn-off limbs."

Ibn Isḥāq quotes Ḥassān b. Thābit as having spoken the following elegy for Khubayb:

"What is wrong with your eyes, ceaselessly letting fall their teardrops on to your breast like pearls,
Over Khubayb, a hero of the brave, no coward when you challenge him and not frivolous, as is well known.

24. With slight variations in some wording and the transposition of one line.

Go forth, Khubayb, and may God reward you well, in eternal paradise with *ḥouris*[25] for companions.

What will you respond when the Prophet asks you, while pure angels are there on the horizon,

Why it was you killed God's martyr for a tyrant who committed crimes throughout the land?"

Ibn Hishām commented that he had left out certain verses containing obscenities.

Ḥassān also, according to Ibn Isḥāq, recited the following verses attacking those of Banū Liḥyān who had betrayed those who went to al-Rajī'. But God alone, in Whom is all trust, confidence and protection, knows best.

"If pure, unadulterated treachery delights you, then go to al-Rajī' and ask where Liḥyān live;

They are a people who advise one another to eat the neighbours who come among them, dogs, monkeys and men being all alike!

If a billy-goat could talk and arose one day to address them, they would consider him someone of honour and importance!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said, satirizing Hudhayl and Banū Liḥyān for their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajī', may God be pleased with them all:

"By my life, the stories told of Khubayb and 'Āṣim have disgraced Hudhayl b. Mudrik,

Tales told of Liḥyān have brought them ignominy,

For Liḥyān have committed the most evil of crimes.

Their men, those from the very best of their tribe, those like the very hairs behind the fetlock of a horse's front legs.

They betrayed at al-Rajī' and surrendered their charges, men of decency and fine qualities.

They betrayed the apostle's messenger; Hudhayl gave no protection against horrendous crimes.

They will one day see victory go against them for killing one protected against evil actions,

By swarms of wasps guarding his flesh, protecting the flesh of one who witnessed mighty battles.

Hudhayl may well see the bodies of those killed laid out or at funerals.

We will engage them in fierce battles that riders will relate to fairgoers.

At the orders of the Messenger of God; His messenger has made his decision against Liḥyān, forcefully and with knowledge.

A despicable tribe that cares nothing for fidelity and does not repel the tyrant's hand when wronged.

When (some) people live in the open desert, them you find at the very rivers, amidst the streams.

25. In Islam, the handmaidens of paradise whose company is a reward for exemplary behaviour on earth.

> Their abode is that of death; their response when harmed is like that of dumb beasts."

Ḥassān, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following in praise of the men at al-Rajīʿ, naming them in his verses. Ibn Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, recorded the following:

> "May God bless those who went forth together at al-Rajīʿ and who were honoured and rewarded.
>
> The party's leader and commander was Marthad, and Ibn al-Bukayr was their Imām, along with Khubayb.
>
> And there was a son of Ṭāriq and Ibn Dathina was of them; it was there he met his pre-determined fate.
>
> And there was al-ʿĀṣim, slain at al-Rajīʿ, who reached the very heights (of heaven); how much he gained!
>
> He prevented the panderers from striking his back by fighting fiercely; he was splendid."

Ibn Hishām commented that most authorities deny that these are verses of Ḥassān.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿAMR B. UMAYYA AL-ḌAMRĪ, FOLLOWING THE EXECUTION OF KHUBAYB.

Al-Wāqidī stated, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar related to me, from his father, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUbayda, from Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwf, some of these giving longer accounts than others. They stated, "Abū Sufyān had asked a number of Quraysh men in Mecca, 'Won't someone assassinate Muḥammad? He goes walking in the markets. We would then have our revenge.' A bedouin came to him, went inside his house and told him, 'If you will hire me, I'll go out and assassinate him. I'm a skilled tracker and I have a dagger that is (concealed) like the under-wing feathers of an eagle.' 'Then you're our man!' he replied, and gave him a camel and expense money. He told him, 'Keep this secret; I don't want anyone to hear of this and report it to Muḥammad.' The bedouin assured him that no one would know of it.

"He then left by night on his mount, travelling on for five days, arriving in the quarter on the morning of the sixth. He then went about enquiring after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); when he reached the place for prayer someone told him, 'He has gone off to see Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.'

"The bedouin then left, leading his mount. When he arrived where Banū ʿAbd al-Aṣhhal were, he hobbled his camel and went to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found him amidst a group of his Companions, addressing them in his mosque. When the bedouin entered and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw

him, he told his men, 'This man intends some treachery, but God will foil his plan.' The bedouin stood there and asked, 'Which one of you is ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'm ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son.' The bedouin approached and leaned down over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as though confiding a secret to him. But Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr pulled him away, saying, 'Keep away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' Usayd then felt down in his loin cloth and there found the dagger. He then announced, 'Messenger of God, this man is a traitor!'

"The bedouin stood there aghast and said, 'Take my blood! Take my blood, Muḥammad!'

"Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr seized him and was about to slit his throat when the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, 'Tell me the truth about yourself and why you have come. And if you tell the truth your honesty will serve you well; but if you lie to me, I'll proceed as I intended.'

"'Then I'll be free?' the bedouin asked.

"'Yes, you'll be free,' he replied.

"The bedouin then told him about Abū Sufyān and what he told him to do, and he was then given over to the charge of Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I will either set you free to go wherever you want, or would you prefer something better than that?' 'What would that be?' the bedouin asked. 'That you give testimony that there is no god but God, and that I am God's messenger.'

"The bedouin then said, 'I do testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I swear by God, Muḥammad, that I was never afraid of any man. But as soon as I saw you all my strength left me. Then you perceived what I had intended, though no rider had reached you before myself with any information and no one had any information. So I realized that you were inviolate, that you were truth and that the party of Abū Sufyān was that of the devil.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) began to smile at this. He (the bedouin) remained there for some days then asked permission of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to leave and, having done so, nothing more was heard of him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to ῾Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī and to Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥārīs, 'Go to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and if you should catch him unawares, then kill him.'

"῾Amr related, 'I and my companion then left, travelling on until we reached the Ya᾽jij valley. We tied up our mounts and my companion asked me, "῾Amr, would you like for us to go on into Mecca and circumambulate the *ka῾ba* seven times and make two *rak῾as* in prayer?" I replied, "I'm better informed about the people of Mecca than you are and after dark they dampen down their courtyards and sit down there. I know Mecca better than a piebald mare!" But he disagreed with me and so we went on into Mecca. We made seven circumambulations and did make two *rak῾as*. When I went outside (the sanctuary) I was met by

Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, who recognized me. "It's ʿAmr b. Umayya! What a pity," he said. He then drew the attention of the Meccans to us, who said, "'ʿAmr has not come here for anything good!' – ʿAmr had been renowned before Islam as an assassin.

"The Meccans then gathered men together and ʿAmr and Salama left, being pursued, and all hurried up into the mountains.

"ʿAmr went on, 'I entered a cave and hid from them till next morning. They had spent the night searching for us, but God blinded their sight from finding their way to the road to Medina. The morning of the next day, ʿUthmān b. Mālik b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī approached, looking for grass for his horse. I commented to Salama b. Aslam, "If he sees us, he'll tell the Meccans where we are, and they will discover us." He kept on approaching until he was right over us. I then went out to him and thrust my dagger once beneath a nipple. He fell down, screaming. So the Meccans gathered and advanced together, having previously been separated. I went back inside and told my companion, "Don't move!" The Meccans approached until they were right there and then they asked (ʿUthmān b. Mālik) who had killed him. "It was ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī," they replied. Abū Sufyān then said, "We knew he had not come for any good reason!" But (ʿUthmān) was not able to tell them where we were; he was at his last gasp and died. They were distracted from seeking us by their (dead) comrade and carried him away.

"'We remained in our place for two nights until the search for us had died down; we then left for al-Tanʿīm. My companion asked me, "ʿAmr b. Umayya, would you like us to go for Khubayb b. ʿAdī, to bring him down?" "Where is he?" I asked. "Over there, crucified," he replied, "with a guard around him." I answered, "Leave me here awhile, and you go on. If something frightens you, then move over to your camel and sit on it. Then proceed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and tell him the news. Leave me here; I know the town." I then searched for him (Khubayb's body) until I found him and carried him away on my back. I had not walked more that 20 arms' lengths before they all woke up and set off after me. I threw down the wooden scaffold, and I'll never forget the sound it made. Then I piled earth up over it with my feet and took off on the Ṣafrāʾ road. Eventually they tired (of following) and went back, leaving me much relieved. My companion hurried over and mounted his camel, which he rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him what had happened. I then travelled on until I was overlooking al-Ghalīl, al-Ghalīl Ḍajnān; there I went into a cave carrying my bow, arrows and dagger. While I was there a man of Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr arrived; he was tall, one-eyed and herding sheep and goats. He came inside the cave and asked, "What man is here?" I replied, "A man of Banū Bakr." "I too am of Banū Bakr," he said. He then made himself comfortable, and raised his voice in a song,

> "I'll be not Muslim so long as I live; I'll never
> profess the Muslims' faith."

"'I said to myself, "By God, I hope I get to kill you!" When he was asleep, I went over to him and killed him more brutally than I ever have anyone.

"'I then left there and proceeded on down. When I got to the road, there were two men who had been sent by Quraysh to gather news. I told them, "Consider yourselves prisoners!" One of them refused, so I shot and killed him. When the other saw this, he gave himself up and I bound him and took him on in to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"'When I reached Medina, *anṣār* children gathered around me, playing, and they heard their elders say, "This is ʿAmr." The children raced off to tell the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I took the prisoner in to him, having bound his thumbs together with my bow string. I noticed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was laughing. He then said a prayer for me.'"

The arrival of Salama was three days before that of ʿAmr.

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

It is stated above that after ʿUmar cut Khubayb down, he saw no cadaver or body. Perhaps he was buried where he fell; God knows best.

Ibn Hishām merely added this expedition to the text of Ibn Isḥāq, his being similar to that of al-Wāqidī. However, his account gives the companion of ʿAmr b. Umayya on this expedition as Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. But God knows best; and all praise be to God.

THE EXPEDITION TO BIʾR MAʿŪNA.

It took place in Ṣafar of that year, 4 AH. The late Makḥūl, may God have mercy on him, is unique in stating that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿmar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas b. Mālik who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 70 men, known as *al-qurrāʾ*, on a mission. Their way was blocked by two tribes of Banū Sulaym, Riʿl and Dhakwān, at a well called Maʿūna. The Muslims told them, 'We have not come out to fight you; we're sent on a mission for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But the tribesmen killed them.

"Consequently, the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke against them for a month at each morning prayer. This began the practice of saying the *qunūt*;[26] previously we had not done so."

26. The word, used in the Qurʾan, has associations of being humble and submissive to God, and also to stand up, or to remain standing. The term *duʿā al-qunūt*, the prayer of supplication or of standing, is given in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* in Arabic and with an English translation, as follows, "O God, verily we beg for Thy aid to be obedient and to forsake disobedience, and we beg of Thee forgiveness of sins (and we believe in Thee, and we rely upon Thee) and we laud Thee well, and we will not be unthankful to Thee for Thy favour, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee: (O God Thee we worship. And to Thee we perform the divinely appointed act of prayer, and prostrate ourselves); and we are quick in working for Thee and in serving Thee; we hope for Thy mercy, and we dread Thy punishment; verily, Thy punishment overtakes the unbelievers."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, that Riʿl, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for assistance against an enemy and so he provided them the help of 70 of the *anṣār*. We used at that time to name them the *al-qurrāʾ*; they would collect wood by day and pray by night. Eventually, when they were at Biʾr Maʿūna the tribesmen killed them, having betrayed them. After this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said the *qunūṭ* prayers for a month, each morning saying prayers against these bedouin tribes of Riʿl, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān." Anas stated, "And we would recite Qurʾān verses too, but these were later rescinded. These words were, 'Inform our people about us – that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'"

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Hamām, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, quoting Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Ḥarām, the brother of Umm Sulaym, in charge of a party of 70 mounted men. The pagan chief ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl had proposed three choices to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had told him, 'You can have control over the bedouin, while I will control the townspeople. Or I could be appointed as your successor. Otherwise, I will do battle with you at the head of 2,000 men of Banū Ghaṭafān.'

"But ʿĀmir contracted typhoid at the home of Umm So-and-So. He then said, 'Shall I suffer from a swelling like that of a she-camel in the home of a woman from the So-and-So family? Bring me my horse.' And subsequently he died on the back of his horse.

"Ḥarām, Umm Sulaym's brother, along with one man who was lame and another man of Banū So-and-So then went further on. Ḥarām told his companions, 'Stay close by me until I get near them; if they are peaceful, you'll be right there, but if they kill me, then you can go back to your comrades.'

"Ḥarām then went out to them and asked them, 'Will you let me deliver in peace a message to you from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?'

"He then began addressing them, but they signalled to a man who came up to him from behind and stabbed him. Ḥarām cried out, 'God is very great! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!'

"The tribesmen then attacked and killed all Ḥarām's companions except for the man who was lame, and escaped up into the mountain. It was then that God revealed to us the verses, later rescinded, 'We have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'

"Each morning for the following 30 days the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against Riʿl, Dhakwān, Banū Liḥyān and ʿUṣayya, who had disobeyed God and His messenger."

Al-Bukhārī also said that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, who said that Maʿmar informed him as follows, "Thumāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Anas related to me that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'When Ḥarām b. Milḥān – who was Anas's uncle – was stabbed at al-Maʿūna, he said, "Thus I do with my blood!" And he began wiping it all over his face and head. Then he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also recounted, from ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, who said, "My father told me as follows, 'When the men were killed at Biʾr Maʿūna and ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was taken prisoner, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked the father, pointing to a corpse, "Who is this?" ʿAmr replied, "This was ʿĀmir b. Fuḥayra. And after he was killed, I saw him raised up into the sky until I could actually see sky between him and the earth. He was then brought back down." When news of them reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), he announced their death, saying, "Your comrades have been killed; they asked their Lord, 'O God, inform our brothers about us, and of how we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us.'" And so it was that He had informed them (the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions) about them. On that day ʿUrwa b. Asmāʾ b. al-Salṭ, who was among them, was killed. And ʿUrwa (b. al-Zubayrẓ) was named after him, while Mundhir (b. al-Zubayrẓ) was named after Mundhir b. ʿAmr (also killed that day).'"

These, then are the accounts related by al-Bukhārī on a line of transmission back to ʿUrwa.

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha. That account proceeds from the Hijra and relates at its conclusion what is told here by al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī recounted it from Muṣʿab b. Thābit, Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa. He related the story of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, and how ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl reported how he was raised up to heaven. His account tells that the person who killed him was Jabbār b. Salmā al-Kilābī.

He stated, "And when the man pierced him with the spear, he exclaimed, 'I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!'

"Then Jabbār asked, 'What did he mean when he said, "I have succeeded?"' People replied, 'He meant with paradise.' And so he then said, 'He was right, by God!' Thereafter Jabbār accepted Islam, for that reason."

In the *Maghāzī*, the military chronicle, of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUrwa is quoted as saying, "The body of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra was not found; it is said that the angels hid it."

Yūnus (b. Bukayr) stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there – following Uḥud, that is – for the rest of Shawwāl, through Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja and Muḥarram. Then, in Ṣafar, he sent out the men who died at Biʾr Maʿūna, four months following Uḥud."

He went on, "Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār related to me, from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, along with scholars other than these two men, as follows, 'Abū Barā' ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar, (known as) *mulāʿib al-asinna*, "He who Toys with Spears", came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, who explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. But Abū Barāʾ neither did so nor refused, but said, "O Muḥammad, if you were to despatch some of your Companions to the people of Najd, inviting them to join you, I would hope they would respond positively to you."

"'But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "But I would fear for them from the people of Najd."

"'Abū Barāʾ replied that he would give them protection.

"'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, brother of Banū Sāʿida, (known as) *al-muʿniq li yamūt*, "Eager for Death", with a party of 40 of his companions, some of the best of the Muslims. They included al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, Ḥarām b. Milḥān, brother of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, ʿUrwa b. Asmāʾ b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī, Nāfiʿ b. Budayl b. Warqāʾ al-Khuzāʿī, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, along with other warriors of the Muslim elite.

"'They travelled as far as the well at Maʿūna, between the territory of Banū ʿĀmir and the *ḥarra*, "the lava field", of Banū Sulaym, where they halted. Having made camp, they sent out Ḥarām b. Milḥān with a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), addressed to ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. When Ḥarām reached him, ʿĀmir did not look at the document but attacked and killed the man. He then invited Banū ʿĀmir to attack, but they refused to do as he wanted, responding, "We'll not betray Abū Barāʾ; he has given them a pledge and his protection."

"'ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl then invited the tribes of Banū Sulaym, ʿUṣayya, Riʿl, Dhakwān and al-Qāra, and they agreed to attack the Muslims. They came out against them by surprising and surrounding them while the Muslims were with their baggage. When they saw the enemy attacking, they drew their swords and fought them until all the Muslims were killed, except for Kaʿb b. Zayd, brother of Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār. The left him there barely alive; he was picked up from among the dead and lived on until he was killed at the battle of al-khandaq.

"'ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī and another Muslim, one of the *anṣār*, of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, were out grazing the camels and did not know of the death of their comrades until they saw vultures circling over their camp. They assumed something was wrong when they saw the birds and when they came in to see, they found them lying in their blood while the horsemen who had killed them were still there. The man of the *anṣār* asked ʿAmr b. Umayya what they should do; ʿAmr suggested they return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to give him the news. But the *anṣārī* could not bring himself to leave the place where al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr had been killed, and he also did not want to be the one to inform the others of the bad news. He therefore fought the enemy until he was

killed. ʿAmr was taken prisoner, but when he told them he was of Banū Muḍar, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl released him, after cutting off his forelock. It is claimed that he let him go because of a pledge his mother had made.

"'ʿAmr then left, travelling on till he reached al-Qarqara, before Qanāt; there he was met by two men of Banū ʿĀmir, who made a halt at the shady place where he had stopped. The two ʿĀmir men had made a pact of peace and protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which ʿAmr b. Umayya was unaware. When the two men dismounted, ʿAmr asked them who they were and they replied that they were of Banū ʿĀmir. He left them alone until they were asleep and then he attacked and killed them, believing that by doing so he was taking revenge against their tribe for the attack they had made against the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When ʿAmr b. Umayya reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, and told him the news, the latter told him, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit." He then went on to comment, "This must be the work of Abū Barāʾ; I was reluctant and apprehensive about this."

"'When news of it reached Abū Barāʾ, he was very upset at how ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl had betrayed him, and at what had befallen the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of him and while under his own protection.

"'Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about ʿĀmir's betrayal of Abū Barāʾ and to incite the latter's tribe against ʿĀmir,

"O tribe of Umm al-Banīn, does it not distress you,
fine men of Najd,
That ʿĀmir has treated Abū Barā' with scorn in
betraying him?
And making a mistake is not the same as acting
deliberately.
Won't you ask Rabīʿa, a man of deeds, 'What things have
you accomplished after I left you?
Your father, Abū Barāʾ, is a man of war, while your
uncle Ḥakam b. Saʿd is a nobleman.'"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Umm al-Banīn referred to was Abū Barāʾ's mother; she was the daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa.

"Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik attacked ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and pierced him in the thigh, but not fatally, though he did fall from his horse. ʿĀmir then said, 'This is the work of Abū Barāʾ. If I die, I award my blood to my uncle, and he is not to be pursued for it (in revenge). If I live, I will later decide what to do.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhrī in approximately the same words as those of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He also stated that the leader of the Muslim party was al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr; he is also said to have been Marthad b. Abū Marthad.

Hassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing those killed at Biʾr Maʿūna; at least, that is what Ibn Isḥāq stated, may God be pleased with him. However, God knows best:

"For those killed at Maʿūna weep endless, copious tears.
For the Prophet's cavalry who met their death, (God's) fate.
Annihilation struck them because of men who broke their pledge in treachery.
Alas for Mundhir who passed away, who accepted his death with willing stoicism!
What a lot of fine men of ʿAmr's people died then!"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-NAḌĪR.

It was about this expedition that God Almighty revealed *sūrat al-Ḥashr* (LIX). In the *ṣaḥiḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a quotation from Ibn ʿAbbās that he used to refer to it as the (*sūrat*) *Banū al-Naḍīr*.

Al-Bukhārī related from al-Zuhrī, who quoted ʿUrwa as saying, "The expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr came six months after (the battle of) Badr, and before (the battle of) Uḥud."

Ibn Abū Ḥātim, in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), traced this from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, back to al-Zuhrī.

Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq related similarly, from Hilāl b. ʿAlāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Raqī, from Muṭrif b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Muʿammar, from al-Zuhrī; he gave the date for the battle of Badr as the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

He went on, "He attacked Banū al-Naḍīr, then fought the battle of Uḥud, in Shawwāl, 3 AH. In Shawwāl of 4 AH he fought the battle of al-khandaq."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Zuhrī used to say that it took place before the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Others maintained that it occurred thereafter, and after the expedition to Biʾr Maʿūna as well."

I would comment that this was what Ibn Isḥāq related, as stated above. He referred to it following his account of Biʾr Maʿūna and after the return of ʿAmr b. Umayya and his killing of those two men of Banū ʿĀmir. (This occurred because) he was not aware of the pact they had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this leading to the latter's statement, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to Banū al-Naḍīr to ask their help in paying for the bloodwit for the two men of Banū ʿĀmir who had been killed by ʿAmr b. Umayya; this was because of the pact of protection he had given the two men. There was, moreover, a pact and a treaty between Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū ʿĀmir. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them, they replied, 'Yes, Abū al-Qāsim, we'll help you as you wish.'

"But then some of them met secretly and concluded that they would never have a better opportunity to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was

seated at the wall of one of their houses. They asked for a volunteer to climb up on to the house to drop a rock down on him so that they would be rid of him.

"῾Amr b. Jaḥāsh b. Ka῾b volunteered to do this and climbed up to drop the rock as suggested. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been accompanied by his Companions, who included Abū Bakr, ῾Umar and ῾Alī. He received information from heaven about what the enemy intended, so he got up and set off back to Medina. When his Companions tired of waiting for him, they set about looking for him and met a man arriving from Medina. When they asked him about the Prophet (ṢAAS), he replied, 'I saw him entering Medina.' The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to him and told him of the treachery Banū al-Naḍīr had planned against him."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Muḥammad b. Maslama to tell them (Banū al-Naḍīr) to leave his territory and protection. But the hypocrites sent messages to them giving them their support, urging them to stay and promising them aid. This encouraged Banū al-Naḍīr, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab became adamant. They then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they would not leave and warned him against breaking the agreements.

"It was then that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent his forces out against them."

Al-Wāqidī continued, "They kept them besieged for 15 days."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that preparations be made to go forth to war against them."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina; this took place in Rabī῾ al-Awwal."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He journeyed forth and besieged them for six days. It was then that the prohibition of wine came down. The enemy set up defences in their forts and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their date-palms be cut down and burned. They appealed to him, saying, 'Muḥammad, you used to forbid causing destruction and criticized those who did so. Why are you cutting down and burning our date-palms?'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A group of Banū ῾Awf b. al-Khazraj, including ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, Wadī῾a, Mālik, Suwayd and Dā῾is, had advised Banū al-Naḍīr as follows: 'If you stay firm and resist, we will not give up on you. If you fight, we'll fight along with you, and if you are expelled, we will leave with you.' And so Banū al-Naḍīr waited for their help, but they did nothing. And so God cast fear into Banū al-Naḍīr, and they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to evacuate them and to spare their blood, allowing them to depart with whatever of their belongings they could transport, except for their armour."

Al-῾Awfī quoted Ibn ῾Abbās as saying, "He gave one camel to each three persons, along with a baggage carrier."

Al-Bayhaqī related this, quoting Ya῾qūb b. Muḥammad, from al-Zuhrī, from Ibrāhīm b. Ja῾far b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, from his father and his

grandfather, from Muḥammad b. Maslama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him to Banū al-Naḍīr with instructions to delay their withdrawal for three days.

Al-Bayhaqī also related, as did others, that they had debts outstanding to them that were due. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, "Hurry up and pay them!"

There is dispute over the veracity of this. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They therefore loaded their belongings on their camels to the extent they could bear. Some of their men tore down their houses and removed the door lintels which they mounted on the backs of their camels and took away. Some of them left for Khaybar, while some went to Syria. Among their leaders who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. When they arrived there the people of Khaybar accepted their control.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that they were received by women and young men and gifts, with tambourines, flutes and girls walking behind them singing boldly and with pride; nothing similar is related of any tribe of people in their era.

"They left their properties for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); these consisted of their palm trees and their farms. These became his personal property to dispose of as he wished. He divided them up among those who first migrated with him, to the exclusion of the *anṣār*, except for Sahl b. Ḥanīf and Abū Dujāna. These both complained of poverty and so he gave to them."

Some authorities add al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma to these two men. Al-Suhaylī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Only two men of Banū al-Naḍīr accepted Islam: Yāmīn b. ʿUmayr b. Kaʿb, the cousin of ʿAmr b. Jaḥāsh, and Abū Saʿd b. Wahb; these men retained their properties.

"A member of Yāmīn's family related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Yāmīn, 'Did you see how your cousin treated me, and what he intended to do to me?' Yāmīn therefore gave a fee to a man to kill ʿAmr b. Jaḥāsh, God damn him, and he did so."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "God revealed *sūrat al-Ḥashr* in its entirety about them, telling in it of the vengeance he took on them, how He empowered His messenger over them and what He did to them."

Ibn Isḥāq then detailed this. We have spoken of this at length and in clarity in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God be all praise.

God Almighty stated, "All in the heavens and all on earth declare God's glory; He is the Almighty and All-wise. He it is who drew forth from their homes for the first deportation those people of the scriptures who disbelieved. You did not think they would leave; and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came at them from where they did not expect, casting fear

into them. They demolished their houses with their own hands and with those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes! Had God not decreed for them that they should leave, He would have punished them severely on earth; and in the hereafter, they shall have the torture of hellfire. That is because they opposed God and His messenger. And for those who oppose God, God shall be severe in His punishment. Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.1-5).

God Almighty, may He be praised, declared His own glory and related how all creatures, high and low, glorify Him. He stated that He is All-Powerful, and unassailable, His greatness and majesty insurmountable, and that He is All-Wise in all He has created and in all He has planned and purposed. It is from all this that stem the empowerment, management and effectiveness (He gave) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to the believers who serve Him, in their victory over their enemies the Jews who disobeyed God and His messenger and opposed His messenger and His law, all of which was the cause leading to conflict with them, as told above, until he with (God's) support encompassed them with fear and dread for a month. In addition, he imprisoned them by besieging them with his forces and his own noble self for six days. Their terror put them to total confusion, so that they ultimately co-operated and made peace to spare their blood, removing of their property what their mounts would carry. This was conditional upon their not bearing away any of their weapons, a shameful and humiliating circumstance. They proceeded, moreover, to demolish their homes, by their own hands and by those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes to see!

The Almighty then stated that if they had not suffered withdrawal and the remove into exile from the protection of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and from Medina, then He would have afflicted them with far worse punishment, here on earth, namely execution, along with what He had in store for them in the after-life, namely the painful punishment He has decreed for them.

The Almighty went on to refer to the wisdom that was evident in the burning of their palm trees and their abandonment of the rest of their property, all of this being palatable. He stated, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down ..." The word used here, *līna*, "palm trees", refers to palms giving much fruit. And He went on, "... or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission." (This implies) the following, that all of this was permitted by law and by authority, and that they should not object to it but (recognize) that it was all for their own good, not some iniquity, as some evil-minded men have said. It was, on the contrary, an expression of power, and purposed the disgrace of the shameless unbelievers.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) burned and cut down the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍīr, this being at al-Buwayra, and so God

revealed, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, and so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.5).

Al-Bukhārī quotes from Juwayriyya b. Asmāʿ, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cut down and burned the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍīr at al-Buwayra and that on that occasion Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the verses,

"It left unmoved the nobles of Banū Luʾayy that there
was a terrible fire at al-Buwayra."

In response to this Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed the following,

"May God bless that action and set aflame all its
(Medina's) parts.
You will learn which of us it is who gains thereby, and
which of our lands it will harm."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. Mālik recited, in reference to the withdrawal of Banū al-Naḍīr and the killing of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, (though) God knows best (whether the verses are authentic),

'The rabbis were dishonoured by their treachery; thus
it is that the vicissitudes of fate revolve.
This was because they disbelieved in a great Lord whose
orders are of great import.
They were brought understanding and knowledge combined,
and the warner came to them from God.
A truthful warner, who brought a book and verses that
were plain and illuminating.
But they said, "You did not bring truth, and you are
more worthy of being denied than are we."
He said, "Not so; I tell the truth. Those who are
understanding and knowledgeable believe me."
Those who follow him will be guided to all that is
true; those who disbelieve in him will be shamed for
disbelief.
When they were made to drink of deceit and disbelief,
and rejection of him turned them from the truth
God made the Prophet see accurately, and God deals
wisely and does not deceive.
He aided him and empowered him over them; He was his
helper, a fine helper.
Of them, Kaʿb was left there prostrate, and al-Naḍīr
were humbled after his downfall,
There on his two hands; flashing swords in our hands
overwhelmed him

By God's command, when he sent Ka'b's brother secretly to go by night to Ka'b.
He tricked him, defeating him by guile; and Maḥmūd is brave and trustworthy.
Those of Banū al-Naḍīr were in a state of evil; the Destroyer ruined them for the crimes they committed.
That morning when the Messenger of God came slowly towards them, he being well aware of them.
Ghassān, the defenders, were helping him against his enemies, as he would aid them.
He told them, "Peace – or woe to you!" But they rejected him; and deceit and corruption allied with them.
So they tasted the outcome of their actions in distress, each three of them having one camel.
They were expelled and headed for Qaynuqā', abandoning their homes and date-palms.'"

Ibn Isḥāq also gives the response made by the Jew Sammāl; we have intentionally omitted it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The following verses of Ibn Luqaym al-'Absī were also spoken about Banū al-Naḍīr. It is also said that they were spoken by Qays b. Baḥr b. Ṭarīf al-Ashja'ī,

'May my people be a ransom for that man who will never die who resettled the Jews in territories not their own.
They siesta in embers of thorn trees, having exchanged uplands where young date-palms sprouted.
If my view about Muḥammad is correct, you will see his cavalry between al-Ṣallā and Mt. Yaramyam,
Directing them towards 'Amr b. Buhtha. They are an enemy; and an honest tribe is unlike one that is evil.
On the horses are heroes as they race on to battle, waving their straight wooden lances.
And each of their fine thin-bladed swords inherited from the eras of 'Ād and Jurhum.
Who will deliver to Quraysh a message from me? Shall anyone succeed them in being so honoured,
For the fact – know this well – that their brother Muḥammad, is of the line of those between al-Ḥajūn and Zamzam?
If you serve him in truth, you will prosper and you will rise from below to the very heights.
He is a prophet, with mercy ordained him by God; do not ask of him anything undisclosed (by God) or improper.

By my life, there was a lesson for you, Quraysh, in
what happened at Badr, and at the crowded well.
That morning he came among the Khazrajīs, heading for
you in obedience to God, the Powerful and Much-Honoured.
Being helped by the holy spirit, striking his enemies,
a true messenger with knowledge from the All-Merciful.
A messenger from the All-Merciful reciting His Book,
not having hesitated.
I see his authority rising everywhere, in accord with a
command decreed by God.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote the following verses from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. Ibn Hishām, however, stated, "These were spoken by a Muslim man, but I do not know anyone who attributes them to ʿAlī,

'I know, and whoever judges well does know, and I am
truly sure and do not waver from
The specific words that came from God, the Kind and the
Kindest of all,
In messages that are studied by the believers and in
which he selected Aḥmad, the One Chosen.
And so Aḥmad was honoured among us, honoured in status
and role.
You who threaten him foolishly, though he has done no
wrong or violence,
Are you not fearful of imminent punishment? And those
who are secure with God are not like those afraid!
And afraid of falling beneath his swords, felled like
Kaʿb Abū al-Ashraf
That day when God saw his tyranny as he disobeyed like
a refractory camel?
And Gabriel kindly brought down revelation about his
death to His servant.
And so the Messenger secretly sent an envoy to him with
a sharp blade.
Eyes then began flowing in lament for him, when news of
Kaʿb's death was announced.
They asked, "Aḥmad, leave us awhile, for we have not
yet recovered from our mourning."
He did leave them, then said, "Go away, in banishment,
despite your wishes."
He despatched al-Naḍīr into exile, though they had
enjoyed comfortable homes,
Away to Adhriʿāt, riding double on their mounts, any
emaciated old camels they could find.'"

We have intentionally also omitted the response to these verses from the Jew Sammāl.

God Almighty then went on to refer to the awarding of *al-fayʾ*[27] and to the fact that God had judged that the property of Banū al-Naḍīr should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore gave him possession of it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disposed of it as God Almighty wished.

It is similarly established in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, "The properties of Banū al-Naḍīr were awarded by God to His messenger from whatever the Muslim forces, mounted on horse or camel, had not themselves taken." These were specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He would set aside his family's expenses for a year and then whatever riding beast or weapons remained he would treat as military supplies to be used in the cause of God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The Almighty then made clear His judgement about the *al-fayʾ*, to the effect that it was for the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* as well as for their dependants in whatever ways and manner was customary to them. (God stated) "... and for those close in kin, orphans, the needy, wayfarers, so that it not be something taken in turns by those of you who are wealthy. Whatever the Messenger gives you, you should take. And from whatever he forbids you, keep away. And fear God; God is severe in punishing" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.7).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿĀrim and ʿAffān quoted Muʿtamir as having related to them both, 'I heard my father say, "Anas b. Mālik related to us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), that a man might donate to him his palms, or whatever else God might wish, up to when Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr were conquered for him; thereafter he began giving it back."'"

Muʿtamir's father went on, "My family told me to go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and to ask him back for all or part of what they had given. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) had given some of the trees to Umm Ayman – or he had done whatever it was that God had wanted."

He went on, "So I asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he gave me some of them.[28] Then Umm Ayman came up angrily, pulled my clothing up around my neck and began saying, 'No! By the One and Only God, I won't give them to you! He gave them to me!' – or some such comments. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'But you can have so-and-such.' She responded, 'No! By God!' He repeated, 'Then I'll give you so-and-such.' 'No! By God!' she replied. 'Then I'll give you so-and-such!' he offered until he had given her in full. I think he must have given her ten times as much as she had formerly owned."

27. The word comes from a verb meaning "to restore", "to give back". It refers here to a category of property acquired from an enemy who has not engaged in actual warfare but has acknowledged Muslim supremacy.

28. Presumably some of the date-palms referred to above.

This is derived in similar terms in various lines of transmission from Muʿtamir.

God Almighty then stated that blame was due the hypocrites who were secretly sympathetic towards Banū al-Naḍīr, as we have mentioned above, promising them victory, though none came. In fact they abandoned them completely, having misled them about themselves. And so God stated, "(Have you not) seen those who were hypocritical, telling their disbelieving brethren from among the people of the scriptures, 'If you are driven out, we will go forth with you. We will never obey anyone concerning you. If you are attacked, we will certainly assist you.' But God bears witness that they are liars. If they were expelled, these people would not leave with them. If they were attacked, these would not help them. Even if they did help them, they would then turn their backs. Then they will not be helped."

The Almighty condemned them for their cowardice, ignorance and foolishness. He then drew an ugly and awful comparison regarding them and Satan, "... who says to mankind, 'Disbelieve!' But when they disbelieve, he (Satan) tells them, 'I am innocent of (responsibility for) you! I fear God, the Lord of the worlds.' And the outcome for them both is to enter hell-fire, to live therein forever. That is the reward of the unjust" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.16, 17).

The Story of ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Quraẓī.

He passed by the homes of Banū al-Naḍīr and found them laid to waste and completely abandoned. The fact that Banū al-Naḍīr had been of higher status than (his own) Banū Qurayẓa stimulated his interest in Islam and he brought forth a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the Old Testament.

Al-Wāqidī quoted Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar as stating that his father said, "When Banū al-Naḍīr left Medina, ʿAmr b. Suʿdā arrived and when he viewed their houses and saw their destruction, he went into deep thought. When he returned to Banū Qurayẓa, he found them assembled in the temple. He blew on their horn and when they had gathered together, al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā asked him, 'Abū Saʿīd, where were you? You've never been away before this.' ʿAmr used never to leave the temple and absolutely worshipped Judaism.

"He replied, 'Today, I have seen things that should be a lesson for us. I have seen our brothers' houses empty that before were places of honour, comfort, great virtue, prestige and intellectuality. They have abandoned their possessions, given them away to others, and gone into humiliating exile. By the Torah, the fact is that God never before gave such power to a people with whom He was dissatisfied. Previously, he had been in dispute with Ibn al-Ashraf, their respected leader, and then had kept him secure in his house. He was also at odds with their chief, Ibn Sunayna, and with Banū Qaynuqāʿ. These people, of the greatest prestige among the Jews, he expelled, even though they were possessed of much arms and equipment and support. Then he besieged them, taking prisoner any one of

them who emerged. He then addressed them, telling them he would leave them alone if they moved out of Medina. 'My people, you have seen what you have seen! Obey me! Come, let us follow Muḥammad! You well know, by God, that he is a prophet; Ibn al-Hayyibān Abū 'Umayr and Ibn Ḥirāsh foretold us of him, these being the most learned of Jews. They expected him to come and told us to follow him. They came to us from Jerusalem and ordered us to deliver him their greetings. They then died in their faith, and we buried them in this piece of land of ours.'

"His people were silent at this, not one of them speaking. He then repeated something similar and warned them of warfare, capture and exile. Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā then said, 'By the Torah, I have read the description of him in Bāṭā's book, the Torah that was revealed to Moses, though it is not in the works we instituted.'

"Ka'b b. Asad then asked him, 'Well, what's preventing you, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from following him?' 'You, Ka'b, are preventing me,' he replied. 'Why so?' Ka'b asked. 'I have never, I swear by the Torah, come between you and him.'

"Al-Zubayr insisted, 'On the contrary, you are the custodian of our pacts and pledges; if you followed him, so would we. If you refused, so will we.'

"At this 'Amr b. Su'dā approached Ka'b and referred to discussion between them on that. Eventually, 'Amr stated, 'I've said all I'm going to about him; I would not feel comfortable being his follower.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ LIḤYĀN DURING WHICH HE PERFORMED, AT 'USFĀN, THE ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF, THE "PRAYER OF FEAR".

Al-Bayhaqī related this in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). Ibn Isḥāq, so far as I have seen, related it through Hishām, from Ziyād, to the effect that it happened in Jumādā al-Uwlā of the year 2 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch", and after the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa. This is similar to the account given by al-Bayhaqī. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār and others, as follows: 'After Khubayb and his companions had been struck down, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to revenge them by making a surprise attack against Banū Liḥyān. He took the route to Syria to give the impression that he was not attacking them, then headed for their territory. But he found that they had taken the precaution of moving into defensive positions in the mountain heights. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "If we go on down to 'Usfān, Quraysh will think we're going on to Mecca." And so he proceeded on with 200 men and encamped at 'Usfān. He then sent on two horsemen to Kurā' al-Ghamīm; they then left there.'"

Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zurqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*[29] at ʿUsfān.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAyyāsh, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at ʿUsfān. The unbelievers met us, under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. They were positioned between us and the *qibla*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the noon prayer and the enemy told themselves, "In the position they were in we could have taken them unawares." They then observed, "They have a prayer approaching that is more dear to them than their children or themselves."

"'But between the noon and the early evening prayer Gabriel brought down the verse, "When you are among them and lead the prayer for them' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*'; IV, v.102).

"'Then time for prayer arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to take up their weapons. We lined up in two rows behind him. He then performed a *rakʿa*, and we all did the same. After that he stood upright and we all did the same. He then made the prostration with the line next to him, while the others stood guarding them. When these had made their prostrations and stood up again, the others prostrated in their place. Then those others occupied the lines of the former who exchanged places with them. Thereafter, he performed one *rūkūʿ* and they all did so too, after which he stood up, as did all of them. Following that, the next row prostrated while the others remained standing guarding them. When they sat, the others did so too, then they prostrated. He then delivered the *salām* greeting to them, after which he left.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer this way twice – once at ʿUsfān and again in the territory of Banū Sulaym.'"

Aḥmad related this from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Manṣūr in similar terms.

Abū Dāʾūd related it from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; al-Nasāʾī related it from al-Fallās, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, all three deriving it from Manṣūr.

This chain of authorities is in accord with the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; (yet) neither of them included it.

However, Muslim related through Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "We went forth on an expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), against a tribe from Juhaynam. They engaged in a fierce battle. When he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) led the noon prayer, the unbelievers said, 'If we had attacked them (then) we would have decimated them!'

29. A prayer performed in turn by various contingents of Muslim forces who are about to do battle with an enemy confronting them; those not praying protect those engaging in prayer against the possibility of a surprise attack.

"Gabriel then informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this and he said, 'They said, "A prayer is coming for them that is dearer to them than their children."'" The *ḥadīth* is then recounted in similar words as above.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, "Hishām related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayers among his Companions at Nakhl. The polytheists observed this, then said, "Leave them alone; they have a prayer coming after this one that is dearer to them than their children."

"'Gabriel then made a revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of this comment. When, therefore, he led the evening prayer he lined up his men in two rows with himself standing in front of them and the enemy out in front of him. He spoke the words *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great", and all his men said the same. Then they all performed a *rakʿa*. After that those in front performed the prostration, while the rest remained standing. When they brought their heads up, the others made their prostration. Then that group went forward, while the next group stayed back. They all then proclaimed the *takbīr* and performed their bows. Thereafter the ones next to him made their prostrations while the others stood, and when they raised their heads the others prostrated.'"

Al-Bukhārī testified to this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, giving this account of Hishām from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to us, from Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd al-Hunāʾī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaqīq, quoting Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt between Ḍajnān and ʿUsfān and that the polytheists commented, 'They have a prayer to come that is dearer to them than their sons and daughters – the evening prayer, that is. Prepare to have everyone attack them all together (then).'

"But Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him to divide up his men into two groups; some would perform the prayer while the others would stand at the ready behind them. He told them to be careful and to have their weapons prepared. The troops would perform a single *rakʿa* each, in groups in sequence with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he would perform two."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from an account of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the tradition as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

I comment that for Abū Hurayra to have witnessed this, it must have happened after Khaybar. Otherwise it would have to be considered of the *mursalāt al-ṣaḥāba*.[30] This categorization does not diminish the authority of such a *ḥadīth* in the view of most. But God knows best.

30. That is, accounts attributed to Companions that, because of possible gaps in the lines of transmission or the reputation of the transmitters, do not meet the full criteria of *aḥādīth* that can be viewed as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

In the text of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir in the works of either Muslim or Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī there is no reference to ʿUsfān, nor to Khālid b. al-Walīd. However, it is apparent that they are one and the same.

The question remains as to whether the expedition to ʿUsfān was before or after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch". Some scholars, including al-Shāfiʿī, claim that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was instituted only following that battle, on the basis that they deferred holding the prayer that day because of the fighting. But if practice of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* had been in force at that time, they would have performed it and not postponed it. Some scholars of the military engagements therefore maintain that the expedition against Banū Liḥyān, during which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was said at ʿUsfān, took place after the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Wāqidī has a line of transmission back to Khālid b. al-Walīd, whom he quotes as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya, I met him at ʿUsfān. I formed (my forces) before him and blocked his way. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with his men there in front of us. We were about to attack him, but could not make up our minds to do so. God then made him aware of what we had been contemplating. And so he said the *ṣalāt al-khawf* with his Companions at the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers."

The *ʿumra* of al-Ḥudaybiyya took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 6 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq and the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa, as will be related hereafter.

The text of the account of Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zarqī requires that the verse relating to the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was revealed during this expedition, at the fighting at ʿUsfān. This in turn necessitates that it was the first time he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*. But God knows best.

We will, if God Almighty wills it, relate the manner in which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was prayed and the various accounts about it in our work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*; and it is in God we trust and have confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO DHĀT AL-RIQĀʿ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Medina following the expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr for the two months of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and Rabīʿ al-Thānī, and also for part of Jumādā. He then sent forces into Najd against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Thaʿlaba of Ghaṭafān. He placed Abū Dharr in command of Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that he appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command there."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then went forth as far as Nakhl, this being on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ."[31]

31. The word riqāʿ, pl. riqāʿ, means a piece of land, paper or cloth.

Ibn Hishām commented, "(It is so named) because they patched up their banners there. Others say it is so named because there was a tree there known as Dhāt al-Riqā'."

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was named after a mountain there that had patches of red, black and white.

In the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā it is said that it was so named because of the rags they tied to their feet on account of the excessive heat.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "There he encountered a force of Ghaṭafān. The forces came close together without engaging in battle, each side being wary of the other; then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer."

For his account here of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer, Ibn Hishām relies upon one line of transmission from 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūrī, from Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, and on another from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, and on a third from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar. However, in these three lines he makes no reference to either the expedition to Najd or to that to Dhāt al-Riqā'. Nor did he turn attention to any (particular) time or place.

There is, moreover, dispute over whether or not the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā', which was in Najd and against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Tha'laba b. Ghaṭafān, came before the battle of al-khandaq.

Al-Bukhārī took the position that that took place after the expedition against Khaybar. As evidence for that, he refers to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī's presence there, as will be shown. His arrival occurred only during the nights of the Khaybar campaign, in the company of Ja'far and his men. The same is true of Abū Hurayra. He stated, "I prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the expedition to Najd."

Evidence that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq is that Ibn 'Umar was first authorized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to participate in the fighting at that battle. It is established of him (Ibn 'Umar) in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he stated, "I participated in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that to Najd during which he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*."

Also there is al-Wāqidi's statement, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dhāt al-Riqā' with a force of 400 (it is also said 700) of his Companions on Saturday, ten days before the end of al-Muḥarram, 5 AH." But there is dispute over this.

Moreover, there is no escaping the fact that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was only instituted after the battle of al-khandaq because that battle took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is widely known (though some date it as in Shawwāl of 4 AH), this being substantiated by the gist of the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Umar. However, the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā and that of Abū Hurayra do not (suggest this).

The Story of Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith.

Regarding this expedition, Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, that a man of Banū Muḥārib named Ghawrath said to his tribe of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, 'Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?' 'Yes indeed! And how will you kill him?' 'I'll assassinate him,' he replied.

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was seated with his sword in his lap. Ghawrath asked him, 'Muḥammad, could I see that sword of yours?' 'Yes.' He took it and began to raise it to strike, but God prevented him. He asked, 'Muḥammad, don't you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'What should I fear from you?' 'You're not afraid of me even though I have a sword in my hands?' 'No; God is protecting me from you.'

"Ghawrath then returned the sword to him. Thereafter, God, Great and Glorious is He, revealed the verse, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people intended to lay hands on you but He turned their hands away from you. Fear God; let believers place their reliance upon God!'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.11).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, however, that this verse was revealed about ʿAmr b. Jaḥḥāsh, brother of Banū al-Naḍīr, and what he had intended."

It is thus that Ibn Isḥāq related the story of this Ghawrath, from ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd al-Qadarī, the leader of the misled. He, although not deliberately engaging in falsehood in his *ḥadīth* accounts is one of those who should not be quoted as a source because of his innovations and support for them.

This *ḥadīth* is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other sources than him, thanks be to God!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted here a variety of lines of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from a number of places. It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān, and Abū Salama from Jābir, that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Najd. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the way home, the time for the afternoon rest came when they were in a valley with many thorn trees. The force divided up as the men sought the shade of the trees. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped in the shade of a tree on which he hung up his sword.

Jābir said, "And so we slept. Then suddenly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to us; we responded and found that there was a bedouin seated near him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This fellow unsheathed my sword while I was asleep. I awoke to find him brandishing it in his hand. He then asked me, "Who is there to protect you from me?" I replied, "God." He then sheathed the sword and sat down.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not punish the man for having done this."

Muslim also related this, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAffān, from Abān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and reached Dhāt al-Riqāʿ. Whenever we came across a shade-giving tree we would reserve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (We did so now) and one of the polytheists came over to him while his sword was hanging on a tree. The man took the sword, unsheathed it, then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Do you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'Who is to protect you from me?' 'God protects me from you,' he answered. Then the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intimidated the man and he sheathed the sword and hung it up again."

He went on, "Then the call for prayer was made. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) prayed two *rakʿas* with one group, and they went aside while he prayed two *rakʿas* with the next group. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed four *rakʿas*, while the rest prayed two."

Al-Bukhārī also derived this report with absolute certainty from Abān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, quoting Musaddad, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, that the name of the man was Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith

Al-Bayhaqī drew his account through Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sulaymān b. Qays, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged Muḥārib and Ghaṭafān in battle at Nakhl. The enemy detected a deficiencey in the Muslim defences, and sent through one of their men, Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith, who went and stood with his sword right over the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ghawrath asked him, 'Who is there to defend you from me?' 'God,' he replied. And the sword fell from the man's grasp. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up the sword and asked him, 'And who protects you from me?' 'Be compassionate!' 'Do you testify that there is no god but God?' he asked. 'No', Ghawrath replied, 'but I will give you my word that I'll not oppose you nor assist any others who do.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released him, and when Ghawrath returned to his men, he commented, 'I come to you from the very best of men!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then went on to tell of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* and that four *rakʿas* were performed, two with each group.

Al-Bayhaqī related the methods of performing the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at Dhāt al-Riqāʿ on lines of transmission from Ṣāliḥ b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, along with a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Salīm, from his father, concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in Najd. This is given in my *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. But God knows best.

The Story of the man whose wife was killed on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "My uncle Ṣadaqa b. Yasār related to me, from ʿUqayl b. Jābir, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ near Nakhl and

one of our men killed the wife of a polytheist. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left to return home, her husband, who had been away, came back. When told the news, he swore he would never rest till he had taken blood revenge against Muḥammad's men.

"'So he followed the tracks of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who when he had made camp had asked, "Who will stand guard for us tonight?" A *muhājirī* and an *anṣārī* each volunteered and he told them to take up position at the entrance to the mouth of the valley. The two men were ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and ʿAbbād b. Bishr. When they reached the mouth of the valley, the *anṣārī* asked the *muhājirī*, "Which part of the watch do you want me to take care of, the first or the last?" "You take the first watch," the *muhājirī* told him and settled down to sleep, while the *anṣārī* prayed.

"'When the polytheist arrived and saw the watchman's form, he realized that he was on guard and shot an arrow at him which stuck in him. The *anṣārī* pulled out the arrow, laid it down and stood his guard, standing there in prayer. The polytheist then shot again and struck him, but the guard again removed it, laid it down and went on praying. A third time the polytheist struck him, and once more he withdrew it and put it down, continuing his prayer with a bow and a prostration. He then aroused his companion, saying, "Remain seated; I've been hit."

"'At this, his companion arose and when the polytheist saw both, he knew that they were on guard against him, and so he fled.

"'When the *muhājirī* saw that the *anṣārī* was bleeding, he exclaimed, "For God's sake, why did you not awaken me when he first struck you?"

"'The *anṣārī* replied, "I was reciting a *sūra* (of the Qurʾān) and did not want to break it off before I had completed it. When he continued shooting, I finished the prostration, then awoke you. I swear by God, that unless it meant losing a position the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered me to hold, he could have killed me before I would have interrupted a recitation before completing it!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus in reference to the military expeditions. Abū Dāʾūd recounted it from Abū Tawba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Wāqidī related the account of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in full from ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from Ṣāliḥ b. al-Khawwāt, from his father, as follows: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had attacked some women in their (the enemy's) homes; among the prisoners taken was an attractive woman whose husband loved her. He swore an oath that he would pursue Muḥammad and not return until he had either taken blood revenge for her or had rescued her."

Al-Wāqidī then proceeds to recount the incident much as had Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'I was once with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when one of his Companions brought in a chick. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at it when in came the chick's

parents (or one of them) and threw themselves down before the man who had taken it. I saw that everyone present was amazed at this. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'So you're surprised that this bird, whose chick you took, is bowing to offer itself to gain mercy for its chick? I swear by God, your god is more compassionate for you than this bird is for its chick!'"

The Story of Jābir's camel on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Wahb b. Kaysān related to me, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ at Nakhl, riding a feeble camel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning home, I began falling behind my comrades who went on ahead. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came up to me and asked, "What's wrong, Jābir?" I replied, "O Messenger of God, this camel of mine is slowing me down." "Make it kneel," he told me. I did so and he also made his camel kneel. He then said, "Give me that stick in your hand, or cut one from a tree." I did so and he took it and prodded my camel with it several times. He then said, "Mount up!" I did so. And, I swear by Him who sent him with the truth, my weak male camel competed with his female camel!

"'When I was talking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked me, "Would you sell me this camel of yours, Jābir?" "I'll give it to you," I told him. "No; just sell it to me." "Make me an offer," I asked. "I'll take it for one dirham," he suggested. "No way!" I replied. "Then you would be cheating me, Messenger of God!' "Two dirhams then?" he offered. "No," I refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set about raising the offer until he reached one ounce of gold. I asked him, "Would that be agreeable to you?" "Yes," he replied. "Then he's yours!" I told him. And he accepted it.

"'He then asked, "Jābir, are you married yet?" "Yes, I am," I told him. "To a woman previously married, or to a virgin?" "Previously married," I replied. "Why not a young girl with whom you could have much fun?" he asked. "My father", I explained to him, "was killed at the battle of Uḥud and left seven daughters. So I married a mature woman to look after them and bring them up well." "You did well, let's hope to God," he commented. "And when we get to Sirār we'll slaughter a camel and stay there the day with her and she'll hear about us and dust off her cushions for us." I replied, "I swear, Messenger of God, we don't have cushions." "You will have," he said. "When we get there behave wisely."

"'When we reached Ṣirār, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered camels be slaughtered; this was done. We remained there that day and in the evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went home, as did we all. I reported to my wife what he had said and she advised me to hurry up and do as I was told.

"'Next morning I led my camel up to the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then sat down close to him in the mosque. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and, when he saw the camel, he asked to whom it

belonged. He was told that Jābir had brought it, and he asked where I was. Then they called for me to go to him, and he said, "Cousin, lead your camel away; it is yours." Then he called Bilāl over and told him, "Take Jābir away and give him an ounce of gold." So I went off with Bilāl and he did give me an ounce, and a little more as well. And, by God, my financial affairs improved constantly thereafter until they suffered recently in what befell us.'"

By this he was referring to the *yawm al-ḥarra*.[32] The author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection derived this story from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī, from Wahb b. Kaysān, from Jābir, in similar terms.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "There is in this *ḥadīth* reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) telling Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh that God had given new life to his father, had spoken to him and told him, 'Ask a request of me!' That was because he died a martyr. For Almighty God had said, 'God buys from believers their souls and their property.' He awarded them more in His statement, 'To those who do good there shall come good, and more too.' He then combined for them compensation and indemnity and restored to them their souls that He had purchased from them. He stated, 'Do not consider dead those who are killed in God's cause; no, they are alive, with their Lord, and will be provided for' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.169).

"For human beings, the soul has the same role as a riding animal", as ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said. He stated, "That is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased from Jābir his camel, his riding beast, that is, first giving him the value of it and then returning it to him, with an additional amount as well."

He commented, "And in this there is fulfilment of what he related to him about his father."

Al-Suhaylī's observation here is a strange and imaginative departure. But God Almighty, praised be He, knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave an explanation relating to this *ḥadīth* about this expedition in his work *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*. He has a section entitled "Chapter: On the blessings and signs of God evident in this expedition of his relating to the camel of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, God be pleased with him."

This *ḥadīth* has a number of lines of transmission from Jābir and many differences in phraseology. Also there is great variety in the value placed on the camel and the manner in which the sale provisions were made. The recording and interpretation of this is most appropriate in the section on sale in the works on law. But God knows best. This story is given pertaining to this expedition and elsewhere as well, as will follow. That this happened many times is unlikely; but God knows best.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO BADR.

This is the Badr engagement of which promise was made at Uḥud, as is told above.

32. The reference is to the rebellion in Medina during the reign of Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiya.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina from the Dhāt al-Riqāʿ expedition, he remained there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā, Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab. In Shaʿbān he left for Badr and his appointment with Abū Sufyān."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl in charge of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Badr and remained there for eight days waiting for Abū Sufyān.

"Abū Sufyān set out with his Meccan force and encamped at Majanna, near al-Ẓahrān. Some authorities state that he reached ʿUsfān then decided to go back. He announced, 'Men of Quraysh, it is right for you to make such an expedition only in a fruitful year when you can pasture on trees and drink milk; this year it is barren. I am going back; you do the same.'

"So they all returned. The Meccans referred to them as the *sawīq*[33] army, saying to them, 'So you only went forth to drink *sawīq* then!'

"Makhshī b. ʿAmr al-Ḍamrī, who had made a contract with the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning Banū Ḍamra at the Waddān expedition, now arrived and said, 'Muḥammad, have you come here to this well to meet with Quraysh?' He replied, 'Yes, brother from Banū Ḍamra; but if you want, we'll release you from your agreement with us and we'll battle you until God decides between us.' 'No, by God, Muḥammad, there's no need for that!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without incident."

Ibn Isḥāq quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as having delivered the following verses as they waited for Abū Sufyān to arrive on his return that year to Badr. However, Ibn Hishām stated that this poetry was delivered to him by Abū Zayd who attributed it to Kaʿb b. Mālik:

"We agreed on Badr with Abū Sufyān, but found him
untruthful and untrustworthy in his appointment.
I swear that had you and we met you would have returned
home humiliated and with your supporters gone.
There we previously left limbs of ʿUtba and of his son,
along with ʿAmr Abū Jahl whom we left prostrate.
You disobeyed the Messenger of God! How vile your
faith and your evil and misguided conduct!
If you were to belabour me, I'd still say, 'My wealth
and family be a ransom for the Messenger of God!'
We obey him, treating none other of us as his equal;
he is a flame guiding us in the dark of night!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that occasion:

"Forget the streams of Syria! For intervening are
swords (blood-stained) like the mouths of pregnant
camels fed on (thorny) *arāk* trees.

33. A beverage, perhaps alcoholic, made of parched wheat or barley.

In the hands of men who have gone out to their Lord, to
His true helpers, and to the hands of angels.
If they pass on to the lowlands from the sandy valleys,
tell them that is not the route.
We remained eight days at the shallow well with a fully
equipped force and many camels tethered
And round-bellied horses, sleek sided stallions high of
withers,
The yearly *arfaj* plants being uprooted by tall,
speeding mounts.
If we should meet Farāt b. Ḥayyān in our journeyings,
he will be as good as dead.
If, after him, Qays b. Imr al-Qays, the pallor of
death will blacken his face even more!
Deliver to Abū Sufyān this message from me; for you
are the best of those beggar-like men!"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who later accepted Islam, as answering him with the following verses:

"Ḥassān, you son of a woman who eats offal, I swear we
devour great deserts like that!
When we go forth, young gazelles can't escape between
us, though seeking defence in full-speed flight.
When we leave after a halt you'd think it had been
trashed by crowds at a fair!
You remained at the shallow well, wanting us to come,
but leaving us in the date groves near by.
Our horses and mounts trample the vegetation underfoot,
levelling all into the sand.
We halted for three days between Salʿ and Fāriʿ, our
horses fine and our camels swift-paced.
You would have thought that attacking people near their
homes would be as easy as buying white lead with cash!
Don't vaunt your fine horses when you talk to them as
one who protects them and holds them back.
You express joy in them, but others should, such as the
knights with descent from Fihr b. Mālik.
You are not engaged in a migration, though you speak
thereof, nor do you respect the prohibitions of its
faith."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this certain verses since they did not match in rhyme."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhrī and Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for men to go forth to meet Abū Sufyān, the hypocrites sent agents out to dissuade

them. But God kept His supporters from harm, and the Muslims did proceed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Badr. They took various goods with them for sale, saying they would fight if they met Abū Sufyān, and that otherwise they would sell these at the Badr fair.

His account then proceeds as did the text of Ibn Isḥāq to describe Abū Sufyān's movement to Majanna, his return from there, the negotiation with al-Ḍamrī, the offer made by the Prophet (ṢAAS), and the repudiation which he refused.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) headed for it (Badr) with a force of 1,500 of his Companions. He placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa in command of Medina. His departure for there occurred early in Dhū al-Qaʿda." He means of 4 AH.

But Ibn Isḥāq's statement is what is authentic, namely that it took place in Shaʿbān of that year, 4 AH, and it is in agreement with the statement of Mūsā b. ʿUqba that it occurred in Shaʿbān, though he gives the year as 3 AH. This date is incorrect. For the agreement to meet at Badr had been made at Uḥud, which took place in Shawwāl of 3 AH, as is told above. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "They remained at Badr for the duration of the fair that lasted eight days. Then they returned home, having profited with two dirhams for each one invested."

Others say that they returned just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had said, "And so they returned with favour from God and His grace. No harm came to them. For they followed the pleasure of God, and God is He of mighty grace" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.173).

Section: A Review of the events that occurred in 4 AH.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, by Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died. He was six years of age. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the funeral prayer over him, and his father, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, accompanied him down into the grave."

I would add that the same year Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died; his mother was Barra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the foster-brother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since both were suckled by Thuwayba, freed-woman of Abū Lahab.

Abū Salama, Abū ʿUbayda, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam had accepted Islam long before, on the same day.

Abū Salama and his wife had emigrated to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca. They had had children in Abyssinia. He then migrated from Mecca to Medina and Umm Salama followed him there, as is related above. He was

present at the battles of Badr and Uḥud and died following wounds he suffered at Uḥud. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. There is one *ḥadīth*, on the subject of *istirjāʿ*[34] that is attributed to him. This will be related shortly in the text dealing with the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Salama.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Some days before the end of Shaʿbān that year, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

"In Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, a woman of Hilāl."

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying that she was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Then he (Abū ʿUmar) stated that he had not been told this by anyone else.

She was known as Umm al-Masākīn, "mother of the poor", for the many donations she made to them and for her kindness and compassion towards them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her a dowry of 12 and a half ounces of gold and consummated his marriage with her in Ramaḍān. She had previously been married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith who had divorced her.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying, "Thereafter his brother ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had married her."

Ibn al-Athīr stated, in his work *Al-Ghāba*, "It is said she was also the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who was killed at Uḥud while still married to her."

Abū ʿUmar stated, "There is no dispute over the fact that she died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is said that she remained living with him only for two or three months before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Shawwāl of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya."

I comment that previously she had been the wife of her children's father, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. He had been present at Uḥud, as is told above. He was wounded at that battle and nursed his wounds for a month until he was restored. He then went forth on a *sarīya*, a raid, at which he earned considerable booty. He then stayed home for seventeen days, but his wounds erupted again and he died, three days before the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year.

When in Shawwāl it was permissible for her to remarry, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her, sending ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to her several times to arrange this. She told him that she was a very jealous woman and

34. A supplication, derived from the Qurʾān, that one invokes during times of calamity.

that she had children; that is, that she had children who would divert her attention from him and for whose food and support she had to work. He responded, "Regarding the children, God and His messenger will care for them; that is, you won't be responsible for their expenses. As for the jealousy, I will pray to God and He will remove it."

She then gave her consent in the matter, finally telling 'Umar, "Off you go; arrange the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." By this she meant that she had agreed and had given her permission.

Some scholars imagine her to have said this to her son 'Umar b. Abū Salama who was too young at that time to be involved with contracts. I have combined all that is correct into one specific account, all praise and trust being in God. (There is also an account that states) that the person who arranged her marriage with him was her oldest son Salama b. Abū Salama. This account is widely known because his father was her cousin and the son is eligible to be the guardian of his mother because he happens to be her means of subsistence and not because of filiation.

According to al-Shāfi'ī alone, the mere fact of being a son does not entitle him to act for his mother in a marriage contract. The three (other chief authorities on Islamic law) Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik (b. Anas) and Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), God have mercy upon them all, disagree with him. This issue will, if God wills it, be examined further elsewhere in the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* (*Chapter on Marriage*) in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting al-Layth – that is, Ibn Sa'd – from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hād, from 'Amr b. Abū 'Amr, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Umm Salama, who said, 'Abū Salama came to me one day from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "I heard something from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that greatly pleased me. He said, 'Any Muslim who suffers a loss should repeat, "To God we belong, and to Him we return," and then should pray, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange."'" She went on, 'And I learned this from him by heart.

"'When Abū Salama died, I spoke the words, "To God we belong, and to Him we return", then said, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange." But then I realized what I had said and wondered how I could ever have better than Abū Salama.

"'When my *'idda*, my waiting period, was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked to come to see me while I was tanning a hide I had. I washed my hands clean of the tanning solution, asked him to come in and set out a leather cushion stuffed with palm fronds for him to sit upon. He sat down on it and made me an offer of marriage. When he had finished speaking, I replied, "O Messenger of God! It's not fit for me to question your wanting this, but I'm an extremely jealous woman and I'm afraid you may see in me something for which

God will punish me. And I'm a woman who is getting on in years, and I have children."

"'He replied, "Regarding the jealousy, God will remove it from you. As for your reference to your age, I am afflicted just as you are. Regarding your children, they shall be as my own." So I consented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And God did give me better than Abū Salama – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his mother Umm Salama, from Abū Salama. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as a tradition that was both *ḥasan gharīb*, "good" but "unilateral". It is also given in an account of al-Nasā'ī from Thābit, from Ibn ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his father. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yazīd b. Hārūn, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qadāma al-Jumaḥī, from his father, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left from Badr – where the appointment had been – to return to Medina. He remained there until the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja was over; the polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 4 AH."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That year, 4 AH, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Zayd b. Thābit to learn Hebrew script."

I would comment that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he said, "I learned it in 15 days." But God knows best.

THE YEAR 5 AH. THE EXPEDITION TO DŪMAT AL-JANDAL IN RABĪʿ AL-AWWAL, 5 AH.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal."

Ibn Hishām observed that it took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal that year and that he appointed Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then, however, returned to Medina before reaching it, and without engaging in battle. He remained in Medina for the remainder of that year."

That is the statement made by Ibn Isḥāq.

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī quoted lines of authority back to various early scholars who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had wanted to proceed to the closest areas in Syria but was told that this would alarm Caesar. He was also informed that there was a large force at Dūmat al-Jandal who maltreated passers-by and that it also had a substantial market; these people wanted him to approach the town.

He therefore organized his men and left with a force of 1,000 Muslims. They travelled by night, keeping under cover by day. He had a guide with him from Banū ʾUdhra named Madhkūr, who was a skilled tracker.

When they neared Dūmat al-Jandal, his guide directed him to the pasturing cattle belonging to Banū Tamīm. He went on and attacked their sheep and goats; some people were killed, while others fled in disarray. When news of this reached people in Dūmat al-Jandal, those there dispersed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded to encamp on their square, finding no one there. He remained there for several days, sending out raiding parties. They returned, with Muḥammad b. Salama having taken one of the enemy prisoner. He was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him about his comrades. The man replied that they had fled the previous day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then explained Islam to him, and he became a Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dūmat al-Jandal in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, 5 AH. And the same year Umm Saʿd b. ʿUbāda died while her son was away on this expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī stated in his compendium, "Muhammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that Umm Saʿd died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent. When he returned he prayed for her, a month having passed."

This *mursal ḥadīth* is excellent and requires the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to have been absent on this expedition for a month or more, according to what al-Wāqidī, God be pleased with him, reported.

THE BATTLE OF AL-KHANDAQ, 'THE DITCH', ALSO KNOWN AS THE GHAZWAT AL-AḤZĀB, 'THE BATTLE OF THE CLANS'.

It was about this event that the main part of *sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (XXXIII) was revealed. In it the Almighty stated, "O you who believe! Remember God's favour to you when enemy forces attacked you and We sent a wind against them, along with forces you could not see. God sees well what you are doing. (Remember) when they came at you from above and from below, and when your sight was blinded and hearts arose into your throats and you were confused in your thoughts about God. There believers were put to the test, and they were violently shaken. (Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, 'It was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!' And (remember) when one group of them said, 'O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!' And a group of them did ask the Prophet, saying, 'Our homes lie exposed.' Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee. And if they (the enemy) had gained entry from outside and had asked them to revolt, they would have done so without great hesitation. Whereas they had earlier promised God that they would not retreat; and promises made to God are answerable. Say: 'It will not avail you to flee, whether from death or from battle; in such case you will be allowed enjoyment only briefly.' Say:

'Who is it can protect you from God if He wishes to do you harm, or be merciful to you?' They shall not find anyone to help or aid them apart from God. God knows which of you hinder and which of you say to your brethren, 'Come over to us!' Yet they rarely go to battle. They are ungenerous to you; and when fear arrives you see them looking at you with their eyes rolling, like those who faint at death. But when the fear is gone, they pursue you with sharp tongues, greedy for the good (booty). Those people did not believe and so God nullified their action; and this was an easy thing for God. They consider that the clans have not gone; and if the clans should again come, they would wish to be among the bedouin asking for news of you; yet if they were among you, they would only do in battle a little. In the Messenger of God there has been for you an excellent model for those who have hope in God and in the last Day and who make frequent mention of God. When the believers saw the clans, they said, 'This is what God and His messenger promised us. God and His messenger spoke the truth.' And this only increased their faith and submission. The believers include some men who are true to what they promised God. Of them are those who have already fulfilled their vows, while some of them still wait but have not changed at all. God will reward those who are true in their sincerity; and He will punish the hypocrites, if He wishes, or will turn aside from them. God is very forgiving and merciful. God turned back those who disbelieved; by their rage they gained nothing good. Yet God gave satisfaction to the believers in the fighting; and God is strong and powerful. He brought down from their forts those of the People of the Book who allied with them, and cast terror into their hearts; some you killed, others you took captive. He made you heir to their land, properties and belongings, as well as to lands you have not yet trod. And God is capable of all things" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9–13).

We have discussed all these noble verses in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God belong all praise and credit. Let us refer here to matters relating to the account – if God wills it and in Him we place reliance and trust.

The battle of al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl, 5 AH, according to Ibn Isḥāq, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, Qatāda and al-Bayhaqī, along with various scholars of the earlier and later periods.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating, "Then the *waqʿat al-aḥzāb*, the 'battle of the clans', took place, in Shawwāl of 4 AH."

Imām Mālik b. Anas stated the same, according to a quotation attributed to him by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting Mūsā b. Dāʾūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is in fact no dispute between them in this; this is because their intent was that this occurred after the passage of four years, but before the completion of five."

There is no doubt that when the polytheists left Uḥud they made an arrangement to meet the Muslims at Badr in the following year. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore went forth with his force in Shaʿbān of 4 AH, as told

above, while Abū Sufyān returned home with the Quraysh because of the drought that year. They would not have been likely to have gone to Medina two months later. And so it may be concluded that the battle of al-khandaq took place in 5 AH. But God knows best. Al-Zuhrī declared that the battle of al-khandaq took place two years following that of Uḥud. And there is no dispute over the fact that Uḥud occurred in Shawwāl of 3 AH, except in so far as some maintain that the dating system began with Muḥarram of the second year after the hegira, and they do not count the remaining months of that year, from Rabīʿ al-Awwal to its end, as al-Bayhaqī related it. Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasāwī maintained this, declaring that Badr took place in the first year, Uḥud in the second, the "appointment at Badr" in Shaʿbān of year 3 AH, and al-khandaq in Shawwāl of year 4 AH.

This view is contrary to that of the majority, for it is widely accepted that the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, established the beginning of the era from Muḥarram of the year of the hegira, though Mālik states it to have been from Rabīʿ al-Awwal of that year. There are therefore the three views. And God knows best.

What seems true is what the majority hold – that Uḥud was in Shawwāl of 3 AH, while al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH. But God knows best.

(Also revelant) is the *ḥadīth* accepted in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived through ʿUbayd Allāh from Nāfiʿ, who quoted Ibn ʿUmar as saying, "I was presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the Battle of Uḥud when I was 14, but he would not give me permission to fight. I was also presented to him at al-khandaq when I was 15, and he then gave me permission." Some scholars, including al-Bayhaqī, respond to this by saying that he was presented at Uḥud at the beginning of his 14th year, and that al-Aḥzāb (al-khandaq) was at the end of his 15th year.

I would comment that it is probable that what he meant was that when he was presented at al-Aḥzāb he had already completed 15 years, an age at which youths are permitted to engage in battle; and so nothing more is to be added.

Therefore, when Nāfiʿ related this *ḥadīth* to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he said, "This constitutes the difference between a youth and a man." He then wrote this to the provinces and the mass of scholars thereafter relied upon it. But God knows best.

The following text of the account is derived from Ibn Isḥāq and others.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The battle of al-khandaq took place, in Shawwāl, 5 AH.

"Yazīd b. Rumān related to me, from ʿUrwa and another trustworthy source, from ʿUbayd Allāh[35] b. Kaʿb b. Mālik and Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī and al-Zuhrī, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and other scholars, some of these giving information not included by others, as follows. What happened at al-khandaq was that a group of Jews had divided up the clans

35. Ibn Hishām gives his name as ʿAbd Allah b. Kaʿb.

against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These included Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍrī, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍrī, Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Hawdha b. Qays al-Wāʾilī, and Abū ʿAmmār al-Wāʾilī, along with groups from Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū Wāʾil. These went to Quraysh in Mecca and suggested they engage in warfare against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told them that they would participate until they had completely destroyed him. Quraysh responded as follows, 'O Jews, you are the first people to receive scripture and knowledge in those matters in which we and Muḥammad differ. Which religion is better, ours or his?'

"They replied, 'Your religion is definitely better than his; you are closer the truth than he is.'

"It is of these people that God revealed the words, 'Have you not seen those who were brought a share of the Book? They believe in idols and evil powers, and say to those who disbelieve, "These are more rightly guided than those who believe!" Those are they whom God has cursed; and whomever God curses shall find none to help him' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.51–2).

"This pleased Quraysh when they said it to them and they gladly accepted the suggestion of going to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They then assembled and made preparations.

"That group of Jews then visited Ghaṭafān of Qays ʿAylān and invited them to battle the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling them that they would themselves participate along with them, and that Quraysh would do so too. They therefore joined up with them.

"Quraysh then set out, their leader being Abū Sufyān. Ghaṭafān, under their leader ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, also went forth with Banū Fazāra, as did al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murrī with Banū Murra, along with Misʿar b. Rukhayla b. Nuwayra b. Ṭarīf b. Suḥma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān, along with those of his people from Ashjaʿ who followed him.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of all this and what they had agreed, he dug the ditch around Medina."

Ibn Hishām commented that it is said that it was Salmān who suggested this.

Al-Ṭabarī and al-Suhaylī stated that the first man to dig ditches was Manushehr b. Ayraj b. Afrīdūn and that that happened in the time of Moses, peace be upon him.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worked on this himself, inspiring the Muslims to seek reward in heaven, and they worked alongside him. Some hypocrites held back, complaining of their weakness. Some of these left surreptitiously and without his permission or knowledge.

"It was on this subject that Almighty God revealed, 'Believers are only those who believe in God and in His messenger. And if engaged with him in a joint effort they do not leave without seeking his permission. Those who do seek your permission are those who believe in God and in His messenger. If they do ask

your permission to attend to some affair, then permit it to whichever of them you wish. And ask God to forgive them; God is indeed Forgiving, Merciful. Do not consider the Messenger's appealing to you while among you the same as you making appeals to one another. God is well aware which of you steal away in hiding. Let those beware who oppose his orders, lest trouble or painful punishment afflict them. No indeed! All in the heavens and all on earth belong to God; He well knows what you do. On the day on which they will be returned to Him, He will inform them what it was they did. God is aware of all things!" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, v.62–4).

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Muslims continued working on the trench until they had finished it. They made a rhyme about one of the Muslims, a man named Ju'ayl whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to as 'Amr. They would repeat,

'To 'Amr from Ju'ayl he changed his name; and soon
"the weak are strong", he'll proclaim.'

"When they pronounced the name ''Amr', so would the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do so along with them. When they said the word 'proclaim', so would he."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, 'I heard Anas say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the trench and found that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* were busy digging. It was a very cold morning and they had no slaves to do that work for them. When he saw what they were suffering from the hard labour and their hunger, he said, 'O God, their life is, indeed, that of the after-life; forgive the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.' They responded in unison to this by chanting,

'We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for the
jihād, the holy work, forever, for as long as we live.'"'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is similar wording given, on the authority of Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas.

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit and Ḥumayd, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū Ma'mar related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, from 'Abd al-'Azīz, from Anas, who said, 'The *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* set to work digging the trench around Medina carrying away the dirt on their backs, chanting,

"We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for
Islam, for ever, for as long as we live."

"'In response, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, "O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*."

"'They would bring a handful of barley and some ill-smelling fat as a meal for them, hungry as they were; it stuck in their throats and smelled bad.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench while men were digging it. We would carry the dirt away on our shoulders. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O God, there is no life but that of the hereafter; forgive the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*."'"

Muslim also related this, from al-Qaʿnabī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was carrying away the dirt (before) the battle of al-khandaq till dust covered his stomach' (or 'his stomach became dust-covered'), 'and reciting,

> "O God, without God we would not have been well-guided,
> nor would we have been charitable; nor would we have
> prayed.
> So do send down tranquillity upon us and make us stand
> firm when we meet the foe.
> They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we'll
> resist them!"

"'And he raised his voice at the words "resist them".'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrahīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who related the following *ḥadīth*: "At the (time of) the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, 'the clans', and the trench of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I saw him carrying the dirt from the trench so much that it hid the skin of his stomach from me; and he had much body hair. I heard him reciting verses of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as he moved the dirt,

> 'O God, without you we would not have been well-guided;
> nor would we have been charitable, nor would we have
> prayed.
> So do send tranquillity upon us and make us stand firm
> when we meet the foe.
> They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we'll
> resist them!'

"He would stretch out the final syllables."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismāʿīl b. al-Faḍl al-Bajalī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, quoting al-Musayyab b. Shurayk, from Ziyād b. Abū Ziyād, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Salmān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chanted as he dug the trench,

'In God's name, and through Him we were guided, and if
we had worshipped any but Him we would have suffered,
What a fine Lord! What a fine religion!'"

This *ḥadīth*, from this line, is *gharīb*, "unique".

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the following while they were digging the trench,

'O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter,
so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.'"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived this from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar from Shu'ba.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Various anecdotes to which the Muslims were witness, have reached me relating to the digging of the trench that provide example of the truth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that confirm his Prophethood. One such is that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh would relate how they had great difficulty digging one patch of hard ground, and so they complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He called for a pitcher of water, spat in it and spoke over it some prayer that God wished him to say. He then sprinkled the water on the hard ground. Those present swear that it crumbled so much that it could not withstand an axe or a shovel."

Ibn Isḥāq related this thus, without a full chain of authorities, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God be pleased with him.

Al-Bukhārī, God bless him, stated, "Khallād b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ayman, from his father, who said, 'I once went to Jābir and he told me, "At the Battle of the trench, when we were digging, a patch of extremely hard ground was in our way. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, when he was told of this, 'I'll come on down.' Then he arose; and there was a stone tied across his stomach – we had not tasted food for three days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the spade and struck the ground with it and it turned into soft sand.

"'"So I said, 'Please, Messenger of God, allow me to go home now.' Then I told my wife, 'I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) to be in an intolerable state. Do you have something (to eat)?' She replied that she had some barley and a goat. So I slaughtered the goat, and she ground up the barley. Then we put the meat into a pot. I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the dough had risen and when the pot was on the stone trivet and almost cooked, and said, 'I have a little food; do come along, Messenger of God, with one or two of the men.' 'How much is there?' he asked, and I told him. He said, 'There's a great deal of good food. Let your wife not take off the pot nor remove the bread from the oven until I arrive.' Then he told the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* to get up, and they did so."

"'When the man went in to his wife, he told her, "There is a problem! The Prophet is coming with *muhājirīn*, *anṣār* and others." She asked, "Did he question you?" "Yes," I replied.

"'Then He told them all to come in, but not to push and shove, and he began to break up the bread and place meat on it. He covered over the pot and the oven when he took from them. He kept on serving the food to his Companions and taking it out. He did not stop breaking the bread and spooning the meat until they were satisfied; and some still remained. He then told her, "Eat yourself, and give to all; people are very hungry."'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Wakī', from 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father Ayman the Abyssinian, the freed-man of Banū Makhzūm, from Jābir in an account that combines reference to the hard ground with the stone being bound to the stomach of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Bayhaqī related it in *Dalā'il* (The Signs), from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir, in an account combining reference to the hard ground and the food. That narrative is longer and more extensive than that of al-Bukhārī. In it he stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned of the quantity of the food, he told all the Muslims, 'Go along and see Jābir.' They began to do so. (Jābir) said, 'God only knows how embarrassed I felt! I told myself that he was coming with (many) people for a measure of barley and a she-kid! So I went in to my wife and told her, "You're going to be put to shame; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is coming to you with everyone from the trench!" She replied, "Did he ask you how much food you have?" "Yes." I replied. "Well then", she commented, "God and His messenger know best!"

"'And so she relieved my great concern. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in, he said to her, "You serve, but leave the meat to me." And then he set about serving the stew and dishing out the meat, giving it to everyone in turn. He kept on doing so until all were satisfied, yet the oven and pot were still more full than before!

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Now you eat and serve more." And she went on eating and serving all day.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related this similarly, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī, from 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir's account, and also at greater length. Finally, he stated, "He told me they were 800 in number. Or else the figure he stated was 300."

According to the account from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. Sa'd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, given only at length about the food, he stated that they were 300 in number.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "ʿAmr b. ʿAlī related to me, quoting Abū ʿAṣim, quoting Hanẓala b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, as follows, 'Ibn Mināʾ related to us that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "When the trench was dug, I could see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering severe malnutrition, so I asked my wife what livestock she had, saying, 'Do you have anything? I have noticed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is suffering serious malnutrition.' She produced a bag containing a measure of barley, and we also did have a she-kid. I slaughtered it, while she ground the barley; we both finished at the same time. Then I cut it up and put it in the cooking pot and turned to go back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when she said, 'Don't disgrace me by having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) come and bring others who are with him!' I went up to him and, speaking confidentially, I told him, 'Messenger of God, I've slaughtered a she-kid of ours and ground up a measure of barley we had. Please come, and bring another with you.'

"'"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, 'Hey, everyone at the trench! Jābir has made a feast for us! Let's go to it!' He then told me, 'Don't take down the pot or bake the bread before I get there.'

"'"So I went home and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, leading his men. I went to my wife and she berated me, but I told her, 'I did just as you asked.' She then brought out the dough to us, and he spat on it and blessed it. After that he went over to our cooking pot and spat and blessed again. He told my wife, 'Call over a bakeress to bake along with you and keep on ladling out from the pot, but don't take it off the fire.' A thousand people were present. And, I swear by God, they ate, then stopped and went away and our pot was still bubbling as before, and our dough was still there too, as it had been."'"

Muslim related this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir, from Abū ʿĀṣim in much the same words.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related this *ḥadīth*, but his account has some unique aspects to it. He stated, "Saʿīd b. Mīnāʾ related to me, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We worked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench. I had a young goat, not fully fattened. So I said how nice it would be to serve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I told my wife to grind up some barley for us, and she made some bread with it. I slaughtered the goat and we roasted it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When evening came and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to leave the trench (we were working in it during the day, then going home to our families each night) I told him, "We've cooked a young goat we had and baked some barley bread. I do hope you will accompany me home." I had only wanted him to come with me, but when I told him this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted, but then he had someone call out, "Everyone is to go with the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the home of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh!" At this I said, "O dear! We belong to God, and to Him do we return!"

"'Then along came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanied by his men. He sat down and we brought out the food which he blessed, invoking the name of Almighty God over it. He then ate and the others set about it too. When one group was finished another came until all those working at the ditch had done.'"

It is strange that Imām Aḥmad only gave this *ḥadīth* through Saʿīd b. Mīnā', from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Jābir, in exactly similar form.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Saʿīd b. Mīnā' related to me that it was related to him that a daughter of Bashīr b. Saʿd, sister of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr said, 'My mother, ʿAmra, daughter of Rawāḥa, invited me over and gave me a handful of dates, putting it in my dress, saying, "Daughter, take this to your father and your uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa for their lunch." So I passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I was looking for my father and my uncle. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to me, "Come over here, girl! What are you carrying?" I replied, "This, Messenger of God, is some dates my mother sent me to deliver for lunch to my father Bashīr b. Saʿd and my uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa." He told me, "Bring it over here." So I poured out the dates into his hands and they did not fill them.

"'He then asked for a cloth and it was laid out for him. He piled up the dates on it and they towered above it. He then told one of his men there to shout out to those working on the trench to come and have lunch. The men all gathered around and began eating from it. But it grew in quantity and when they went off again, it was spilling over the sides of the cloth.'"

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus; there is a break in the line of transmission. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it thus through him and without addition.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me that Salmān the Persian said, 'I was digging in the trench and one rock was too tough for me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was nearby, and when he saw me striking it and how difficult was all the trouble I was having, he came down, took the pickaxe from my hands and struck with it. A flash glowed from beneath the pickaxe. He then struck with it again and again it glowed beneath it. He struck it a third time and again it glowed. I said, "By my father and mother, Messenger of God! What is it I see glowing beneath your pickaxe when you strike with it?" He replied, "Did you see that, Salmān?" "Yes, I did," I replied. He explained, "The first glow was God opening up the gates to Yemen for me. The second was God opening up the gates of Syria and the *maghrib*, the west. The third was God opening up by it the gates of the East for me."'"

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "This is what Ibn Isḥāq related that Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions; Abū al-Aswad recounted it from ʿUrwa."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate a *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kadīmī, a controversial source. However, Ibn Jarīr related it in his history from Muḥammad b. Bashshār and from Bandār, both giving a line of authorities from Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAthma, from Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Muznī, from his father, from his grandfather. He recounts a *ḥadīth* which tells how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up work on the trench in such a way that every group of ten men were to dig for forty arms' lengths. The account also says that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* quarrelled about Salmān and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore stated, "Salmān is one of us – one of the *ahl al-bayt*, 'a member (honorary) of the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

ʿAmr b. ʿAwf stated, "I, Salmān, Ḥudhayfa, al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin and six of the *anṣār* were working on forty arms' lengths of the trench. We dug on until we reached al-Nadā, where we came across a huge, white rock. It broke our metal tools and gave us great difficulty. So Salmān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was then in a Turkish pavilion, and told him of it. He came and took the pickaxe from Salmān and struck the rock so hard it split. From it there came a flash of light so strong as to illuminate all the way between the two lava fields – (at both ends) of Medina, that is. It was like a great lantern on a very dark night. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God's greatness, saying *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is Most Great', as at a victory, and the Muslims did so as well. He then struck it again and the same thing happened, a third time with the same result. Salmān and the Muslims asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what the light meant. He replied, 'From the first, the castles of al-Ḥīra and cities of Chosroe were lit up to be seen like the fangs of dogs. Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the second, the red castles of Byzantium were illuminated, as though they were the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the third, the castles of Ṣanʿā were lit up like the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. So be joyful at this news!' The Muslims were delighted, and said, 'Praise be to God! A true omen!'

"When the enemy clans appeared for battle, the believers told one another that that was what God and His messenger had promised them and was true, and so their faith and determination were reinforced. The hypocrites said, 'He tells you he can see from Yathrib to the castles of al-Ḥīra and the cities of Chosroe, and that they will be rendered up to you, yet here you are digging the trench and can't even come out into the open!'

"And so it was that about them God revealed, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts say, "What God and His messenger promise us is mere fancy!"'"(*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12).

This *ḥadīth* is unilateral.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Hārūn b. Malūl related to us, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, from ʿAbd

Allāh b. Yazīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered a trench be dug around Medina and the work was underway, some men told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they had come across a rock they could not dig up. He then went there, with us accompanying him, and when he reached the site, he took the pickaxe, struck a hard blow with it and spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is Most Great!" Then came a crashing sound the like of which I never heard before and he said, "Persia has been conquered!" He then struck again, and again invoked God's greatness. Again came a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, "Byzantium has been conquered!" He then struck and invoked once more and again I heard a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, "God has delivered Ḥimyar as (our) allies and comrades!"'"

This too is unique from this line of transmission. There is weakness in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Anʿam al-Ifrīqī as a source. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī also stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to us, Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Jurmī related to me, Abū Numayla related to us, quoting Nuʿaym b. Saʿīd al-Gharrī, that ʿIkrima quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dug the trench, his Companions had tied stones to their stomachs they were so hungry. When he saw this, he said, "Can't you find someone who could give us a meal?" A man replied, "Yes." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "Since you didn't say no, then lead us to him." So off they went to the man's house, but he was doing his share of work in the ditch. His wife sent a message to him to come home because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come to visit them. The man hurried home expressing his concern. He did have a goat with a kid, and the man sprang at the goat. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "No; there's the kid behind her. Slaughter the kid." The wife prepared some ground wheat she had and made it into dough and baked it. The pot was prepared and she crumbled the bread into the stew in her wooden bowl that served ten and offered it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a finger in it, invoked God's name and asked Him to bless it, then told them to eat. They did so until they were satisfied. Yet all they had eaten was one-third; two-thirds of it remained. He then told the ten men with him to go and bring back a like number. They left and the next ten arrived and ate till they were satisfied. He then arose and said a prayer for the mistress of the house, invoking God's name over her and her family. They then returned to the trench. He asked them to accompany him to Salmān who had a rock in his way for which he had insufficient strength. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Let me be the first to strike it." He said God's name over it, struck it and one-third of it split away. He then said, "God is most great! It's the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" He hit it again, and another section came away. He said, *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great! It's the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" He then hit it again and another section came away.

He said, *Allāhu Akbar*! "It's the castles of Persia, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" Thereupon the hypocrites commented, "So we dig a trench for ourselves while he promises us the castles of Persia and Byzantium!"'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated further, "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, that Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Hawdha, that ʿAwf related to us, from Maymūn b. Ustādh al-Zuhrī, and al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib al-Anṣārī related to us, as follows, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered us to dig the ditch, a large, tough rock was in our way but the pickaxes made no impression on it. The problem was brought to the attention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when he saw it, he took the pickaxe and spoke God's name. Then he struck it hard and a third of it broke off. He then exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar*! I have been given the keys to Syria! I swear by God I can see its red castles, by God's grace!" He then struck it a second blow and cut off another third. Again he exclaimed, "I have been given the keys to Persia! I swear by God, I can see the castles of the white cities!" He then struck a third time, speaking God's name and broke the rest of the rock. He exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys to Yemen! I swear by God, I can see the gates of Ṣanʿā from where I am now!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is also unique, one related only by this Maymūn b. Ustādh. He was of Baṣra, and related material from al-Barāʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, and from him Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, al-Jurayrī and ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī. Abū Ḥātim stated, on the authority of Isḥāq b. Manṣūr and Ibn Muʿīn, that he was a *thiqa*, "a reliable source". ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān would not relate traditions from him."

Al-Nasāʾī stated, "ʿĪsā b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Ḍamra, from Abū Zarʿa al-Saybānī, from Abū Sakina, a man from Baḥrayn, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the digging of the trench, a large rock got in the way of their work. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went and took the pickaxe and placed his cloak down in the direction of the trench. Then he said the words, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.115). At this a third of the rock split off. Salmān al-Fārisī was standing watching. At the blow struck by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), there had been a flash of light. Then he hit it a second time and repeated, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." Another third broke off, and a light again flashed that Salmān saw. He then struck a third time, saying, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." At that the remaining third split up.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, picked up his cloak and sat down. Salmān asked him, "Messenger of God, I noticed that each blow you struck was accompanied by a flash of light." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded,

"So, Salmān, you saw that?" "Yes, I did, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, Messenger of God." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the first blow the cities of Chosroe and their surroundings, along with many other towns were raised up before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." One of his Companions present there then asked, "Messenger of God, please pray to God to grant us victory, give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did speak that prayer.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "Then I struck the second blow and Caesar's cities and their surroundings were raised before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." Those present said, "Please, Messenger of God, pray to God to grant us victory, to give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did so pray.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the third blow, the cities of Abyssinia were raised before me, along with the villages there about, so that I saw them with my own eyes." Then he said, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you."'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it thus at length, whereas Abū Dāʾūd quoted from it the words, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you." His line of transmission was from ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Ramlī, from Ḍamra b. Rabīʿa, from Abū Zurʿa Yaḥyā b. Abū ʿAmr al-Saybānī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A trustworthy source related to me from Abū Hurayra that when these territories were conquered in the eras of ʿUmar and of ʿUthmān and thereafter, he would say, 'You should conquer what seems appropriate to you; for, I swear by Him who holds Abū Hurayra's soul, you have not conquered any town, and you never will right on up to Judgement Day, the keys to which were not given beforehand to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'"

This line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* is broken; but it is given in complete form from another line, thanks be to God. For Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, that ʿUqayl b. Khālid related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Hurayra said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "I was provided for my mission with words that united and I was made victorious through awe. And while I slept I was brought the keys of all the treasuries on earth and they were placed in my hand."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in a *ḥadīth* unique to himself from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr and Saʿd b. ʿAfir, both of them quoting al-Layth. According to him, Abū Hurayra said, "... and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to say, '... and you are advancing to them.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, 'I was made victorious through awe and was provided with words that united. The earth was made for me a mosque and a purification; and while I was

asleep, I was brought the keys to the treasuries of the world, and they piled up in my hand.'"

This chain of transmission is considered strong and excellent according to the criteria of Muslim, (yet) the chief authorities (on the traditions) did not include it. In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections are the words (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "And when Caesar expires there will be no other Caesar after him; when Chosroe expires there will be no Chosroe after him. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, the treasuries of both these shall be used in God's cause."

In the authentic *ḥadīth* it is stated, "God gathered up for me the earth, all its parts to the east and to the west; all of that He gathered up for me shall be the domain of my people."

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the trench, Quraysh advanced at the confluence of the streams from Rūma, between al-Jurf and Zaghāba. They were accompanied by 10,000 of their Abyssinian mercenaries and their allies of Banū Kināna and people from Tihāma. Ghaṭafān advanced as well, along with their allies from Najd. They came to a halt at Dhanab Naqamā, over by the side of Mt. Uḥud.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, 3,000 strong, came forth until they had Mt. Salʿ behind them. There he encamped, with the trench between his forces and the enemy. The women and children were taken above into the forts."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

I would comment that this makes reference to the Almighty's words, "(And remember) when they came at you from above you and from below you, and when eyes turned dim and hearts rose into throats, and you were having doubts about God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.10).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to us, quoting ʿUbayd, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'The words, "when they came at you from above you and from below you" refer to the battle of al-khandaq.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When al-Aḥzāb, the clans, positioned themselves around Medina, Banū Qurayẓa locked their fortresses against them."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍrī went to see Kaʿb b. Asad al-Quraẓī, who was their designated contractor and trustee. When Kaʿb heard of his coming he locked the gate of his fortress against Ḥuyayy. When the latter asked permission to enter, Kaʿb refused to open up for him. Ḥuyayy called up to him, 'Kaʿb, open up for me, damn you!' 'Damn you, Ḥuyayy,' he replied. 'You're an evil man! I've made a pact with Muḥammad and I'm not going

to break my agreement with him. I've never found him to be anything but trustworthy and truthful.'

"Ḥuyayy insisted, 'Damn you, open up so I can talk to you!' 'I will not,' Kaʿb replied. Ḥuyayy then said, 'I swear, the only reason you're locking me out is that you're scared at losing your *jashīsha*, your cornbread, of having me eat it with you!'

"This so embarrassed Kaʿb that he did open up. Then Ḥuyayy told him, 'Kaʿb, I bring you fame forever, and a huge mass.' 'And what is that?' he asked. 'I bring you Quraysh with their chieftains and nobles whom I have left encamped at the confluence of the streams at Rūma, along with Ghaṭafān, with their chiefs and nobles whom I have positioned at Dhanb Naqmā, near Uḥud. They have made a treaty that they will not leave until we completely destroy Muḥammad and those with him.'

"Kaʿb responded, 'What you bring me, I swear by God, is shame forever and a cloud that has lost its water; it thunders and there is lightning, but there is nothing in it. Damn you, Ḥuyayy, leave me to maintain my pact with him; I have never found Muḥammad to be anything but trustworthy and honest.'

"ʿAmr b. Saʿd al-Quraẓī spoke too, and did so well, according to the account given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba. He reminded them of the pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of the treaty made by Kaʿb and them to aid him. He said, 'If you won't actually help him, then just leave him to his enemy.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥuyayy continued badgering Kaʿb to the extreme until he gave way in agreeing to break his pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fighting him alongside the *aḥzāb*, the clans. This was on the understanding that Ḥuyayy would guarantee him that if Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were to withdraw without destroying Muḥammad that he would join Kaʿb in his fort and they would share the same fate.

"And so Kaʿb b. Asad abrogated and dissolved the pact he had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Kaʿb b. Asad and Banū Qurayẓa required of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab that he take from Quraysh and Ghaṭafān hostages who would remain in custody so that no harm would come to themselves if his enemies were forced to retreat after failing to destroy Muḥammad. The hostages were to number 90 of their leading men, and Ḥuyayy agreed to this. Thereupon Kaʿb b. Asad and Qurayza did break their pact and tore up the document on which it was recorded; the tribes Banū Saʿna, Asad, Usayd and Thaʿlaba, however, went forth to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, he sent out Saʿd b. Muʿādh, he being at that time the leader of al-Aws, along with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, leader of Khazraj, accompanied by ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Khawāt b. Jubayr, telling them, 'Go to those people and determine whether what we have heard is true, then inform me by

some unintelligible remark I will understand but that will not weaken the resolve of the Muslims. If they are keeping to their pact, then you can report this openly to our men.' The emissaries then left and reached Kaʿb and his men."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba went on, "And so they went with them into their fortress and called upon them to make friends and to renew the pact. However, the Qurayẓa men replied, 'What now? When he has broken our wing and deported them' – meaning Banū al-Naḍīr. They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda began reviling them. This made them angry, so Saʿd b. Muʿādh told him, 'I swear, we did not come here for this! Our issue with them is too serious to settle with bad language.'

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh then spoke to them as follows, 'You know of the relationship between us, Banū Qurayza, and I'm afraid you might have happen to you the same as befell Banū al-Naḍīr, or even worse.' But they replied, 'You must have eaten your father's penis!' Saʿd b. Muʿādh responded, 'It would have been much more appropriate and much better if you had responded differently.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Who is this "Messenger of God"? We have no pact with Muḥammad.' At this Saʿd b. Muʿādh, who was an excitable man, reviled them and they insulted him. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda told him, 'Don't insult them any more; our issue with them is too serious for name-calling.'

"Thereupon both Saʿds and those with them returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, after greeting him, said, 'ʿUḍl and al-Qāra!' By this they were referring to their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajīʿ, Khubayb and his companions.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced, '*Allāhu Akbar!* Rejoice, Muslims!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) covered himself in his cloak, after receiving the news of Banū Qurayẓa, and went to lie down. He was absent a long time; and his men had become extremely concerned and fearful when they saw him lie down, for they realized no good news had come from Banū Qurayẓa. But eventually he raised his head and said, 'Rejoice at God's victory and for His help!'

"Next morning the two opposing sides closed and they exchanged fire with arrows and stones. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyad said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, 'O God, I beseech You to fulfil Your pact and promise! O God, if it pleases You, You will (no longer) be worshipped!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereupon the anxiety and fear increased. Their enemy came at them from above and below, so that the Muslims were very confused. Dissension arose, to the point where Muʿattib b. Qushayr, a brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, commented, 'Muḥammad used to promise us that we would eat the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, yet now we don't feel safe going to the

toilet.' Similarly, Aws b. Qayẓī said, while in the presence of others of his people, 'O Messenger of God, our homes are open to the enemy. Give us leave to return to our homes; they are outside Medina.'

"It is these persons and those like them who are referred to in the words of the Almighty, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, "it was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!" And (remember) when one group of them said, "O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!" And a group of them did ask the Prophet (ṢAAS), saying, "Our homes are undefended!" Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12, 13).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in his forward position with the polytheists besieging him there for some 20 days, almost a month, but there was no actual warfare between them, apart from some discharge of arrows.

"It has been related to me by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, and from another source I do not doubt, from al-Zuhrī, that when conditions there became worse, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf al-Murrī – these men being leaders of Ghaṭāfān – offering them a third of the dates of Medina if they were to go home and leave him and his men alone. And so peace talks were held between him and them, to the extent that they did sign a document. However, it was not properly witnessed with true intent for peace, but merely to reduce tension.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to do this, he sent for Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Saʿd b. ʿUmāra, informed them and sought their counsel. They responded, 'Messenger of God, is this something that you wish to do, something God has ordered you to do and which we must put into effect, or is it something you are doing for us?'

"He replied, 'It is something I am doing for you. I swear by God, I am only doing this because I see the Arabs shooting at you as if from one bow, and because they are attacking you from all sides. I want to break up their coalition against you.'

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh then told him, 'Messenger of God, we used to be disbelievers in God, and worshipped idols along with those people, not worshipping nor knowing God. At that time, they would never have dreamed of eating a single date of ours except as our guests or after purchase. Should we give them our property now, after God has honoured us with Islam, led us to Him and given us esteem through you and through Him? We'll have none of this! By God, all we'll give them is the sword, until God decides between us and them!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'As you wish.' Thereupon Saʿd b. Muʿādh took the document and erased the writing from it, saying, 'Now let them fight us!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with his men under siege but without warfare underway between them and their enemy, except that some

of the Quraysh cavalry, consisting of ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Abū Qays, of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb, both of Banū Makhzūm, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, of Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, donned their armour and then went forth on horseback to the positions held by Banū Kināna. There they called out, 'Banū Kināna, prepare for battle! You're going to discover who are the true knights today!'

"They charged forward on their mounts, but stopped at the trench saying, when they saw it, 'By God, this is a trick no Arab used before!' They then headed for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses, which charged over it and carried them to swampy ground between the trench and a fissure. Thereupon ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and a group of Muslims came out and blocked the opening through which they had forced their horses. The enemy horsemen then charged at them.

"ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd had fought at Badr but been badly wounded and consequently had not been present at Uḥud. At al-khandaq he had come out to battle wearing his insignia so that his rank would be evident. Now there on his horse, he cried out, 'Who will accept my challenge to combat?' ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, came forward and said, 'ʿAmr, you used to swear by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two choices, you would accept one of them.' 'That is so,' ʿAmr replied. ʿAlī then said, 'Well then, I invite you to God and to His messenger and to Islam!' 'I don't need that,' replied ʿAmr. 'Then', ʿAlī continued, 'I invite you to combat!' ʿAmr responded, 'Why this, nephew? I swear, I don't want to kill you.' ʿAlī replied, 'But, by God, I want to kill you!'

"This enraged ʿAmr and he leaped off his horse and hobbled it and beat its head. He then advanced at ʿAlī and they fought, circling around one another until ʿAlī, God be pleased with him, eventually killed him. Their horsemen left in defeat, charging back across the trench in flight."

According to Ibn Isḥāq, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses on that:

> "He sought aid from the stone (idol) in his stupidity,
> while I rightly sought support from the Lord of
> Muḥammad.
> I felt proud when I left him prostrate like a tree
> stump amid the fine sand and rocks.
> And refrained from taking his armour, though if I had
> been defeated he would have had mine.
> Do not think that God would abandon His faith and His
> prophet, you clansmen!"

Ibn Hishām stated that most authorities on poetry doubt that this poetry was by ʿAlī.

Ibn Hishām also said that ʿIkrima tossed his spear away that day when he was defeated by ʿAmr, and that Hassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that subject:

"He fled and threw his spear to us; perhaps, ʿIkrim,
you should not have done this.
You turned and ran like a male ostrich, looking only
straight ahead.
You did not turn your back like a man would; the nape
of your neck was like that of a *furʿal*."

Ibn Hishām explained that the word *furʿal* means a young hyena.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*, quoting Ibn Isḥāq in another place in the *sīra*, the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as follows, "ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd went forth in full armour and called out, 'Who will meet me in combat?' ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib arose and said, 'I'll do it, Prophet of God.' 'But that is ʿAmr,' he replied. 'Sit down!' ʿAmr called out again, 'Will no man accept combat?' He then began teasing them, saying, 'What about that paradise of yours? Don't you claim that any of you who are killed will enter there? So will not any man of you accept combat with me?' ʿAlī again arose and asked, 'May I, Messenger of God?' 'Sit down!' he replied. Then ʿAmr called out a third time, speaking the verses,

'I'm hoarse from calling out to them. Won't
someone come forth?
While those thought brave are too cowardly, I've stood
here like an accomplished champion.
That is why I have always hastened forth before the
fighting begins.
In a warrior, it is bravery and generosity that are the
best qualities.'

"ʿAlī again arose and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'May I go, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'But it is ʿAmr.' 'Even though it is ʿAmr!' he insisted. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission and he walked out towards him, reciting the verses,

'Do not hurry away, for someone who is not weak is
responding to your challenge.
He is a man of determination and wisdom, and truth is
the resort of all who succeed.
I hope that I will make mourning women stand over you
From the thrust of a spear that will always be
mentioned in talk of warfare.'

"ʿAmr asked him, 'Who are you?' 'I am ʿAlī,' he replied.

"'You mean ʿAbd Manāf's son,' ʿAmr enquired. 'No; I'm ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib,' he responded. 'Nephew,' ʿAmr told him, 'you have uncles who are more mature than you; I am reluctant to shed your blood.' ʿAlī replied, 'But, by God, I'm not reluctant to shed your blood.' This angered ʿAmr and he dismounted and drew his sword like fire flashing. He then advanced furiously towards ʿAlī.

ʿAlī met him with his leather shield. ʿAmr struck it and pierced it, his sword remaining stuck in it while it also struck ʿAlī's head. Then ʿAlī struck him in his neck vein and he fell down. The dust had risen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard someone saying, '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!' And so we knew that ʿAlī had killed him. ʿAlī then spoke the lines,

> 'Is it against me that the horsemen thus charge; my companions held me back from them.
> My zeal today and a resolve in my mind, not just in my (mouth) tooth.'

"He then went on to speak the line,

> 'He worshipped the stone (idol) in his stupidity, while I wisely sought aid from Muḥammad's Lord.'

"Then ʿAlī went on towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his face beaming, and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked him, 'Did you strip off his armour? It's the best armour among the Arabs.' ʿAlī responded, 'As I struck him, he shielded his private parts from me, and I felt embarrassed to despoil my own cousin.'

"ʿAmr's cavalry then left in defeat, charging back across the trench."

Ibn Isḥāq further stated, as quoted by al-Bayhaqī, that ʿAlī struck him at the collarbone, his weapon going on down to emerge from his belly, and that ʿAmr died in the trench. The polytheists then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), seeking to purchase his corpse for 10,000 (dirhams). But he responded, "He's yours. We don't profit from the dead."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Muslims killed at the trench a polytheist and were given money for his corpse. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said "Give them back the money for his corpse; his corpse is evil, and so would be the blood-money." He would not accept anything from them.'"

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, whom he quoted as saying that a polytheist was killed at the battle of al-Aḥzāb and that a message was then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offering payment of 12,000 (dirhams) for his body. He responded, "There's no good in his body, nor in the price for it."

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās. He categorized this *ḥadīth* as *gharīb*, "unilateral".

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted that it was actually the body of Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Makhzūmī they requested after he was killed, and that it was for him that they offered blood-money. But he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) responded, "He is evil, and so would be the blood-money; God has cursed him and his blood-money. We

have no intent to take blood-money for him. And we will not prevent you from burying him."

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī came forth and made a challenge for combat. Al-Zubayr accepted and went out to battle him, striking him so hard that he split him in two and badly dented his sword. He then left, reciting the line,

> 'I'm a man who protects and defends the Prophet, the
> chosen one, *al-ummī*[36], the untutored.'"

Ibn Jarīr stated that when Nawfal became trapped in the trench, the Muslims began hurling rocks at him. So he said, "A death better than this, I pray you, fellow Arabs!" At that ʿAlī went down and killed him. The polytheists then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for his body, offering a price for it. But he refused to take anything from them and allowed them to remove it.

This *ḥadīth* is to be categorized as *gharīb*, "unilateral", from two sources.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ḥammād b. Yazīd, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said, "At the battle of al-khandaq, I was put in the fortress with the women and children. With me was ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, who would bend over so that I could get on his back and observe. I saw my father charging first here, then there, attacking everything that came before him. That evening he joined us in the fortress, and I commented to him, 'Father, I watched what you did today!' He responded, 'So you saw me, son!' 'Yes,' I affirmed. 'Well, may my father and mother be your ransom!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Laylā, that is ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, brother of Banū Ḥāritha, related to me that ʿĀʾisha, mother of the faithful, was in the fort of Banū Ḥāritha, one of the most secure of the Medina forts, during the battle of al-khandaq. Umm Saʿd b. Muʿādh was with her there. ʿĀʾisha said, That was before the veil was imposed on us. Saʿd passed by wearing armour so small that his whole arm was exposed. He was carrying a spear and as he brandished it, he would call out,

> "Stay awhile and let Ḥamal watch the fight
> There's no harm in death when the time is right!"'

'His mother called out to him, ""Hurry along, son! By God, you're late already!" I commented to her, "Umm Saʿd, I just wish Saʿd's armour was larger." I was afraid he would be struck in those very places; and indeed an arrow was shot at Saʿd b. Muʿādh that severed the artery of his arm.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda told me, 'It was Ḥibbān b. Qays b. al-ʿAriqa of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy who shot at him and when the arrow struck,

36. This adjective has been the subject of much study. Some consider it to refer to someone coming from Mecca, known as the Umm al-Qurā, "the mother of all cities". Others interpret it to mean unlettered, untutored and therefore a reference to the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān and the impossibility of its having been composed by someone who lacked education.

he called out, 'Take that from me; I'm Ibn al-ʿAriqa!' Saʿd responded, 'May God make your face sweat[37] in hell! O God, if You will prolong this battle with Quraysh, preserve me for it! For there is no people I would rather fight than those who have harmed Your messenger, disbelieved in him and expelled him. But if You decree (continued) war between us and them, then make me a witness to it, and do not make me die before letting me engage in battle with Banū Qurayẓa!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that the latter would say, 'Actually, it was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī, an ally of Banū Makhzūm, who struck Saʿd that day.' And Abū Usāma composed the following verse on the subject that he recited to ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl:

> 'Ikrim, were you not blaming me when you said, "May
> Khālid be your ransom at the forts of Medina?"
> Was it not I who struck Saʿd with an arrow in his
> elbow, causing a wound that would not congeal?
> It caused Saʿd's death and made old women and well-
> breasted virgins mourn.
> It was you who defended him when ʿUbayda called in his
> distress to a group of them,
> Those times when they avoided his path, while at other
> times they were too scared to act.'"

Ibn Isḥāq commented, "God knows which account is correct."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was Khafāja b. ʿĀṣim b. Ḥibbān who struck Saʿd."

I would comment that God did respond to the plea of His servant Saʿd b. Muʿādh concerning Banū Qurayẓa. God did please him, and He thus ruled regarding them with strength and ease; and He made it be they who requested that, as will be explained hereafter. He decreed that their warriors be slain and their children be taken captive. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, "You issued judgement concerning them, by the decision of God above the seven heavens."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ʿAbbād as having said, 'Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was in Fāriʿ, the castle of Ḥassān b. Thābit and she said, "Ḥassān was there with us along with the women and children. A Jew passed by and began circling around the castle. Banū Qurayẓa had begun fighting and had cut off its relations with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There was no one there to protect us while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were so engaged with the enemy that there was no one who could leave them and come to us if someone should attack us. So I said, 'Ḥassān, as you can see, that Jew is circling the castle

37. The word *ʿariqa* in the name of the Quraysh archer means to sweat; hence Saʿd's response.

and I am concerned that he might inform the Jews over behind us of where our weakness lies, now that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men are so busy. Go down to him and kill him!' He replied, 'God forgive you, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! You must know I could never do such as thing as that.'"

"'She went on, "When he said this to me and I saw I could expect nothing from him, I put on a waist-wrapper then took a cudgel and went down from the fort towards him. Then I struck him with the cudgel till I had killed him. When I had finished with him, I returned to the fort and said, 'Hassān, now you go down and plunder him; the only thing that prevented me doing it was his being a man.' He replied, I don't need to plunder him, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib!'"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The polytheists surrounded the Muslims, so rendering them with their squadrons inside a kind of fortress. They besieged them for some 20 nights, coming at them from every side, so that they never knew whether or not (the attack) was over."

He went on, "They sent one large detachment towards where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was stationed, and they did battle all day until night came. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, the enemy force was still at hand and so neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor any of the men with him could perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in the manner they wished. When, at night, the enemy force turned away, people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'They kept us from the *ʿaṣr* prayer; may God fill their bellies and their hearts ('and their graves,' according to one report) with fire!'

"When conditions worsened, so did the attitude of many people and they began saying ugly things. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of his men and their ill mood, he tried to encourage them, saying, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, He will give you relief from the distress you are suffering. I certainly hope to circumambulate in safety around the Ancient House and that God will present me with the keys to the *kaʿba*, and that God will destroy Caesar and Chosroe and that we will expend their wealth in God's cause!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from ʿAbīda, from ʿAlī, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said at the battle of al-khandaq, 'May God fill with fire their houses above them and their graves, for them having kept us from the middle prayer until the sun set.'"

The rest of the narrators, except for Ibn Mājah, related it similarly from various lines back to Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī. Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related it through Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Then al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Hishām, from Yaḥyā, from Abū Salama, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

came along, at the battle of al-khandaq, after the sun had set, and began cursing the Quraysh unbelievers. He said, 'Messenger of God, I could scarcely perform my prayers before the sun had almost set.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'By God, I didn't perform it!' We then went on down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Buṭḥān, and he performed the prayer ablutions, as did we too. He then performed the *ʿaṣr* prayer after the sun had set and thereafter went on to perform the *maghrib*, after sunset, prayer."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Nasā᾽ī, from various lines, back to Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to us, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilāl, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) engaged the enemy in battle and had not finished doing so when it became too late to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer. When he realized this, he said, "O God, may you fill with fire the homes and graves of those who kept us from performing the *ṣalāt al-wusṭā*" ("the medial prayer").'"

Only Aḥmad gives wording like this; it comes to us from an account of Hilāl b. Khabbāb al-ʿAbdī al-Kūfī, a trustworthy source, vouched for by al-Tirmidhī and others.

Some scholars point to these *aḥādīth* as evidence for the prayer *ṣalāt al-wusṭā* being that of *al-ʿaṣr*, as is implied in them. The *qāḍī* al-Māwardī[38] accepted this for the "school" of al-Shāfiʿī because of the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*.

I have examined this carefully with quotations and evidences with reference to the words of the Almighty, "Attend well to the prayers, and to the *ṣalāt al-wusṭā*, and stand up before God, in humility" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.238).

Some authorities make reference to this action to justify delaying the prayer because of battle; this is the view of Makḥūl and al-Awzāʿī.

Al-Bukhārī devoted a section to this and used this *ḥadīth* and the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he ordered his men into action against Banū Qurayẓa, as will be shown. He quotes the statement, "None of you should perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be at where the Banū Qurayẓa are." Some of the men actually performed the *ʿaṣr* prayer on the way, while others of them only did so after reaching there, following the sunset. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did not deal harshly with either of the two groups. He (al-Bukhārī) also quoted as his authorities the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those others present with them at the siege of Tastur in 20 AH, in the time of ʿUmar, where they performed the morning prayer after sunrise. This was due to the fighting and to the approaching defeat of the fortress.

Other scholars, in fact the majority of them, including al-Shāfiʿī, stated that this procedure at the battle of al-khandaq was abrogated by the legalization of

38. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, known as al-Māwardī (974–1058 AD) of Basra was a scholar of the Shāfiʿī school. His work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniya*, for which he is best known, examines theories and practices of government from the perspectives of Islamic law.

the *ṣalāt al-khawf* thereafter; at that time this had not been made legal and that was why they postponed it that day. But this is an undecided issue.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A group of scholars maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-khawf* prayer at ʿUsfān."

Ibn Isḥāq, who is certainly the authority on the *maghāzī*, the military engagements, mentions this incident before al-khandaq, as he had with Dhāt al-Riqāʿ, to which he also referred before al-khandaq. But God knows best.

The statement that the postponement of the prayer at the battle of al-khandaq came about inadvertently, as the commentators on (the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection) of Muslim related from certain others, is problematical; for it is unlikely that this would have occurred for such a large group, bearing in mind their strong determination to observe the prayers. How could this be when it is related that on that day they put off the prayers of the *al-ẓuhr*, noon, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the late afternoon, and the *al-maghrib*, the sunset, until the whole group prayed at the time of the *al-ʿishāʾ*, the evening, according to the account of Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʿīd?

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and Ḥajjāj related to us as follows, 'Ibn Abū Dhiʾb related to us, from al-Maqburī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who quoted his father as saying, "We were pinned down at al-khandaq until part of the night had gone by and eventually we were relieved." That relates to the statement, "God saved the believers in battle; and God is mighty, powerful"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25). So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Bilāl, gave him his orders, and set about performing the *al-ẓuhr* prayer as he would do at its normal time. Then he performed in turn the prayers for *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ*. He did this before he dismounted. Ḥajjāj stated, "This is in keeping with the instruction concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf*: 'If you are afraid, it can be performed on foot or while mounted'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.239).

Al-Nasāʾī related this from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb. He said, "At al-khandaq the polytheists kept us from the *al-ẓuhr* prayer until the sun had set." He then related the *ḥadīth* as above.

Aḥmad stated, "Hushaym related to us, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr, from Abū ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, from his father, to the effect that at al-khandaq the polytheists kept the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from performing four prayers until such part of the night had passed that God had determined. And so he gave orders to Bilāl, who gave the call to prayer. He then set about praying the *al-ẓuhr*, followed by the *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and then *al-ʿishāʾ*."

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Muḥammad b. Maʿmar related to us, quoting Muʾammil – meaning Ibn Ismāʿīl – quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama, from ʿAbd al-Karīm – meaning Ibn Abū al-Mukhāriq – from Mujāhid, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was kept at al-khandaq from performing the prayers of *al-ẓuhr*, *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib*, and *al-ʿishāʾ*. Eventually

he gave orders to Bilāl who made the call for prayer, and then he performed the *al-ẓuhr*. Thereafter, he ordered Bilāl to again make the call and then performed the *al-ʿaṣr*. Again he ordered Bilāl to make the call and then performed the *al-maghrib*, after which he once more ordered him to make the call and then performed the *al-ʿishāʾ*. He then stated, 'There is not upon the face of the earth any people but you making mention of God's name at this hour.'"

Al-Bazzār was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And he stated, "We know of this only through this line of authorities; however, some others relate it from ʿAbd al-Karīm, from Mujāhid, from Abū ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh."

CONCERNING THE PRAYERS SPOKEN BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AGAINST THE AḤZĀB, THE CLANS.

And how God used His might and power to deal with them in response to His messenger (ṢAAS), and to guard his noble person. He therefore sent their minds into turmoil and thereafter turned a fierce wind upon them and shook their bodies.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū ʿĀmir related to us, quoting al-Zubayr – meaning Ibn ʿAbd Allāh – quoting Rabīḥ b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, from his father, who said, 'At al-khandaq, we asked, "Messenger of God, is there something we should speak? For the hearts have reached the throats!" He replied, "Yes: 'O God protect our weaknesses and pacify our fears.'" And then God smote with wind the faces of His enemies.'"

Ibn Abū Ḥātim related this in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), from his father, from Abū ʿĀmir – meaning al-ʿAqadī – from al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd Allāh, freed-man of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, from Rabīḥ b. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, from his father, from Abū Saʿīd, who related it, and this is the correct (line).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥusayn related to us, from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb, from a man of Banū Salama, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the place of prayer at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, took off his cloak, and stood with his hands raised and outstretched invoking God against them; and he did not pray." He (Jābir) then said, "After that he again came and invoked God against them, then prayed."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from *aḥādīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God against the clans, saying, 'O God, Revealer of the Book, Quick to take account, defeat the clans! O God, defeat them, and shake them!'"

In one account the wording is, "O God, defeat them and give us victory over them!"

Al-Bukhārī related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, "There is no god but God alone; He gave power to His forces, gave victory to His slave and overcame the clans by Himself. There is nothing after Him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men remained in that state of fear and difficulty as God described at the attacks of their enemy who came at them from above and from below. Eventually Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Thaʿlaba b. Qunfudh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have accepted Islam, but my people do not know of this. Give me whatever orders you wish.' He replied, 'You are only one man; use trickery to relieve us of them, if you can. War is deception.'

"Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd then left and went out to Banū Qurayẓa whose close companion he had been before Islam. He reminded them of his friendship and association with them. They accepted this and expressed their confidence in him. He then told them that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were not in the same situation as themselves. The battle area, he reminded them, was their territory and the site of their property, wives and children. He observed that they had nowhere else to go, whereas Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had come in to do battle against Muḥammad and his men from elsewhere. Banū Qurayẓa, he observed, had joined in battling him even though territory, women and property of the other tribes were elsewhere. This meant that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would take any opportunity they could, but if they were unsuccessful, they would return home, leaving the lands of Banū Qurayẓa between themselves and their enemy. And then Banū Qurayẓa would have insufficient power to withstand him if they were left alone. He advised them, therefore, not to participate with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān in the fighting without taking some of the leaders of the two tribes as hostages to guarantee that they would fight on against Muḥammad until they defeated him. Banū Qurayẓa agreed to this.

"Nuʿaym then went to Quraysh and reminded Abū Sufyān and those with him of his friendship for them and alienation from Muḥammad. He then told them he had some information he thought he should impart to them and he asked them to keep it confidential. They said they would.

"He told them that the Jews had regretted the way they had behaved towards Muḥammad and had sent him a message telling him of this. They had asked him if he would like them to take hostage some of the leaders of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and then hand them over to him for execution. After that, the Jews promised him their support in annihilating them and the Prophet (ṢAAS) had agreed to this. 'Now therefore,' he went on, 'if the Jews should send asking for some of their men as hostages you should not agree to hand over a single one.'

"Nuʿaym then went to Ghaṭafān, reminded them of his close ties and friendship and of their trust he enjoyed. They agreed that they trusted him, and he asked them to keep his remarks confidential. They accepted this, and he then told them what he had told Quraysh and advised them to be cautious.

"When the night of the sabbath of Shawwāl in 5 AH arrived, God so arranged it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and the leaders of Ghaṭafān sent ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl and some other Quraysh and Ghaṭafān men

to Banū Qurayẓa and told them that they were not in permanent quarters and that their horses and camels were dying. They asked them to prepare for battle that would destroy and rid them of Muḥammad. Banū Qurayẓa replied that it was a day when they could do nothing; they referred to the fate of some of them who had acted previously on that day (the sabbath). They also refused to participate in fighting Muḥammad until they received hostages who would guarantee continued action until he was defeated. They expressed their fear that if their allies suffered severe losses in the fighting, they would retreat home, leaving themselves alone with the enemy on their territory and that they would not have the power to defeat him.

"When their messengers returned with news of the response made by Banū Qurayẓa, Quraysh and Ghaṭafān believed in what Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd had told them. And so they sent the message back that they would not deliver a single man over to Banū Qurayẓa, and that it was up to them whether or not to come out to engage in battle. When the messengers brought them this response, Banū Qurayẓa believed that what Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd had told them was true. They were sure that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would seize any opportunities they had, but otherwise would disperse into their own territories, thus leaving them alone to cope with the Muslims. They therefore sent back to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān that they would only do battle along with them if they were to hand over hostages to them.

"Quraysh and Ghaṭafān refused this; God thus created dissension between them and then that night He sent a fierce wind against them, on an extremely cold winter's night that overturned their cooking pots and vessels."

This account related about Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd by Ibn Isḥāq is better than that related by Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). The gist of his narration was that what had reached him was that Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd would spread abroad whatever news he learned. And it so happened that one evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beckoned to him to come over as he passed by and asked him what he had heard. Nu'aym replied that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had sent to Banū Qurayẓa asking them to come forth in battle to finish off the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Qurayẓa had agreed to this on condition that hostages be given over to them. It had previously been related that they had only abrogated the pact at the hands of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab on condition that hostages would be brought to them as security.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Nu'aym, "I wish to tell you something in confidence; do not repeat it. They sent to me seeking peace if I would restore Banū al-Naḍīr to their homes and property."

Following this, Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd left for Ghaṭafān and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Warfare is deception; perhaps God will act on our behalf."

Nuʿaym went to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and told them this news and they hastily despatched ʿIkrima and a group of men to Banū Qurayẓa asking them to join in the fighting alongside them. It happened to be a sabbath, however, that the Jews held sacred; moreover, they asked for hostages as security. And so God came between them and they disagreed with one another.

I would comment that it is likely that when Banū Qurayẓa gave up hope of settling their difficulties with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān, they did send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), requesting peace on condition that he restore Banū al-Naḍīr to Medina. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of their dispute and how God had broken their unity, he despatched Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān over to them to see what the enemy was doing that night."

He went on, "Yazīd b. Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī, who said, 'A man from Kūfa asked Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh, have you actually seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and were you really a Companion of his?' 'Oh yes, nephew,' he replied. 'And how did you get by?' he asked. Ḥudhayfa replied, 'It was difficult for us, I swear by God.' 'I swear', commented the Kūfan, 'if we'd lived at his time, we'd never have let his foot so much as touch the ground; we'd have carried him on our shoulders.' Ḥudhayfa responded, 'Nephew, I swear I see us now with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-khandaq, and after he had prayed for part of the night, he turned to us and asked, "Who will volunteer to go and see what the enemy is doing, and then come back?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stipulated that if the volunteer would come back, he would ask God that the man be his Companion in paradise. But so severe was the fear, cold and hunger, that not one person volunteered. Since no one had risen, he called upon me, and once he had done so, I had no alternative but to do so. He then told me, "Ḥudhayfa, go and infiltrate the enemy. Go and see what they are doing, but don't cause any trouble; then return to us."

"'So I did so. The gale and God's soldiers were greatly damaging them, leaving them no fire nor pots, nor tents upright. Abū Sufyān arose and said, "Quraysh, every man check out the person sitting next to him."

"'At this I took the hand of the man next to me and asked him his name. He told me who he was. Abū Sufyān then said, "We're not in a permanent camp, our horses and camels are dying, and Banū Qurayẓa are at odds with us, and we've heard things about them that we don't like. You can see what we've lost due to the gale, how our cooking pots won't stay upright, and we can't keep fires burning and our tents standing. You should leave, as I am about to do." He then went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, struck it so that it arose on three legs since he only unhobbled it when it was standing. If it had not been for the promise the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made me make not to cause trouble, I could have shot him with an arrow.'"

Ḥudhayfa went on, "So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him standing in prayer shrouded in a wrap belonging to one of his wives. When he saw me, he asked me to come in (to sit) at his feet and threw an end of the wrap over me. He then bowed and prostrated, while I was under it. When he was finished, I related the news to him. When Ghaṭafān heard what Quraysh had done, they hurried off home."

This *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭi'*, incomplete in its line, in this version.

Muslim b. Ḥajjāj related this *ḥadīth* in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from an account of al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Taymī, from his father, who said, "We were with Ḥudhayfa when a man told him, 'If I had been alive with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I would have fought alongside him heroically.' 'Would you, indeed?' Ḥudhayfa asked him and went on, 'Once we were there at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was night time and there was a fierce, cold gale blowing. He asked us, "Is there no man who will bring me news of the enemy and be with me at Judgement Day?" When none of us responded, he asked the same question a second and a third time. Then he said, "Ḥudhayfa, you go and bring us news of the enemy." Since he had called upon me by name, I had no alternative but to get up. He then said, "Bring me news of them without giving them any cause for alarm about me." So I left and made my way to them, feeling as if I was walking through a public bath! I found Abū Sufyān there warming his back to the fire. I placed an arrow in the centre of my bow and was about to release it when I remembered how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told me not to give them any alarm about him. If I had shot it, I would have hit him. I then left to return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and again the feeling of walking in a public bath overcame me. When I arrived back, I felt very cold and chilled once again. I told this to him and he put over me part of the cloak he was wearing as he prayed. I slept right on through till morning, when he spoke to me, saying, "Up you get, sleepy-head!"'"

Al-Ḥākim related this *ḥadīth*, as did the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalā'il*, in an extended form from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Du'alī, from 'Abd al-'Azīz, the nephew of Ḥudhayfa, who said, "Ḥudhayfa related the events in which they had participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Those sitting listening to him commented how they would have behaved in various ways if they had been present. Ḥudhayfa then said, 'You shouldn't wish for that. There we were, drawn up in battle array, keeping down, while Abū Sufyān and his forces were above us, while the Jews of Banū Qurayẓa were down below us, making us fear for our families. We never experienced any night so black and violent as that; the winds blew fiercely with great explosions like thunderbolts. It was so dark we couldn't even see our fingers.

"'The backsliders began asking the Prophet (ṢAAS) permission to withdraw, saying that their homes were exposed – though they were not exposed. He gave

his permission to leave to each person who asked and so they would slip away. We were some 300 men in number. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received us one by one until eventually my turn came; I had nothing on to protect me from the enemy and the cold except a woollen coat of my wife that came down no further than my knees. When he came to me I was kneeling down. He asked, "And who is this?" "Ḥudhayfa," I replied, "Ḥudhayfa, eh?" "Yes, Messenger of God," I responded, keeping down close to the ground and unwilling to get up. But I did rise and he said, "There's activity among the enemy; bring me news of them." Actually, I was the most terrified of our men and certainly the coldest.

"'When I left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "O God, protect him from danger from his front and rear, from his left and his right, from above him and from below him." And, I swear, I felt from then on entirely empty of the fear and cold God had previously created inside me! As I was turning to leave, he called out, "Ḥudhayfa, don't cause any disturbance in the enemy before you come back to me."

"'As I approached the enemy camp, I saw the light of a fire they had burning. There I saw a dark-skinned, heavy-set man holding his hands out above the fire and then wiping them on his waist, saying, "Get the mounts ready!" I had not known Abū Sufyān before that; I took out an arrow with white feathered flights from my quiver and positioned it in my bow to shoot it in the light of the fire, but then remembered how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told me not to cause any disturbance before I returned to him. So I stopped and returned the arrow to my quiver. Then I mustered up my courage and entered their camp. Those men closest to me were of Banū ʿĀmir, and they were saying that they should mount up and leave, since they had no permanent quarters there and that the wind was blowing straight through their camp. I could hear the sounds of the stones raised by the wind striking their mounts and their equipment. I left and went on my way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Half way or thereabouts, I came across 20 or so horsemen, fully shrouded, who told me, "Tell your master that God has saved him!"

"'So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him wrapped up in a blanket, praying. No sooner was I back than I felt terribly cold again and began shivering. As he prayed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to me and when I drew near him, he spread his blanket out over me. When something troubled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he would pray. I made my report about the enemy and how they had been moving out when I left the camp. Then Almighty God revealed, "O you who believe, remember God's favour to you, when troops came to you and We sent down against them a wind and (Our) troops you could not see. God is fully aware of what you do ..." up to and including, "And God was sufficient for the believers in battle. God is Almighty, Powerful"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9–25).

That is, God removed their enemy from them by the wind He sent against them and the troops of angels and others He sent to them. And so, "God saved

the believers from battle." That is, they did not need to face them in fighting and in combat because the Almighty and All-Powerful drew them away through His power and strength.

This is why it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'There is no god but God alone; He was sincere in His promise and aided His servant, gave power to His troops and defeated the *Aḥzāb* all by Himself. After Him there is nothing.'"

Regarding His words, "God saved the believers from battle", this is a reference to the cessation of war between the two sides. That is what occurred; thereafter, Quraysh never again instituted warfare against the Muslims. As Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, stated, "When the troops at al-khandaq left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so it has been related to me, 'After this year, Quraysh will not go to war against you, but you will against them.'"

He went on, "And Quraysh did not attack thereafter, whereas they (the Muslims) did attack them, until God gave him victory over Mecca." This report comes from Ibn Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā related to us, from Sufyān, that Abū Isḥaq related to him, 'I heard Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, God be pleased with him, say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Now we will attack them, but not they us.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Sulaymān b. Ṣard.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Three Muslims of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were martyred at the battle of al-khandaq; they were Saʿd b. Muʿādh" – extensive information about his death will follow – "Anas b. Aws b. ʿAtīk b. ʿAmr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl. Also killed were al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān, Thaʿlaba b. Ghanama, both of Jashm and of Sulaym, and Kaʿb b. Zayd al-Najārī, who was killed by a stray arrow.

"Three of the polytheists were killed. These were Munabih b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbāq b. ʿAbd al-Dār, who was struck by an arrow and later died from his wound in Mecca, Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra who charged across the trench on his horse and became bogged down and killed there; the polytheists offered a large sum for his body, as is related above. And there was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd al-ʿĀmirī, who was killed by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A trustworthy authority related to me that al-Zuhrī said, "ʿAlī that day killed ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd, whose son was Ḥasl b. ʿAmr."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "He is known both as ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd."

Section: On the Expedition against Banū Qurayẓa.

On the severe violence God Almighty brought down upon them, along with the painful punishment He had prepared for them in the hereafter.

All that was due to their disbelief, their breaking of the pacts between themselves and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their allying themselves with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, against him. None of that did them any good and brought the wrath of God and His messenger down upon them, a bad bargain for them in this world and the next.

God Almighty had stated, "And God turned back in their rage those who disbelieved, and they obtained no good advantage. God saved the believers from battle; and God is mighty, powerful. And He brought down those of the people of the Book who supported them from their fortresses, and He cast terror into their hearts; you killed one group (of them) and took prisoner another. And He made you inherit their lands, homes and property, along with a land you had not yet trodden. And God has power over all things" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25–27).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, and Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said that whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition, the pilgrimages of the *ḥajj* or the *al-ʿumra*, he would first affirm the greatness of God, and then he would say, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. All dominion is His. All praise is due to Him. He has power over all things; we (return) repenting, seeking forgiveness, praying, prostrating and praising our Lord. God is true to His promise; He gave aid to His servant and defeated the *aḥzāb* by Himself.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, stated, "Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the trench accompanied by the Muslims and returned to Medina, there laying down their arms.

"At the noon prayer, Gabriel, so al-Zuhrī told me, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a turban embroidered in silk and gold, riding a mule with a saddle adorned with a brocade cloth, and asked, 'Have you put down your weapons then, Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Well,' Gabriel informed him, 'the angels have not yet put down theirs; I've come to you now from pursuing the enemy. God commands you, Muḥammad, to go against Banū Qurayẓa. I myself am heading for them and am going to shake them up!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned a muezzin and an announcement was made: 'All those who hear and obey should perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer only among Banū Qurayẓa.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that he placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command over Medina.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "It was related to me by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, quoting Ibn Numayr, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned from the trench and he had put down his arms and taken a bath, Gabriel came to him and said, "So you have put down your arms! We've not done so, I swear by God! Go forth to them!" "Where to?"

he asked. "Over here." Gabriel said, gesturing towards Banū Qurayẓa. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) did go forth.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had disposed of the *aḥzāb*, he entered the bathhouse to bathe. Then Gabriel came and I could see, across the house, that his head was reddened with dust. He said, "Muḥammad, you've laid down your arms then!" "We have laid down our arms," he replied. Gabriel said, "Well, we've not laid down ours yet. Get up after Banū Qurayẓa!"'"

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from Ḥūmayd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'It was as though I could see the dust rising in the street of Banū Ghanm (in Medina) due to the marching of Gabriel's troops when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out against Banū Qurayẓa.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ related to us, quoting Juwayriyya b. Asmāʾ, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, "Let no one perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayẓa!" Time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer came for some, while they were still travelling. And some of these decided not to perform the prayer before arriving, while others decided to pray then and that they had not been required to wait. This was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he was not severe with any one of them.'"

Muslim related it thus from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī both stated, 'Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAlī, from Bishr b. Ḥarb, from his father, (who said) "Al-Zuhrī related to us that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik informed him that his uncle ʿUbayd Allāh told him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from fighting the *al-aḥzāb*, he took off his breast-plate, washed and bathed. then Gabriel, upon whom be peace, appeared before him and said, 'Some warrior you are! It seems you have taken off your breast-plate! Well, we haven't done that yet!'"'

"At this, the Prophet (ṢAAS) got up in a fright and insisted that everyone should refrain from performing the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayẓa.

"And so the Muslims dressed in their armour. However, they arrived at Banū Qurayẓa only after the sun had set. At sunset, disputes arose. Some maintained that since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them not to pray the *al-ʿaṣr* unless it be at Banū Qurayẓa, there could be no sin in them complying. One group did pray out of their caution, while others refrained from praying until the sun had set, after which they prayed among Banū Qurayẓa; they too acted out of caution. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either one of the groups."

Also, al-Bayhaqī related, through ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀʾisha, (who stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, "... and while we were there inside the house, in came a man who greeted us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up in a fright, and I arose too; suddenly, there was Diḥya al-Kalbī. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), said, 'This is Gabriel! He has ordered me to attack Banū Qurayẓa. He said to me, "You have put down your arms, but we have not."' We had pursued the polytheists until we reached Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, following the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-khandaq. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose in great concern and said to his Companions, 'I require you not to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer until you arrive at Banū Qurayẓa.' The sun set before they reached them and one group of the Muslims thought that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not wanted them to wait to say the prayer and so they prayed. Another group maintained that they were acting in accord with the requirement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that they would not be considered guilty of a sin for not praying. And so one group did pray, in their faith and as a precaution, while another group did not, for the same reasons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate any person from either group. He then went forth and as he passed by any group of people, on his way to Banū Qurayẓa, he would ask them, 'Did anyone pass by you?' They responded, 'Diḥya al-Kalbī passed by on his grey mule, mounted on a piece of brocade cloth.' He responded, 'That was Gabriel; he has been sent to Banū Qurayẓa to shake them up, and to cast terror into them.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them, telling his Companions to protect him with their shields so that he could hear their response. He called out to them, 'Hey, you, you brothers of monkeys and pigs!' They replied, 'Abū al-Qāsim, you used not to employ bad language!'

"And so he besieged them until they came down, following the judgement of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, whose allies they were. He decreed for them that their warriors should be killed and that their children and women should become captive."

This *ḥadīth* has excellent lines of transmission from ʿĀʾisha and others.

The scholars differ over which of the two groups was correct that day. In fact the consensus is that each of them was worthy and justified in their actions and not to be severely criticized.

One group of scholars, however, maintains that those who postponed the prayer from its predetermined time until they could perform it among Banū Qurayẓa were correct, because their order to postpone it that day was specific and special and therefore should have been given precedence over the normal time for which it was determined under the law.

Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī stated in his biography (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "God knows that had we been there we would not have performed the

al-ʿaṣr prayer unless it had been among Banū Qurayẓa, even if it would have had to be several days thereafter!"

This statement of his accords with the principle he holds fundamental, to act in accord with what is apparent.

Another group of scholars considered, on the contrary, that those who performed the prayer at its regular time while they were travelling were the ones who were correct because they had understood that the intent was to hasten their journey to Banū Qurayẓa and not to postpone the prayer. They acted in accord with the precepts suggesting the superiority of prayer being performed at its proper time, even though they understood what the legislator had wanted. Because of this, he did not berate them or order them to repeat the prayer at the time to which it had been changed that day, as the others claimed. Those who did postpone it were forgiven, since they acted in accord with their understanding; most things they were ordered to do they did in fact accomplish.

As for those who maintain that it is permissible to postpone prayer because of warfare – as al-Bukhārī understood and justified from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar referred to previously – (in this case) neither those who performed the prayer earlier nor those who did so later ought to be considered suspect. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq then stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter sent forward ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib bearing his banner and the men hurried towards it."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military expeditions, quoting al-Zuhrī, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his bathroom, so they claim, having combed out one side of his hair, Gabriel came to him riding a horse and dressed in his breast-plate. He halted at the door of the mosque where the funeral biers are placed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to him, whereupon Gabriel said, 'May God forgive you, have you put down your arms?' 'Yes,' he replied. Gabriel commented, 'Well, we've not put ours down ever since your enemy came at you; and I'm continuing to pursue them until God defeats them.' And they say that there was actually dust present upon Gabriel's face. He then went on to say, 'God commanded you to fight Banū Qurayẓa, and I will pursue them along with the angels accompanying me; we will make their fortresses shake around them. Go forth you too, with your men!'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did follow after Gabriel. He passed by a seated group of Banū Ghanam who were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked them whether a horseman had recently passed them. They replied that Diḥya al-Kalbī had passed them on a white horse, seated on a saddle cloth or a piece of velvet brocade, and wearing his breast-plate. They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'That was Gabriel!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to liken Diḥya al-Kalbī to Gabriel. He then said, 'Join me at where Banū Qurayẓa are, and perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer among them.'

"And so they arose, along with those other Muslims God wished, and they set off for Banū Qurayẓa. The time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer came while they were *en route*, and they remembered the prayer. Some of them asked others, 'Don't you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer among Banū Qurayẓa?' Others said, 'It's the prayer (time).' And so some did pray while others postponed it until they could perform it among Banū Qurayẓa, after the sun had set. They informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which of them had performed it earlier and those who had postponed it, and people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either of the two groups.

"When ʿAlī saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching, he met him and said to him, 'Go back, Messenger of God, God will take care of the Jews for you.' ʿAlī had heard from them some ugly talk with reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his wives, may God be pleased with them, and he disliked for him to hear this. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him why he was advising him to go back, but ʿAlī concealed from him what he had heard of them. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'I think you have heard them say something harmful about me; I will go on, for if the enemies of God saw me they would not say any of what you heard.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at their fortresses, they being high above him, he addressed a group of their nobles at the top of his voice so that they could hear him saying, 'Respond, you tribe of Jews, you brothers of apes, for disgrace from God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has come down upon you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them with legions of the Muslims for some ten nights. God had brought back Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and he had entered the forts of Banū Qurayẓa. God cast terror into them, and the siege was very hard on them. They eventually shouted for Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir – they had been allied to the *anṣār* – but Abū Lubāba stated, 'I will not go to them until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives me permission.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission.

"And so Abū Lubāba went to them and they complained to him and asked him what he thought they should do since they did not have the power to engage in warfare. Abū Lubāba gestured at his throat across which he brought his fingers, showing them that it was their execution that was wanted.

"When Abū Lubāba left them, he was suddenly aghast, realizing that some urge had overcome him. He told himself that he could not look the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the face until he did some loyal act as repentance that God would appreciate.

"And so he went back to Medina and tied his hands to one of the tree trunks (supporting the roof) of the mosque. It is said that he remained tied there for some 20 days.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, when Abū Lubāba absented himself, 'Hasn't Abū Lubāba yet finished dealing with his allies?' When it was related to him what Abū Lubāba had done, he said, 'After (he left) me some urge overcame

him; if he had come to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him. Since he has now done what he has, I will not move him from where he is until God decrees His will upon him.'"

Ibn Lahiʿa related this thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recounted this in this way in his work on the *maghāzī*, in the same line of authorities as Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhrī, and (it appears) similarly in the account given by Abū al-Aswad from ʿUrwa.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp at one of the wells of Banū Qurayẓa; called the Annā well; it was among properties they owned. He besieged them for 25 days, by which time the siege was causing them great hardship and much anxiety.

"Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab had joined them in their fortress when Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had withdrawn, thus fulfilling the pact he had made with Kaʿb b. Asad. When they were sure that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no intention of departing before he had utterly defeated them, Kaʿb b. Asad addressed Banū Qurayẓa. He told them, 'You well know the crisis you face. I suggest three alternatives; choose the one you like best.' 'What are they?' they asked. He replied, 'First, that we follow and believe this man. I swear, it is clear to you now that he is a prophet who has been sent, and that it is he whom you find mentioned in your scripture. You should give him control over your lives, properties, children and women.' They replied, 'We will never abandon the law of the Torah, nor exchange it for another!'

"He then said, 'If you refuse me this, let us kill our children and our women and then go forth to Muḥammad and his companions with our swords drawn; that way we will not leave any responsibilities behind us, and God will decide between us and Muḥammad. If we perish, we perish; but we won't be leaving behind any children to worry about. And if we are victorious, we'll certainly acquire other women and children.'

"They replied, 'Shall we kill these unfortunates? What good would there be in living on after them?'

"He continued, 'If you refuse this, then tonight it is the sabbath. It may well be that Muḥammad and his men feel secure now. Let's go forth and seek to take Muḥammad and his men by surprise.'

"They replied, 'Should we desecrate our sabbath; if we do, there will befall that metamorphosis[39] you well know has always befallen those who have done so.'

"He commented, 'Not one of you men has ever, since the day you were born, acted decisively.'

"They then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to dispatch to them for consultations Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, a brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf who were allies of al-Aws.

39. An allusion to the references in several places in the Qurʾān to those who profaned the sabbath. See, for example, *sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.63.

"He did dispatch Abū Lubāba and when they saw him, the men arose to meet him. The women and children broke into sobs before him. He felt very sorry for them; they asked him whether they should submit to Muḥammad's judgement. He said that they should. He then gestured with his hand across his neck, indicating that execution was coming.

"Abū Lubāba (later) commented, 'I swear by God, my feet had not left that place before I knew I had betrayed God and His messenger.

"Abū Lubāba then left hurriedly. He did not, however, return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but tied himself to one of the supports of the mosque, saying, 'I will not leave here until God forgives me for what I have done. I swear to God that I will never again go to Banū Qurayẓa, nor ever be seen again in any place where I have betrayed God and His messenger!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, God revealed concerning this, 'O you who believe, do not betray God and His messenger; (and do not) knowingly break your trust'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.27).

Ibn Hishām also stated, "He remained tied there for six days. His wife would come to him at each prayer time and untied him so that he could perform the ablutions and pray. He would then be tied up again. Eventually forgiveness did come down for him, in the Almighty's words, 'And others confessed their sins, having mixed good deeds with bad; God may well forgive them. God is indeed forgiving, merciful'" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.102).

According to Mūsā b. ʿUqba he remained bound for 20 days. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq related that God revealed His forgiveness to His messenger at the very end of the night, while he was in the home of Umm Salama. He began to smile and when Umm Salama asked him why, he told her that God had forgiven Abū Lubāba. She asked his permission to leave to inform him. He agreed, and she went and told him the good news. People crowded around him joyfully, wishing to untie him from his bonds. But he said, "No one but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall untie me." When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to perform the dawn prayer, he did untie him, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya, Usayd b. Saʿya and Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banū Hadal and not from either Qurayẓa or al-Naḍīr, their own pedigree being superior to that, they being Banū ʿAmm al-Qawm, accepted Islam that night during which Qurayẓa had come under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Also that night ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Quraẓī came out and passed by the guard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Muḥammad b. Maslama was in charge of them that night and when he saw ʿAmr, he called out and asked him his name, which he gave. ʿAmr had refused to participate in Banū Qurayẓa treachery towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having said, 'I will never betray Muḥammad!' When

he recognized him, Muḥammad b. Maslama said, 'O God, do not forbid me to set aside the minor sins of noble men!' He then let him pass. ʿAmr then hurriedly left and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in Medina. Thereafter he departed for some still unknown destination. When what had happened to him was mentioned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he commented, 'That is a man whom God saved because of his trustworthiness.'"

He went on, "Some people claim that he was tied up with rope along with others of Banū Qurayẓa. The rope to which he had been tied was later found thrown away, and it was not known where he had gone. And it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the above statement about him. But God knows best which of the accounts is correct."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Next morning they came under the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Aws promptly claimed that Banū Qurayẓa had been allied with them rather than with Khazraj. They also referred to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given control over Banū Qurayẓa to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy when he had requested this, as is related above.

"When Aws had spoken to him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'O Aws, will you be content to have one of your men decide about them?' When they agreed to this, he placed them under the charge of Saʿd b. Muʿādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed Saʿd b. Muʿādh inside his mosque in a tent belonging to an Aslam woman named Rufayda; she was caring for the wounded. When he placed Saʿd in charge of Banū Qurayẓa, his people approached him and mounted him on a donkey bearing a leather cushion; he was a handsome, large man. They then brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him to treat his charges kindly, since it was with that expectation that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed him over them. When they insisted upon this, he responded, 'It is now time for Saʿd to take no account of anyone's criticism for what he does in God's cause!' One of those of his people who was accompanying him returned to Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and told them of the death of the men of Banū Qurayẓa even before Saʿd reached them, because of what he had heard him say.

"When Saʿd arrived at where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Arise to greet your master.' The Quraysh *muhājirīn*, said he was referring to the *anṣār*, while the latter thought that his order had been directed towards all the Muslims, and so they stood up. They told him, 'Abū ʿAmr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has delegated to you the question of deciding what to do with your charges.' Saʿd replied, 'Is it your duty to swear by a pact with God that whatever decision I reach about them will be enforced?' 'Yes,' they agreed. Saʿd then asked, 'And does that apply to him who is over here?' He was referring to the direction where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, while looking away from him out of his respect for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) answered, 'Yes.' Saʿd then said, 'I therefore decree that the men among them shall be executed,

while their properties shall be liquidated and their offspring and women shall be taken captive.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Saʿd, 'You have judged them with the decision of God, from seven heavens above.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable scholar related to me that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib exclaimed as they were besieging Banū Qurayẓa, 'O Army of the Faith!' He and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām then advanced and ʿAlī said, 'I will taste what Ḥamza tasted, or I will storm their fortress!' But they replied, 'Muḥammad! We will submit to the judgement of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Abū Umāma b. Sahl, who said, "I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī say, 'Banū Qurayẓa agreed to submit to the authority of Saʿd b. Muʿādh. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Saʿd who came to him on a donkey. When he drew near the mosque, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Stand up for your master" (or "your better"). He then said, "These people have submitted to your authority." He (Saʿd) stated, "We shall execute their warriors and take their children prisoner." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "You have given judgement with God's decree." He may have said, "You have given judgement with the *mālik's* ('the ruler's') decree." According to another account, the word used was *malak*, "angel".'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is derived by various lines of authority from Shuʿba.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥujayn and Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Al-Layth b. Saʿd related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "At the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* an arrow was shot at Saʿd b. Muʿādh and the medial vein in his arm was severed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cauterized it with fire. Saʿd's hand then swelled up and he bled it. Seeing this, Saʿd said, 'O God, do not extract my soul before you settle Banū Qurayẓa for me.' At this the flow ceased, with not another drop falling, until Banū Qurayẓa submitted to Saʿd's authority. A message was sent to him to this effect and he decreed that their men should be executed and that their women and children should be made captive and should serve the Muslims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'You have correctly given God's judgement regarding them.' They were 400 in number. When their execution was over, Saʿd's artery burst and he died."'"

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from Qutayba, back to al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ibn Numayr related to us, from Hishām, saying, 'My father quoted ʿĀʾisha to me as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from the Battle of al-Aḥzāb and had put down his arms and bathed, Gabriel, his face dust-covered, came to him and said, 'So, you've put

down your arms! I swear by God, we have not! Go out and battle them!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where to?' 'Over here,' Gabriel responded, gesturing towards Banū Qurayẓa. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against them."' Hishām stated, 'My father informed me that they accepted the authority of the Prophet (ṢAAS) over them and that he then delegated that authority to Sa'd. He then stated, "I judge that the warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father stated further, 'I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You have judged them by God's judgement."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr, quoting Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'At al-khandaq Sa'd was wounded. One of Quraysh, a man named Ḥibbān b. 'Ariqa, shot an arrow at him and hit him in the main vein in his arm. The Prophet (ṢAAS) set up a tent for him in the mosque so that he could visit him from nearby. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned from al-khandaq and had put down his weapons and had bathed, Gabriel, shaking dust off his head, came to him and said, "So, you have put down your weapons? I swear by God, I've not done that! Go forth against them!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked, "Where to?" Gabriel then gestured towards Banū Qurayẓa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then did go out against them and they accepted his authority; he then delegated this authority to Sa'd. The latter decreed, "I judge that their warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father quoted 'Ā'isha as saying that Sa'd stated, 'O God, You well know that there is no one I would rather fight on your behalf than a people who have called Your messenger a liar and have exiled him. O God, I believe You have put an end to warfare between us and them. Give me life for so long as there is any warfare against Quraysh, so that I may fight against them for You. And if You have brought the war to an end, recommence it and place my death therein.' Then there was an explosive emission from his upper chest, but this did not alarm anyone. But there was a tent (for the wounded) belonging to Banū Ghifār in the mosque. And, when the blood began streaming down towards them, they shouted, 'Hey, you in the tent, what is this coming down to us from you?' It was from Sa'd; his wound was streaming blood and he died of it."

This was related by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr.

I would comment that Sa'd first spoke this prayer before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayẓa. This is why he prayed that his death not occur before he had settled with Banū Qurayẓa. And God did answer his prayer. After issuing his judgement on them, and God had pleased him greatly thereby, he prayed a second time in this way and God then gave him martyrdom, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. Reference to his death will come shortly, if God so wills it.

Imām Aḥmad related it also from another line at great length; in that account there are other interesting aspects. He stated that Yazīd related to him that Muḥammad b. ʿAmr narrated to him, from his father, from his father ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ, who said, "ʿĀʾisha stated to me as follows, 'I was leaving on the day of the battle of al-khandaq, following after our forces, when I heard the sound of movement behind me. Then I saw it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh, accompanied by his brother al-Ḥārith b. Aws, carrying his child. I sat down on the ground and Saʿd passed by, wearing an iron coat of mail from which his arms and legs protruded. I was concerned about injury to these limbs of Saʿd; Saʿd was one of the greatest and tallest of men. As he passed, he was speaking the verse,

> "Remain awhile; let Ḥamal see the battle. How fine is
> death when its time has come!"'"

She continued, "I got up and ran into a garden. There I found a group of Muslims; among them were ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One of the men had on a *subgha*" (by which she meant a *mighfar*, a "helmet"). "ʿUmar asked, 'Why are you here? I swear, you're bold! What's to protect you if some disaster should happen or you got cut off?' He went on criticizing me until I wished the earth would open to swallow me on the spot! Then the man lifted the helmet off his face and I saw that it was Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh. He commented, 'Hey, ʿUmar, shame on you! You're overdoing it! From today on, whatever aligning or taking refuge there is will be to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "Then a Quraysh man named Ibn al-ʿAriqa shot at Saʿd, saying, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-ʿAriqa!' It struck and severed the main artery in his arm. Saʿd then prayed, 'O God, do not make me die before you give me satisfaction over Banū Qurayẓa!' These people had been his allies and colleagues before Islam. Then his wound stopped bleeding and God sent the gale against the polytheists and spared the believers engaging in battle; God is indeed powerful, strong. Abū Sufyān and his force then went to Tihāma, while ʿUyayna b. Badr and his force withdrew to Najd.

"Banū Qurayza then returned home and sought protection in their fortresses. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina where he ordered a leather tent be set up in the mosque for Saʿd. Then Gabriel came, the folds of his clothing covered with dust, and he said, 'Have you put down your weapons, then? By God, the angels haven't put down their weapons yet. Go forth and do battle with Banū Qurayẓa!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then put on his breast-plate and had it announced that the men should prepare to depart for battle. He passed by Banū Ghanam who were his neighbours close by the mosque. He asked them, 'Who was it passed by you?' They replied, 'Diḥya al-Kalbī went by.' Now Diḥya al-Kalbī was similar in beard, age and face to Gabriel, upon whom be peace.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to Banū Qurayẓa and besieged them for 25 days. When their suffering from the siege grew intense, a message

was sent telling them to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They sought advice from Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, and he made a sign to them indicating execution. Banū Qurayẓa then said they would accept the authority of Saʿd b. Muʿādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Then do accept the authority of Saʿd b. Muʿādh!' He was brought to him on a donkey, seated on a saddle stuffed with palm fronds and with his people all around him, who were telling him, 'Abū ʿAmr, they are your allies and colleagues, your family in times of crisis, people you know well.' But Saʿd did not respond to them at all, nor did he turn towards them. When he arrived close by the homes of Banū Qurayẓa, he turned to his entourage and said, 'It's time for me to disregard any possible criticism in serving God!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "Abū Saʿīd said that when he appeared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Arise for your master and help him dismount!' At this ʿUmar commented, 'Our "master" is God!' (But) he said, 'Help him dismount.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Render your judgement over them.' Saʿd responded, 'I decree that their warriors be executed, their offspring be taken captive, and their properties be divided up.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your decree accords with the judgement of God and with that of His messenger.'

"Thereupon, Saʿd spoke the following prayer, 'O God, if you have left for Your prophet any further warfare against Quraysh, then let me remain for it. But if You have now ended the warfare between him and them, then take me to Yourself.'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "His wound then burst; up to then he had been free of it, nothing being visible except for a small circular spot. He went back to the tent that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, along with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. And I swear by Him in whose hands is Muḥammad, that I could well differentiate the weeping of ʿUmar from that of Abū Bakr while I was there in my room. They were, as God said, '... compassionate among themselves'"(*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.29).

ʿAlqama stated, "I then asked, 'How did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) react?' ʿĀʾisha replied, 'His eyes never wept for anyone. However, if he was deeply moved, he would take hold of his beard.'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is excellent, and there are testimonials to its veracity from other sources. In it there is the clear statement that Saʿd prayed twice, once before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayẓa, and once thereafter, as we stated earlier. And all praise and credit go to God. We will report, after finishing the narrative, the manner of his death and burial, and the credit to him therefore, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They (Banū Qurayẓa) were then brought down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) imprisoned them in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, a woman of Banū al-Najjār."

I comment that the reference is to the daughter of al-Ḥarith b. Kurẓ b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams; she was the wife of Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb,[40] who had by her a son named ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurīz.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out into the Medina market and had some trenches dug. Then he sent for Banū Qurayẓa men to have their heads severed in those trenches. They came out in groups. Among them was that enemy of God Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, along with Kaʿb b. Asad, their leader. They were 600 or 700 in number. Some estimate their number to have been as many as 800 or 900."

I comment that according to al-Layth, quoting Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir, as given above, they numbered 400. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "As they were being taken in groups to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they asked Kaʿb b. Asad, 'Kaʿb, what do you think he will do to us?' He replied, 'Will you not understand anywhere? Can't you see that the one calling never stops, and that those of you who go never return? It means, by God, execution!'

"This continued until he had finished with them. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab was brought to him wearing a flowered robe all over which he had made finger-size holes so that it not be taken from him; his hands were drawn up and tied by a rope to his neck. When he looked over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Well, I swear by God, I don't blame myself for being your enemy, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned!'

"He then went forward to the men and said, 'O people, there is no harm in the command of God; a decree, fate and a massacre have been written by God against Banū Isrāʾīl!' He then sat down and he was struck in the neck.

"Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabī then spoke the verses,

> 'By your life, I swear that it was not himself that Ibn Akhṭab blamed, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned
>
> He strove hard, pushing himself to the limits, exerting himself vigorously to achieve glory.'"

Ibn Isḥāq then related the story of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā, an old man who had become blind. "At the battle of Buʿāth he had been given over to the charge of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās who had cut off his forelock. On this day Thābit had wanted to repay him,[41] so he went to al-Zubayr and asked, 'Do you know me, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?' 'Would the like of me not know the like of you?' he responded. Thābit then said, 'I want to pay you back!' 'Well,' replied al-Zubayr, 'an honourable man would repay an honourable man.'

40. Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb, i.e. "the great impostor" of Yamāma and a leader of Banū Ḥanīfa, claimed prophethood for himself following the death of the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS). He was ultimately defeated and killed by the Muslims in 12 AH, *supra*, p.25n.

41. Ibn Kathīr here omits from his narrative the important fact given in Ibn Isḥāq's account that al-Zubayr had spared Thābit's life on an earlier occasion, before the coming of Islam.

"Thābit then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked permission to release him, and he did release al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā. When he informed him of this, al-Zubayr responded, 'What would an old man who would have no son and no family do with his life?' Thābit then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him to restore to the man his wife and his son, and to this he agreed. When he returned to al-Zubayr with this news, the old man now said, 'What's to become of a household in Hijāz that has no property; how could they survive?' Again Thābit went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked that the property of al-Zubayr be released to him, and he did so.

"When he went back and told him this, al-Zubayr asked, 'Thābit, what became of Kaʿb b. Asad, whose face was like a Chinese mirror that reflects the faces of the tribe's virgins?' 'He has been killed,' he replied.

"'And what of our vanguard in the attack and our protector in flight, ʿAzal b. Shamwāl?' 'He has been killed,' Thābit replied.

"'What became of the two counsel' – meaning that of Banū Kaʿb b. Qurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa. 'They have dispersed and been killed,' he replied.

"'I ask you then, Thābit, by your obligation to me, to let me join my own people. There is no good in life for me now that they have gone and I can't stand postponing joining my loved ones for so long as it would take to fill and empty a bucket being borne along by a camel!'

"At this Thābit went over to him and cut off his head.

"When al-Zubayr's phrase 'joining my loved ones' reached Abū Bakr, the trusting, he commented, 'He'll meet them, by God, in the fire of hell where he will dwell for ever!'"

Ibn Isḥāq used the word *fayla* in his account, to refer to the filling of a bucket; Ibn Hishām said the word should be *qabla*. Regarding the word used for camel here, *nāḍiḥ*, Ibn Hishām said it referred to a camel that bears water used to irrigate date-palms.

Abū ʿUbayda, however, said that the word refers to the emptying of a bucket.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered the execution of all of their adults. Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj related to me, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAṭiyya al-Quraẓī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that all grown-up Banū Qurayẓa should be executed. I was a youth and since they decided I was not fully grown they let me go.'"

Authorities of all four *sunan*[42] codices of *ḥadīth* relate this account from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAṭiyya al-Quraẓī, with similar wording.

Certain scholars make reference to this who maintain that establishing the presence of coarse hair in the genital region proves maturity. Indeed this does constitute maturity in the most authoritative statements on the subject made by al-Shāfiʿī.

42. The term used here, *aṣḥāb al-sunan*, refers to the four authoritative codices of *ḥadīth* from among the *ṣiḥāḥ* collections. Their authors were al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mājah and al-Nasāʾī.

There are some scholars who differentiate Muslim from non-Muslim youths, saying that that can indicate maturity, but only in the case of the latter. This is because a Muslim (youth) may be disadvantaged to some purpose because of that.

Isḥāq recounted from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, that Salmā, daughter of Qays, mother of al-Mundhir, had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to release Rifāʿa b. Shamwāl, who was adult and had taken refuge with her; he had known them before this. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), did release him for her. She had said, "Messenger of God, Rifāʿa claims that he will pray and eat camels' meat." And so he granted her wish and released him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "He only executed one of their women. She was talking with me and laughing heartily all the time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was executing her menfolk in the market-place. Then a voice called out asking where was so-and-so. She exclaimed, 'It's me, by God!' I asked her, 'For pity's sake, what's wrong?' She said, 'I'm to be killed!' 'Why?' I asked. 'For something I did,' she told me. Then she was taken away and beheaded."

The account continues, "ʿĀʾisha used to say, 'I swear, I'll never forget how high-spirited she was and how much she laughed when she knew she was to be killed.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this the same way, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was she who had thrown down the millstone on to Khallād b. Suwayd and had killed him." He is inferring that it was for him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had her executed.

Ibn Isḥāq stated elsewhere, "He named her as Nabāta, wife of al-Ḥakam al-Quraẓī."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then divided up among the Muslims the property, wives and children of Banū Qurayẓa, after he had taken out one-fifth. He awarded each horseman three shares, two for the horse and one for its rider. He gave one share to each foot soldier. The horses numbered thirty-six at that battle. This was the first time the booty was divided into division of two shares and the first in which it was divided into five parts.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Saʿīd b. Zayd with the captives taken from Banū Qurayẓa to Najd, where he sold them in exchange for horses and weapons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen for himself one of their women, Rayḥāna, daughter of ʿAmr b. Khanāfa, of Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa. He stayed intimate with her until he died, she still being at that time in his household. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had suggested that she accept Islam, but she had refused. Eventually she did accept Islam and this brought great pleasure to him. He suggested releasing and marrying her, but she chose to

continue in slavery, considering that easier for her. She remained with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died."[43]

Ibn Isḥāq then commented upon the verses of the Qur'ān that relate to the battle of al-khandaq, from early in *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*. We have given reference and explanation to that in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those Muslims martyred in the conflict with Banū Qurayẓa were Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī, who was crushed when a millstone was cast down on him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'He will receive the reward of two martyrs.'"

I would observe that it was that woman mentioned above, the only woman of Banū Qurayẓa executed, who had thrown the stone down at him. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Sinān b. Miḥsan b. Hurthān of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Banū Qurayẓa; he was buried in their cemetery that (same) day."

THE DEATH OF SA'D B. MU'ĀDH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

It has been related above that Ḥibbān b. al-'Ariqa, God damn him, had shot an arrow at him and struck him in the vein of his arm. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then cauterized him with fire and stopped up the wound. Sa'd prayed to God not to make him die before he had been relieved of Banū Qurayẓa. This occurred following their breaking of the pacts and agreements they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their alignment with the *aḥzāb*, the enemy clans. When the latter withdrew, dispersing away from Medina, Banū Qurayẓa were totally left to disaster, both on earth and in the after-life. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them and besieged them, as told above. When they were in real suffering, beset from all sides, they decided to submit to the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to do with them as ever God wished. He delegated that authority to the chief of Aws, who had been allied with them before the coming of Islam; he was Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. Banū Qurayẓa were pleased with this. It is said that they initially gave themselves over to Sa'd's authority because they had high hopes of his kindness and partiality towards them. They did not know that they were more hateful in his view than the apes and pigs that were their peers! This was because of the intensity of his faith, and his high trust. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for him; Sa'd was in a tent in the mosque. He was brought on a donkey riding on a soft saddle placed under him because of his injury. When he drew near the tent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter ordered all there to rise for him. It was said that this was so that he would dismount because of the severity of his injury; also it was said

43. The latter part of this paragraph, apparently a paraphrase of Ibn Isḥāq's account, seems to contradict what was stated earlier.

that this was to accord him respect in the presence of those about whom he was to decide, so that he would be more effective in carrying out his judgement. But God knows best.

When he decreed death and captivity for them and God had pleased and satisfied him by relieving him of them, and he had returned to the tent in the mosque accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious that he have martyrdom. And God had chosen his reward; his wound burst open that night. Blood went on escaping from him until he died. May God be pleased with him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Banū Qurayẓa affair was concluded, the wound of Saʿd b. Muʿādh burst open and he died of it, a martyr.

"Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa al-Zurqī related to me as follows, 'It was related to me by whomever you like of my people, that Gabriel, wearing an embroidered turban, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when Saʿd b. Muʿādh was taken late at night. He said, "Muḥammad, who is that dead man for whom the gates of heaven were opened and for whom the throne shook?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose hurriedly, dragging his clothing behind him, and went to Saʿd, whom he found to have died; may God be pleased with him.'"

This is how Ibn Isḥāq related this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in his *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, from Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who said, 'My father and Shuʿayb b. al-Layth related to us as follows, "Al-Layth b. Saʿd related to us, from Yazīd b. al-Ḥādd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, "Who is that fine worshipper of God who, when he died, had the gates of heaven opened up for him, and for whom the throne moved?"'

"'He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and found it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down by his grave as he was being buried. While thus seated, he twice recited, *subḥāna Allāh*, "God be praised". So everyone said the same. He then spoke the words, "*Allāhu Akbar*! *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! God is most great!". So everyone spoke the same. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was amazed at this fine worshipper who was constrained in his grave until this (time), when he was relieved."'"'"

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī related, quoting a line of transmission through Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hādd, and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa, from Jābir, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Saʿd the day he died and while he was being buried, 'Praise be to God for this fine man for whom the throne of the All-Merciful moved, and for whom the gates of heaven were opened; he was constrained, and then God released him.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa related to me, from Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Jumūḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We were there while Saʿd was being buried, in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who spoke the invocation *subḥāna Allāh*, God be praised, which was repeated by all there. He then said *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great, and everyone joined him in saying this. Then they asked him, 'Why did you praise God, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'His grave constrained this fine man until God relieved him.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Ibn Hishām stated, "The figurative meaning of this *ḥadīth* is shown in ʿĀʾisha's words, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The grave constrains; if anyone were to escape from it, it would be Saʿd b. Muʿādh."'"

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* is given by Imām Aḥmad as follows, "Yaḥyā related to us, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Nāfiʿ, from ʿĀʾisha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'The grave exerts pressure; if anyone were to escape from that, it would be Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'"

The line of authorities for this *ḥadīth* would meet the criteria for the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, except for the fact that Imām Aḥmad related it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from "a person", from ʿĀʾisha.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related it from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar. He said, "ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Dāʾūd, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (who said), 'ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to us, from Nāfiʿ, who quoted Ibn ʿUmar as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The day Saʿd b. Muʿādh died 70,000 angels descended to earth; they had never done so before. The grave was severely constraining him!' Then Nāfiʿ wept."'"

This chain of authorities is excellent. However, al-Bazzār said, "Others related this from ʿUbayd Allāh from Nāfiʿ, but with an incomplete chain.

Al-Bazzār also narrated it, from Sulaymān b. Sayf, from Abū ʿItāb, from Sukayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'seventy thousand angels who had never before touched the earth came down at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.' And as he was being buried, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'Praise be to God! if anyone escaped the pressure of the grave, it was Saʿd.'"

Al-Bazzār stated, "Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ related to us, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, quoting ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Mujāhid, from Ibn Umar, who said, 'The *al-ʿarsh*, the throne, shook at the pleasure of God's meeting Saʿd b. Muʿādh.' It is said that he meant the *al-sarīr*, the couch. (As is the case in the following verse.) 'And he raised his two parents up on to the *al-ʿarsh*' (*sūrat Yūsuf*; XII, v.100). As for the shaking, that referred to its frame. He went on, 'And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into his grave and stayed there awhile. When he emerged, he was asked, "Messenger of God, what kept you?" He replied, "Saʿd was very

much constrained in the grave; and so I prayed to God, and it was widened for him.”’”

Al-Bazzār stated, “ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.” I would observe that it was who was being addressed in this matter.

Al-Bayhaqī, may God be pleased with him, following his having told how constrained Saʿd, God be pleased with him, was by the grave, related a strange tradition about it. He said, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, ‘Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me that he asked some of Saʿd’s family, “What have you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on this subject?” They replied, “We were told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about that and said, ‘He’ (Saʿd) ‘would cut short some of the ablutions for urination.’”’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting al-Faḍl b. Musāwir, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, ‘I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, “The throne shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.”’”

Also from al-Aʿmash, “Abū Ṣāliḥ related to us, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) the same words. A man asked Jābir, ‘How is it that al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib says (that the statement was) “the *al-sarīr*, the couch, shook?” He (Jābir) replied, “There was some animosity between these two tribes; I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, ‘The *al-ʿarsh*, the throne, of the *al-Raḥmān*, the Merciful One, shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.’”’”

Muslim related this, from ʿAmr al-Nāqid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs and Ibn Māja, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Muʾāwiya, both of whom quoted al-Aʿmash. Their version does not add anything to the account as given by al-Aʿmash from Abū Sāliḥ, from Jābir.

Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, from Ibn Jurayj, ‘Abū al-Zubayr informed me that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, while the bier of Saʿd b. Muʿādh was there in front of them, ‘The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.’”’”

Muslim related it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, as did al-Tirmidhī from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, both quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting ʿAwf, quoting Abū Naḍra (who said) ‘I heard Abū Saʿīd quote the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, “The throne shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.”’”

Al-Nasāʾī related it from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā.

Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Saʿīd, (who quoted) Qatāda as saying, ‘Anas b. Mālik related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, his bier having been put down, “The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.”’”

Muslim related it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who said, "The throne of the Merciful One shook with joy for his spirit."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār stated, "Zuhayr b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, 'When Saʿd's bier was carried, the hypocrites said, "How light his bier is! That's due to his having passed judgement over Banū Qurayẓa." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about this, and he said, "No; but the angels carried him."'"

(This has) an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq (who said), 'I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, "I was presented with a silk robe for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his Companions began touching it and admiring its softness. He said, 'Are you admiring the softness of this? The kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh are better than them, or softer.'"'"

He (the source) then said, "Qatāda related this, as did al-Zuhrī who reported hearing it from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad stated, "'ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Saʿīd, he being the son of Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, that Ukaydir Dūma made a present of a *jubba*, a long outer garment, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this was before the wearing of silk was prohibited. He put it on and when people admired it, he said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, the kerchiefs of Saʿd in heaven are finer than this!'"

This *ḥadīth* accords with the criteria of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but they did not include it. Al-Bukhārī, however, quoted it as commentary.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd quoted Muḥammad b. ʿAmr as follows, "Wāqid b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh related to me (and Muḥammmad said that Wāqid was one of the finest, best and tallest of men) as follows, 'I went in to Anas b. Mālik and he asked me who I was. I replied that I was Wāqid, son of ʿAmr, the son of Saʿd b. Muādh. He then said, "You take after Saʿd." He then wept copiously, saying, "May God grant Saʿd His mercy! He was one of the finest and tallest of men." He then went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched an army out to fight Ukaydir Dūma, who sent to him a *jubba* of brocade woven with gold thread. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it on, went up on to the *minbar*, the pulpit, and sat down without speaking. He then came down again. People felt and gazed admiringly at the *jubba*, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'So you admire this then? The kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh in heaven are much finer than what you can now see.'"'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nasāʾī, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. ʿAmr. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

After making reference to the throne having shaken after the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote a line of verse from one of the *anṣār*, the Helpers:

"The only person whose death we ever heard caused the
throne of God to shake was Saʿd b. Muʿādh."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "His mother – Kubaysha, daughter of Rāfiʿ b. Muʾāwiya b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlaba al-Khudariyya al-Khazrajiyya, that is – spoke the following elegy when Saʿd was being borne away on his bier,

'Saʿd's mother grieves for Saʿd, the fierce and
impetuous,
A man of leadership and glory, an eager knight.
He would fill every breach, active in cutting off enemy
heads.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'All mourning women exaggerate – except for she who mourned for Saʿd b. Muʿādh!'"

I would comment that Saʿd's death came some 25 days after the withdrawal of the *aḥzāb*, the enemy clans. They had assembled in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is told above, and remained there for approximately 1 month. Thereafter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth and besieged Banū Qurayẓa for some 25 days. They then accepted the authority of Saʿd, who died shortly after he had passed judgement on them. This would have occurred at the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda or early in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 5 AH. But God knows best.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayẓa took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda and the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists took charge of that pilgrimage."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Saʿd b. Muʿādh, may God be pleased with him,

"My tears descended in a stream, and it was right for
my eyes that they should weep for Saʿd.
Lying dead, prostrate on a battlefield. Eyes grieving
at his loss flowed copiously, in constant pain.
A member of the religion of the Merciful, he will
inherit paradise along with the (other) martyrs;
theirs is the most noble of groups.
Even though you have said good-bye to us and left us
and went into the dust of the dark grave
You have, Saʿd, through your noble martyrdom, gone back
(to God) clothed in finery and glory.
By your judgement on both Qurayẓa tribes with what God
had decreed, you did not decide wilfully.
The decree of God matched your judgement on them; you
did not absolve them when you were reminded of a former
pact.
Even though fate has placed you with those others who
exchanged this life for heaven's eternal gardens

Happy is the end of the trustworthy who one day are
called to God in honour and glory."

Section: Poetry spoken on the battles of al-khandaq and Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to us, quoting Shuʿba, quoting ʿAdī b. Thābit, as saying that he heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib state, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) told Ḥassān, "Satirize them; and Gabriel is with you!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also said, "Additional material was given by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Shaybānī, from ʿAdī b. Thābit, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS), at the battle of Qurayẓa, told Ḥassān b. Thābit, "Satirize the polytheists, for Gabriel is with you."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim and al-Nasāʾī, with lines of transmission from Shuʿba, but without the addition related above by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy on him, stated, "Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, brother of Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, spoke the following on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this was prior to the acceptance by Ḍirār of Islam.

"Many were the sympathetic women who doubted us, though
we commanded a formidable force.
Its size was almost as large as Mt. Uḥud when the
onlooker saw its dimensions.
You saw their short armour amply fitting their heroes
and their tough leather shields.
And their fast horses charging like arrows we aimed at
the misguided sinners.
It was as if, when we and they charged, they were
shaking hands with us, at the entry to the trenches.
Men among whom you could find not one wise, even
though they would ask, 'Are we not rightly-guided?'
We besieged them for an entire month, standing above
them like conquerors.
We attacked them morning and evening every day, fully
accoutred in our armour.
With sharp, cutting swords in our hands, we used them
to slice their skulls and head-bones.
The gleam of their drawn blades shining in the hands
of those who unsheathed them
Was like the flash of lightning on clouds brightening
the night that you sould see with full clarity.
Had it not been for the trench where they were, we
would have demolished them all.
It, however, protected them; they took refuge with it
from us for fear of us.

Even though we withdrew, we left Saʿd laying dead by
your tents.
When darkness came, you could hear the women chanting
their lamentation for Saʿd.
We will revisit you shortly, assisting one another as
we did before,
A group of men of Kināna who will not be unarmed,
acting like lions of the forest, defending their dens."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was answered by Kaʿb b. Mālik, brother of Banū Salama, may God be pleased with him,

'Many were the questioning women who asked us how we
battled, though if they had been witness to it they
would have seen us stand firm.
We did stand fast, seeing nothing equal to God against
what faced us, relying on Him.
On our side was the Prophet, a trustworthy ally; with
him we can overcome all mankind.
We were fighting a people who did wrong and were
disrespectful and who were waiting a chance to attack
us.
When they arose against us, we fought them hard with
blows that destroyed the over-hasty.
The women would have seen us in full, long chain-mail
gleaming like streams in the desert,
Bearing light swords in our hands with which to
puncture the zeal of the trouble-makers.
At the entrance to the trenches like lions whose
thickets protect their dens.
And our cavalry attacking by morning and evening gazed
at the enemy in disdain and wore insignia
In support of Aḥmad and God, so that we may be sincere
in worship of truth.
And the people of Mecca should know when they travel,
and the tribes who came in clans,
That God has no partner, and that God is the Lord of
those who believe.
Though you may have killed Saʿd impudently, God it is
who best determines.
He will enter him in fine gardens which shall be the
abode of the righteous,
Just as He repelled you, defeated, in flight, for all
your anger, shamed and in failure.
Shamed, you gained no good there, and came close to
being destroyed.
By a gale that blew upon you so that you were rendered
blind beneath it."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī spoke the following verses on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this poet had not yet accepted Islam.

"Greetings to a home whose features have been
obliterated by lengthy neglect and the passage of time.
It is as though Jews had written their tracing, except
for the corrals and tent pegs.
A wasteland, as though you had not sported there,
pleasantly, with girls of your own age.
Think no more of a life now gone and a place in ruins
and abandoned.
And remember with thanks the trials of those people who
went out together past the stone monuments,[44]
The monuments at Mecca, heading for Yathrib, multi-
voiced, numerous, many in number.
Avoiding the high ground and usual routes in all the
heights and passes
Leading along with them their lean steeds, their
bellies thin, their flanks trim,
All offspring of long-bodied mares and stallions,
(moving stealthily) like a lion attacking an
inattentive watchman.
An army with whose banner ʿUyayna led, while Ṣakhr
commanded the *aḥzāb*, the clans.
Two leaders, splendid like full moons, in them the
rescue of the poor, the refuge of those in flight
Until when they arrived in Medina and dressed for
death, bearing sharp swords.
For a month and ten days they fought Muḥammad, his
Companions in the fighting being the very best.
They announced their withdrawal that morning, and you
said, 'This has almost finished us off!'
Had it not been for the trenches, they would have left
their forces lying dead, the prey for birds and
wolves."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was answered by Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him,

'Do the effaced remains of a deserted campsite respond
to one who addresses them?
A wasteland, its traces wiped away by frequent rain and
constant gusts of wind?
There I once saw dwellings made lovely by fresh-faced
women of high ancestry.

44. Presumably the stone markers delineating the holy areas of Mecca.

But enough reminiscence of fair maidens, sweet-talking and full-breasted,
And complain to God of your cares and what you think of a people who maltreated the Messenger in anger.
Who attacked him *en masse*, gathering townsmen and bedouin tribesmen to fight,
An army including ʿUyayna and Ibn Ḥarb, combining with the cavalry of the clans.
And when they arrived at Medina, they hoped to kill the Messenger and to gain much plunder.
They attacked us in the morning with all their strength but were repelled into retreat for all their rage
By a gale that broke them apart and by the forces of your Lord, the Lord of Lords.
God spared the believers their doing battle and assured them the greatest of rewards
After they had despaired; the sending down of our generous Lord's assistance broke them apart.
He gave relief to Muḥammad and to his Companions and disgraced all the doubting defamers.
Hard in heart, aggressive, doubt-filled, disbelieving men, impure.
May failure cling to them, for they maintained their disbelief until the end.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also answered him, saying,

'The battles have given us to keep the finest gift of our bountiful Lord
White forts, well-watered camel pastures, dark green, where milk is plentiful.
(Abundant) as lava fields, their bounty and plenty goes to neighbour, relative and guest
With captured horses as swift as light, raised on barley and cut fodder.
Their feet unshod, firm-fleshed, lean of body and legs
Long-necked, responding eagerly to the call, like hunting dogs obeying their master
Now circling the grazing livestock and then bringing down the enemy and retrieving the kill,
Chasing wild beasts, light-footed, in war, grim in battle, their pedigree evident,
Fed with kindness and so well-bodied and fleshed, but slim bellied.
They (the warriors) arrive wearing double-meshed coats of mail and bearing strong, accurate spears.
And sharp swords, their tarnish removed by the polishers, borne by fine men of high birth.

His right hand gripping a slim spear at the ready, its
making entrusted to Khabbāb.
There is a bright blue in the spear and it is like a
flaring flame in the dark of night,
A squadron whose chain-mail repels the arrows and turns
aside their blows,
Dark red, all gathered together, as though their spears
in each engagement were a forest on fire,
Heading for the shade of the banner as though they
were an eagle's shadow, a straight lance of al-Khaṭṭ.
Their heroism overcame Abū Karib, Tubba' and the
bedouins.
It was admonitions from our Lord that guided us,
through the tongue of one splendid and good.
They were presented before us and we wanted to remember
them after they were set out before the clans,
Wise words that the criminals thought too severe but
men of wisdom understand.
Sakhīna came to defeat their Lord, but those seeking to
overcome the All-Conquering will be overcome!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Someone I trust related to me, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'When he heard this verse from him, he said, "O Ka'b, God thanks you for having spoken those lines!"'"

I would comment that by the above word *sakhīna* Quraysh were meant. The Arabs would use this word, meaning "hot", in referring to them because of their liking for eating hot food, unusual for the desert dwellers. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ka'b b. Mālik also spoke the following verses,

'May he who enjoys the clash of battle when its noise
resembles that of the crackling of flaming reeds
Come to a battle site where swords were whetted,
between al-Madhād and the trench's sides.
They were skilled in striking at the emblazoned knights
and entrusted their lives to the Lord of the East
In a force God employed to aid His prophet, and He was
gracious to His servant thereby.
They all wore suits of armour the full lengths of which
rippled like wind on the surface of a pool.
Of white, finely-wrought steel, its rivets (protruding)
like locusts' eyes in the tight-woven links.
Held up by the belt of an Indian-crafted sword, its
steel pure, sharp and shining.
That along with our piety, was our dress on the day of
the battle, and every hour a trial.

If our swords were unable to reach we would step orward to make them do so.
And you could see skulls with their tops exposed, as well as hands severed as though never created.
We met the foe with a strong, united force that drove off their army as though heading for the heights of Mt. al-Mashriq.
We prepared against the enemy every light-bodied, white-footed piebald horse,
Swiftly bearing riders whose steeds seemed in the fray as (speedy) as lions on a damp hillside.
Trusted steeds which bring death to the brave from deadly spears amidst the dust.
God ordered that the horses be tied to his enemy in the warfare; God is indeed the best to bring success.
That they should harass the enemy and protect the homes if the evil-doers' cavalry approached.
God the Almighty aided us with His power and reliable endurance at the time we met them.
We obey the order of our Prophet and respond to him; if He calls us to an unpleasant task, we are not to be outpassed.
When there is a summons to engage in dangerous acts, we attend them, and when we see fighting rage, we take part.
Those following the Prophet's words (are right), for among us his orders are obeyed, and He is fully believed.
By that He will give us aid and show our glory and ensure thereby that we achieve a pleasant life.
Those who deny Muḥammad are disbelievers and have strayed from the path of the God-fearing.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also spoke the following,

'The clans well knew, when they joined against us and attacked our faith, that we would not give up
Joint forces of Qays b. ʿAylān and Khindif united, but they did not know what was going to happen.
They seek to turn us from our religion, while we seek to turn them from disbelief; and the All-Merciful sees and hears.
When they stormed against us in battle, broad help from God helped us against their rage;
That was God's grace and protection for us; and whomever God does not protect is lost.
He led us to the religion of the truth, and chose it for us; and God has deeds above those of all others.'"

Ibn Hishām commented, "These verses are in a *qaṣīda* of his" – by which he meant a long ode.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following lines on the execution of Banū Qurayẓa,

'Qurayẓa encountered what harmed them and found no aid
against disgrace.
Disaster hit them equal to that which struck Banū
al-Naḍīr
That day when the Messenger of God came down at them
like the light-giving moon.
He had eager horses bearing riders like eagles.
We left them having gained nothing, their blood smeared
on them like perfume,
Prostrate, vultures circling above them; thus are the
evil and obstinate paid back.
So warn Quraysh of the like from the All-Merciful, if
they will take my advice.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses about Banū Qurayẓa,

'A people who helped Quraysh had made a pact, and they
shall find no aid in their land.
The Book was brought them, but they neglected it; they
are blind to the Torah, ruined.
You disbelieved in the Qur'ān, though you had been
brought proof of what the Warner spoke
But the leaders of Banū Lu'ayy ignored the great
conflagration at al-Buwayra.'

"Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib answered him as follows,

'May God eternalize such a deed as that! And may the
fire blaze on in its parts!
You shall learn which of us is sin-free, and the lands
of which of us it will harm.
If the palm trees there had been riders, they would
have told you, "There's no place for you here, so
leave!"'"

I comment that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith spoke this verse before he accepted Islam. Some of these lines are also given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq recorded also the response of Ḥassān on this subject addressed to Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labī; that we have purposely omitted.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following eulogizing Sa'd and those men who achieved martyrdom fighting Banū Qurayẓa,

'My people, is there defence against matters ordained? And will good times now gone ever return?
I remembered a time now gone, my emotions were disturbed and my tears flowed down.
The pain of sorrow reminded me of brethren and of dead now gone, including Ṭufayl and Rāfiʿ
And Saʿd; they are in paradise, while their homes are empty and the earth a waste-land without them.
At the battle of Badr they were loyal to the Messenger, while above them were the shades of death and flashing swords.
He called, and they responded properly, all of them responsive and obedient to every command.
They did not withdraw until all were gone; and it is only battles that shorten a life-span.
For they hope for intercession from him, at a time when only prophets will intercede.
And so that, O best of worshippers, was our brave action, our response to God while death awaited.
We made the first step towards You, while behind us in God's religion others will follow our first.
We know that dominion is God's alone, and that God's decree will surely prevail.'"

ON THE EXECUTION OF ABŪ RĀFIʿ SALLĀM B. ABŪ AL-ḤUQAYQ THE JEW, GOD DAMN HIM, IN A FORTRESS OF HIS AT KHAYBAR. HE WAS A WELL-KNOWN MERCHANT OF ḤIJĀZ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the battle of al-khandaq and the Banū Qurayẓa affair were over, the matter of Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, he being known as Abū Rāfiʿ, arose. He was one of those who had gathered the clans against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Prior to the Battle of Uḥud, Aws had killed Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf and so the Khazraj asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar, and he agreed.

"Muḥammad b. Musallam al-Zuhrī related to me as follows, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik as having said, 'God had so ordered it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Aws and Khazraj used to compete with one another like two stallions. If Aws ever accomplished something for him, then Khazraj would not want this to give them any advantageous position with him over themselves. So they would strive hard to achieve something similar. And when Khazraj accomplished something, Aws would say the same.

"'When Aws struck down Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf for his enmity to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Khazraj determined that Aws would have no advantage with him over themselves thereby. And so they asked themselves who had expressed

an enmity similar to that of Ibn al-Ashraf; they thought of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar. They therefore asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, and he agreed.

"'Five men of Khazraj, of Banū Salama, then set out to do this. They were ᶜAbd Allāh b.ᶜAtīk, Masᶜūd b. Sinān, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Unays, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribᶜī, and Khuzāᶜa b. Aswad, an ally of theirs from Banū Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAtīk in command of them and told them to refrain from killing any woman or children.

"'It was night when they arrived at the compound of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq. They took care to close all the doors upon those who lived there. He himself was in an upper chamber reached by a ladder. They climbed it, reached his door and asked to come in. His wife came out to them and asked who they were. They replied that they were bedouin seeking supplies. She told them they had come to the right man and let them in.'"

The account proceeds, "'When we went in, we shut him and ourselves inside the room, fearing someone might interfere between us. His wife screamed and gave him warning about us, but we set upon him with our swords while he was still in bed. I swear it was only his whiteness – like that of a Coptic dress lying there – that showed us where he was in the black of the night. As his wife screamed, we raised our swords to her, but remembered what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had forbidden and lowered them again. We would otherwise have killed her too that night. As we struck him with our swords, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Unays plunged his into his stomach and pierced him through, as he said the words, "Qaṭni! Qaṭni!" "That's enough! That's enough!"

"'Then we left. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAtīk had poor sight and he fell off the ladder and severely sprained his arm. We carried him off into a water channel at one of their wells. They (Sallām's people) lit torches and chased all around looking for us, but gave up and assembled around him as he expired.

"'We wondered how we could ascertain that he had died, so one of us suggested that he would go back to see. He mingled with those there and reported how he had seen her – Sallām's wife – holding a torch and telling people as she looked into his face, "I swear, I heard the voice of Ibn ᶜAtīk. But then I told myself I must be wrong, because there was no way he could be in these parts!" She then went close and, looking into his face, said, "He's dead, by the God of the Jews!" And I swear, I never heard words sweeter to me than those!

"'When he returned and told us this, we carried our companion away and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the death of God's enemy. When with him, we argued over which of us had actually killed him, each of us claiming it. He then said, "Hand me your swords." When we did so, he examined them and said of the sword of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Anīs, "This one killed him; I can see food traces on it."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this,

'God has credit for that band you met, Ibn al-Ḥuqayq,
and you too, Ibn al-Ashraf.
They attacked you bearing light swords, as lively as
lions in thick brush.
They reached you in your own town and made you taste
death with swift swords
Seeking victory for their prophet's religion,
belittling every difficulty.'"

This, then, is the account as given by Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God have mercy on him.

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Ibn Abū Zāʾida, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a group of men to attack Abū Rāfiʿ. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk entered his house at night while he slept and killed him.'"

Al-Bukhārī also narrated, "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out some men of the *anṣār* to attack Abū Rāfiʿ, the Jew. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk in charge of them. Abū Rāfiʿ had been doing harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and assisting his enemies. He was inside a fort he owned in Ḥijāz. When they drew near him, by which time the sun had set and the people were taking their livestock inside, ʿAbd Allāh told his companions, "Sit down here, and I'll go off and play a trick on the gatekeeper to get inside." He then went on, close to the gate, where he shielded himself with his clothing as though relieving himself, the other residents already having gone inside. The gatekeeper called out to him to come on inside since he wanted to close the gate.'"

(ʿAbd Allāh's account went on), "'So I went in and hid. When everyone was inside, he locked the gate and hung the keys on a peg. I then took them and opened the gate. Abū Rāfiʿ was entertaining in an upstairs room of his. When his guests left, I went on up to him, closing each door behind me from the inside, determined that if they spotted me they would not reach me before I killed him.

"'When I reached his chambers, he was inside a *figh*, a dark apartment, but I did not precisely know his whereabouts. So I called out, "Abū Rāfiʿ!" "Who's there?" he asked. I then hurried towards the voice and struck out at him with my sword. But I was confused and accomplished nothing, while he shouted out. So I left the chamber and went a little off, then came back in again, asking, "What was that sound, Abū Rāfiʿ?" He replied, "Woe on your mother, I swear, there's a man in the house who just hit me with a sword!" At that I hit him hard once more but still did not kill him. Then I put the tip of my sword into his stomach until it reached his back. I then knew I had killed him. After that I opened the doors again, one by one, and reached a stairway. When I put my foot down,

thinking I had finished (climbing down) I fell. It was a moon-lit night. I broke my leg but tied it up with a turban and went on as far as the gate, where I sat, telling myself I should not leave until I knew I had killed him. At the cock's crow the death-announcer got up on a wall and shouted, "I lament the death of Abū Rāfi', saviour of the people of Ḥijāz." I then left to join my companions, telling them, "Let's go! God has killed Abū Rāfi'!" When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, he said, "Stretch out your leg!" I did so and he touched it. And it was as if it had never caused me pain!'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī related to us, quoting Shurayḥ, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, who said he heard al-Barā' say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, along with others, against Abū Rāfi'. When they drew near the fortress, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk told them to wait while he went on ahead.'" (He recounted), "'I played a trick to get inside the fortress. They could not find a donkey of theirs and went out with a lantern to find it. I was afraid I would be discovered, so I concealed my head and crouched as though relieving myself. He (the gatekeeper) called out, "Whoever wants to go in should do so before I lock the gate." So I went inside then hid in a donkey stall at the fortress gate. There were people dining with Abū Rāfi' and they kept on conversing with him until it was night. Then they went home.

"'When the voices died down and I could hear no movement, I came out. I saw where the gatekeeper had placed the key to the fortress, in a niche, and I took it. So I used it to open the door, telling myself I would quietly sneak out if people detected me. I then barred the doors of all their dwellings from the outside.

"'After that I climbed a ladder up to Abū Rāfi' and found his apartment dark, the lantern having been extinguished. I did not know where the man was, so I called out his name. When he responded, I made for the voice and struck him. He cried out, but my blow did no injury. Later I came back to him as though to help him and, disguising my voice, asked him, "What's wrong, Abū Rāfi'?" He replied, "Woe on your mother! A man came in to me and struck me with a sword!" I then made for him and struck him again, but once more to no avail. He shouted out and aroused his family. After that I again returned, changing my voice as though coming to help. He was lying on his back. So I placed my sword on his stomach and leaned on it until I heard the sound of (it striking) bone. I then left, in some confusion, found my way to the ladder I wanted to descend, but I fell off it and dislocated my leg. I bandaged it and went on to my companions, limping. I told them, "Get going! Tell the Messenger of God, the good news! I'll not leave until I hear the announcement of his death." When dawn broke, the announcer climbed up and lamented the death of Abū Rāfi'. So I got up and left, feeling no pain, and rejoined my companions before they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I told him the good news.'"

Al-Bukhārī, alone of the authors of the six canonical books of tradition, related this text. He then went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated, Ubayy b. Kaʿb said, 'So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was on the *minbār*, the pulpit, at the time. He asked, "Are faces happy?" They replied, "May yours be, Messenger of God!" "Did you slay him?" "Yes," they replied. "Hand me the sword," he asked. He unsheathed it and then said, "Yes, that's his food on the tip of the sword."'"

I would comment that it is likely that when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk fell from the ladder that he dislocated his shank and sprained his foot and his leg. When he bound it up, it had the immediate effect of calming the pain. And when he wanted to walk, he was aided (by unseen forces) for he was engaged in a beneficial exercise. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and came to a rest, the pain in his leg again flared up. When he stretched it out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) touched it, that took away the pain there had been, as well as what he might have expected there would be thereafter. This would reconcile the former and latter accounts. But God knows best.

In this regard, Mūsā b. ʿUqba related in his *maghāzī*, his work on the military engagements, an account similar to that of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He named the group of men who took part therein as those stated by Ibn Isḥāq, Ibrāhīm and Abū ʿUbayd.

THE EXECUTION OF KHĀLID B. SUFYĀN B. NUBAYḤ AL-HUDHALĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī gave this account in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) following that of Abū Rāfiʿ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him that his father quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for me and said, "I have been informed that Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī is gathering a force of men to attack me. He is at ʿUrāna. Go to him and kill him." I replied, "Messenger of God, please describe him to me so that I can recognize him." "When you see him", he replied, "you'll tremble."

"'So I left, bearing my sword; I came upon him at ʿUrāna where he had litter-borne women for whom he had sought a campsite. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer – and I had experienced that shivering that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described for me when I should see him – I went towards him. As I did so, I was worried that some conflict might develop between us that would preoccupy me from performing the prayer. So I prayed as I walked towards him, nodding my head for the prayer bows and prostrations. When I reached him, he said, "And who might you be?" I replied, "I'm a bedouin Arab who has heard of you and of your gathering a force against that fellow, and I've therefore come to you." He replied, "Yes, I am engaged in that." I then accompanied him a while until, when I could, I attacked him with my

sword and killed him. I then departed, leaving his women all crouched over him.

"'When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he saw me, he asked, "Happy, I hope?" I replied, "I've killed him, Messenger of God!" "You spoke true," he said. He then arose with me, entered his house and presented me with a stick, saying, "Keep this with you, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays."

"'So I took it and went outside where people asked me what it was. I replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given it to me and had told me to keep it. They then suggested I return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to explain about that. So I did go back and asked him why he had given me the stick. He replied, "It is a sign between yourself and me for Judgement Day. There will be very few that day with something to lean upon."'"

The account continues, "'And so ʿAbd Allāh attached it to his sword and it was always with him until, upon his death, it was included in his winding sheet and he and it were buried together.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from one of the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays – or alternatively, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays himself. His account is similar.

Abū Dāʾūd related it similarly from Abū Maʿmar, from ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it on a line through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father.

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. ʿUqba relate this story without a full line of transmission in their works on the *maghāzī*. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays spoke the following verses on his execution of Khālid b. Sufyān,

'I left Ibn Thawr like a camel foal still connected to
its mother, while around him hired weepers rent their
clothes to shreds.

I engaged him, while the camel litter was at my back
and his, with a sword formed from fine, molten steel,

Well-tested by the heads of armoured men, as though a
flame in a dark night from a flaring fire.

I told him, as my sword bit into his head, "I am Ibn
Unays, a knight, no coward I.

I am the son of him whose like fate never produced, a
man who welcomed all, a generous host."

I told him, "Take that, the blow of a noble, gracious
man who follows the religion of the Prophet Muḥammad;

If the Prophet is concerned about a disbeliever, I race
towards him, raising voice and hand."'"

I comment that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays b. Ḥarām, Abū Yaḥyā al-Juhanī; he was a famous and highly-regarded *ṣaḥābī*, "Companion". He was present at the al-ʿAqaba pledge, and participated in the battles of Uḥud, al-khandaq and later ones. His death occurred late in life, while he was in Syria, at age 80, as is well known. It is also said that he died in the year 54 AH. But God knows best.

ʿAlī b. al-Zubayr and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ differentiated him from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays Abū ʿĪsā, the *anṣārī*; it was he who related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed at Uḥud over a vessel containing water and its spout opened and he drank from it. This was what Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī related through ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "But its chain of authorities is not reliable; and ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī is a weak source with regard to his memory."

The Story of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the Negus, after the battle of al-khandaq, and how ʿAmr accepted Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq related the following after his account of the killing of Abū Rāfiʿ.

"Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Rashīd, freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, from Ḥabīb b. Aws, as follows, "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me directly, saying, "When we left with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, after the battle of al-khandaq, I gathered some Quraysh who thought as I did and respected my opinion and told them, 'You know how I think that the Muḥammad affair is escalating badly. You know my opinion; what is yours?'

"""'How do you mean?' they asked.

"""'Well,' I went on, 'I think we should join the Negus and stay with him. If Muḥammad defeats our people, we'll be there with the Negus, and we'd prefer to be under his authority than that of Muḥammad. If our people prevail, they already know us, and we'll experience nothing but good from them.'

"""They responded, 'That's a (good) opinion.'

"""I then said, 'Let's gather something to present to him.' The gift he liked most from our country was leather, so we collected a large quantity of it for him.

"""After that we left and joined him. While we were there with him, ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī arrived; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar and his companions. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my friends, 'That's ʿAmr b. Umayya; if I were to go in to the Negus and asked him to give him over to me, he would do so and I could kill him. And if I did that Quraysh would know that I was acting for them in killing Muḥammad's envoy.'"

"'He went on, "So I went in and bowed as was my custom. He greeted me, saying, 'Welcome to my friend! Did you bring me a gift from your country?' I replied, 'Yes, O king. I've brought you a lot of leather.' I then gave it to him and

he was delighted. After that I asked him, 'O king, I saw a man who just left your presence; he is the envoy of a man who is our enemy. Give him over to me, so that I may kill him. He has killed some of our leaders and nobles.'

"'"But he became enraged; he put out his hand and struck his nose with it so hard I thought he broke it. If the earth had opened up, I would have willingly gone inside!

"'"Then I said, 'O king, if I had known this would displease you, I would never have asked it of you.'

"'"He responded, 'Do you ask me to hand over to you the envoy of a man to whom the *nāmūs al-akbar*, "the archangel Gabriel" comes, the one who used to come to Moses, so you could kill him?'

"'"I asked, 'Is that how he is, O king?' 'Woe on you, ‘Amr,' he replied; 'obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right. He will certainly overcome all those who oppose him just as Moses son of ‘Imrān defeated Pharoah and his troops.'

"'"I asked, 'Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?'

"'"'Yes,' he replied, stretching out his hand. I then declared to him my allegiance to Islam.

"'"After that I went out to my companions, my attitude towards Islam now completely different from what it had been. I concealed from them my having accepted Islam and then left, heading for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to become a Muslim. I met Khālid b. al-Walīd – that being before the conquest of Mecca – while he was coming from Mecca. I asked him, 'Where are you headed, Abū Sulaymān?' He replied, 'I swear by God, the way has become clear. The man really is a prophet. I am going to accept Islam; until when (should I delay)?' I then told him, 'I swear by God, I myself have only come to accept Islam!'

"'"So we went to Medina to see the Prophet (ṢAAS). Khālid arrived first, accepted Islam and declared his allegiance. I went up to him and said, 'Messenger of God, I pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me all my past sins, without reference to what is yet to come.'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, '‘Amr, do pledge, for Islam erases all before it, just as the Hijra erased all that preceded it.'

"'"I then made my pledge to him and left."'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A reliable source related to me that ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa was with them both and accepted Islam at the same time. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Ziba‘rā᾽ al-Sahmī then spoke the verses,

'I refer ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa (to what is behind us) (or to
our pact) and to the place at al-Muqabbal where people
cast their sandals.
And to all the pacts our forefathers made, and Khālid
is not absolved of the like as well.

> Is it the key to a house you do not possess that you desire;[45] yet what could you more desire than a house of ancient glory?
> Do not trust Khālid hereafter, not ʿUthmān; they have caused a calamity.'"

I observe that their acceptance of Islam came after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. This is evident because on that occasion Khālid b. al-Walīd was in the polytheist cavalry, as will be related. It would have been more appropriate to refer thereafter to his acceptance of Islam. But I have related it here since Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, did so. This is because the first departure of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to the Negus did occur after the battle at al-khandaq; it is clear that he went there for the remainder of the year 5 AH. But God knows best.

Chapter: The Marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī related following the battle of al-khandaq, quoting al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said with relation to the words of the Almighty, "Perhaps God will bring about friendship between you and those of them you consider enemies" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.7). "This relates to the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; she thus became the *umm al-muʾminīn*, the 'mother of the believers,'[46] while Muʿāwiya (son of Abū Sufyān), became the *khāl al-muʾminīn*, the 'uncle of the believers'."

Al-Bayḥaqī then stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ recounted to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Najda, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, who said that Umm Ḥabība was with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who had gone to the Negus and had died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had then arranged marriage with Umm Ḥabība while she was there in Abyssinia, and the Negus had arranged this, giving her a dowry of 4,000 dirhams which he had taken to her by Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana; it was he who provided her trousseau, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) not sending her anything. He said, "The dowry provided for the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to be 400 (dirhams)."

I would comment that in fact the dowries of the Prophet (ṢAAS) were 12 *awqiyya* and 1 *nash* (of gold); and the *wuqya* was worth 40 dirhams, while the *nash* was worth one-half (a *wuqya*). That totals 500 dirhams.

Al-Bayhaqī then recounted through Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh died a Christian in Abyssinia. The next to marry Umm Ḥabība was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, who arranged her marriage to him.

45. ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa was in charge of the keys of the *kaʿba*.
46. The honorific title given to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

I comment that the conversion to Christianity of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh has been described above. That occurred after he had migrated to Abyssinia with the Muslims. There Satan subverted him and made Christianity seem attractive to him, and he therefore embraced it until he died. May God curse him! He used to mock the Muslims by telling them, "We see clearly; your eyes are still half closed!" Reference to this is made above relating to the migration to Abyssinia.[47]

ʿUrwa's statement above, "It was ʿUthmān who arranged the marriage for him," is strange. This is because ʿUthmān had returned to Mecca before this, and then migrated to Medina, accompanied by his wife Ruqayya, as is related above. But God knows best.

What is authentic is the account of Yūnus, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "I was informed that the man who arranged her marriage was her cousin Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ."

I comment that the agent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in accepting this contract was Aṣḥuma, the Negus, the king of Abyssinia. This is what Yūnus reported, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, whom he quotes as saying, "Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, stating, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus and he arranged his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, conveying from him 400 dinars.'"

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to me, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Zuhayr, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr, that Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān said, 'While I was in Abyssinia, I was surprised by a visit from an envoy of the Negus, a slave-girl called Abraha who used to care for his clothes and anoint him. She asked to come in and I agreed. Then she said, "The king says to you, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has written to me asking me to arrange your marriage to him.'" I replied, "God has sent you with good news." Abraha then continued, "The king says to you, 'Appoint an agent to arrange your marriage.'"

"'So I sent for Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and appointed him my agent. Then I gave to Abraha two silver bracelets and two silver camel decorations I was wearing and silver rings from each of my toes, I was so pleased with the good news she had brought me.

"'That evening the Negus ordered Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and the Muslims there to attend him and he made an address in which he said, "Praise be to God, the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, the Powerful, the Almighty! I testify that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and that it is he whose coming ʿĪsā (Jesus), son of Mary predicted. Further, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested that I marry him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. I have responded to the request made by the Messenger

47. See Vol. II.

of God (ṢAAS), who has given 400 dinars as her dowry." He then poured out the coins before everyone.

"'Khālid b. Saʿīd spoke, saying, "Praise be to God! I give Him praise and ask His forgiveness. I testify that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth to show its superiority to all religions, however much the polytheists may dislike this. Moreover, I have responded to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested, and I have contracted his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. May God bless the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"'The Negus then paid the dinars over to Khālid b. Saʿīd who took them. Then everyone was about to rise, but he (the Negus) then said, "Take your seats, for it is the practice of prophets to have a feast when they marry." He then called for food and they ate and dispersed thereafter.'"

I comment that it may well be that ʿAmr b. Umayya, when seen by ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ emerging from the presence of the Negus, following the battle of al-khandaq, had been active in the matter of Umm Ḥabība. But God knows best.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandaḥ related that the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība was in the year 6 AH, while his marriage to Umm Salama was in the year 4 AH."

I comment that Khalīfa, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn al-Baraqī said the same, and that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība was in 6 AH. Some people said that it was 7 AH. Al-Bayhaqī said, "That is more likely."

I also note that, as has been related heretofore, his marriage to Umm Salama was late in the year 4 AH. It is likely that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība occurred before that, though it could also have been thereafter. It is most probable that it was following the battle of al-khandaq, because of what we have related above regarding ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and how he saw ʿAmr b. Umayya with the Negus, engaged in that matter. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Athīr recounted in *al-Ghāba*, quoting Qatāda, that when Umm Ḥabība migrated from Abyssinia to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her and married her.

Some scholars maintain that he married her after her father had accepted Islam, following the conquest of Mecca. But that contradicts what was related by Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār al-Yamanī, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Sufyān said, "O Messenger of God, grant me three wishes!" "Yes," he replied. "That you give me authority to battle the unbelievers just as I used to battle the Muslims." "Yes," he replied. "And that you appoint Muʾāwiya as a clerk of yours." "Yes," he replied. "And I have at home the best and most lovely of all the Arab women, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; let me marry you to her."

That is the *ḥadīth* in its entirety.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, "This *ḥadīth* is one for which Muslim is criticized. This is because when Abū Sufyān came to renew the pact before the conquest, he went

in to see his daughter Umm Ḥabība and she rolled up the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked, "By God, I don't know whether you consider the carpet too good for me or me too good for it!" She replied, "This rug belongs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a polytheist." He replied, "I swear by God, you've changed for the worse since you left me, daughter!"

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "This *ḥadīth* was invented by 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār. This statement from him should not be considered dependable."

Others stated that he wanted to renew the pact because of the disadvantages in it (that had been included) without his permission. Others say it was because he believed that his daughter's marriage would be dissolved because of his acceptance of Islam.

But all this is unconvincing. What is most likely is that he wanted to marry him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to his other daughter 'Amra, since he thought that would bring honour to himself. And he therefore sought help from his daughter Umm Ḥabība, as is stated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. The narrator was merely in error in his using the name Umm Ḥabība. That is why we have given (only) one report.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām stated, "Umm Ḥabība died in the year 44 AH." Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama said, "She died one year before Mu'āwiya." The death of Mu'āwiya occurred in Rajab of 60 AH.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF JAḤSH B. RI'ĀB B. YA'MUR B. ṢABRA B. MURRA B. KABĪR B. GHANAM B. DŪDĀN B. ASAD B. KHUZAYMA, AL-ASADIYYA, UMM AL-MU'MINĪN, 'MOTHER OF THE BELIEVERS'.

Her mother was Umayya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was previously the wife of his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha, God be pleased with him.

Qatāda, al-Wāqidī and some of the people of Medina said that he married her in the year 5 AH; some added the month, Dhū al-Qa'da. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "He married her after the attack on Banū Qurayẓa." Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn Mandah said that he married her in the year 3 AH. The first possibility is better known and it is the one accepted by Ibn Jarīr and several historians.

Various commentators, theologians and historians give as the reason for his marrying her reference to a *ḥadīth* related by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his collection that we have deliberately refrained from including so that those lacking understanding would not place it in the wrong context.[48]

48. Zaynab had originally been presented, when a virgin, by the Prophet (ṢAAS) to his freed-man and adopted son Zayd d. Ḥāritha. Her later divorce and this marriage inspired much commentary and is the subject of the following passage in the Qur'ān quoted here by Ibn Kathīr.

In His Glorious Qurʾān, Almighty God stated, "And (consider) when you say to him whom God had favoured and whom you had favoured, 'Keep your wife for yourself, and fear God,' and you hide within yourself what God makes evident, and you fear men. Yet God has greater right that you fear Him. And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage so that there should be no distress for believers regarding the wives of their adopted sons when the latter have divorced them. God's command must be fulfilled. And there should be no distress for the Prophet in accomplishing what God has imposed upon him. Such has been God's course with those who went before. God's decree is determined'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.37, 38).

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

The person referred to as having received God's favour is Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God favoured him with Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also favoured him by setting him free and by marrying him to Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, the daughter of his own maternal aunt. Muqātil b. Ḥabbān stated that the dowry he provided for her was ten dīnars and sixty dirhams, a veil for her head and face, a wrap, a coat of armour, fifty *mudd* (a dry measure) and *ten* mudd of dates. She (Zaynab) remained with him (Zayd) close to a year, or longer, but then they quarrelled. Her husband complained about her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would say to him, "Keep your wife for yourself and fear God."

God stated, "You hide within yourself what God makes evident." Regarding this, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn b. al-ʿĀbidīn and al-Suddī said, "He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) knew that she was to be one of his wives and it is he who hid (this) within himself."

Many early authorities discussed this matter in various strange ways. Some of these are controversial and so we are omitting them.

God Almighty stated, "And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage ..." This refers to Zayd having divorced her. And when her *ʿidda* period was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her so that she would become engaged to himself, and he then married her. And it was the Lord of the universe, Blessed and Almighty is He, who married him to her, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from Anas b. Mālik. The latter related that Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, used to claim superiority over the other wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, "It was your families who arranged your marriage, whereas it was Almighty God, from above the seven heavens, who arranged mine!"

There is a report through ʿĪsā b. Tahmān, from Anas, which says, "Zaynab would claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was God who arranged my marriage from heaven.' And it was regarding her that the verse requiring use of the *ḥijāb*, the veil, was revealed, namely, 'O you

who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53).

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād, from Zayd b. Ḥārith, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain about Zaynab and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Fear God, and keep your wife for yourself.'"

Anas went on, "And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been concealing something, it would have been this. She used to claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was your families that arranged your marriages, while God from above the seven heavens arranged mine.' He then said, 'Al-Bukhārī related this from Aḥmad, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, 'Keep your family for yourself.' And there was revealed the verse, 'and you hide within yourself what God makes evident."

He went on, "Al-Bukhārī related it, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, from Muʿlā b. Manṣūr, from Muḥammad, in an abbreviated form." Ibn Jarīr stated, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, saying, 'Jarīr related to us from Mughīra, from al-Shaʿbī, as follows, "Zaynab used to say to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'I, alone of your wives, was led to you by three factors: my grandfather and yours was one person.' (She was referring to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the father of the father of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the father of her own mother, Umayya.) And I was married to you by God Almighty from heaven. And the envoy was Gabriel, upon whom be peace.'"'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Hāshim (meaning Ibn al-Qāsim) related to us, quoting al-Naḍr, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, 'When Zaynab's *ʿidda* period was over, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to Zayd, "Go and make mention of me to her." He went to her – she was leavening her dough at the time – and (later said), "When I saw her, I felt so emotional I could not look at her, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made mention of her. So I turned my back to her and withdrew, saying, 'Zaynab, rejoice! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) makes reference to you (for marriage).' She exclaimed, 'But I have not done anything to cause my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, to so honour me!' Then she went to her place of prayer." Thereafter the (passage in the) Qurʾān was revealed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came and went in to her without (seeking) permission.'"

Anas went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her, we made a feast of meat and bread for her sake. Some people left while some men stayed in the house talking following the food. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and I followed him as he went to each of the chambers of his wives to greet them. They called out to him, 'O Messenger of God, how

did you find your family?' I don't know whether it was I who informed him that the people had left, or whether he was told of this (by someone else)."

He went on, "Then he left and entered his chamber and I went to enter it with him. But he threw down the screen between myself and him. (Then it was) revealed about the *ḥijāb*, the screen and the people were admonished by the words, 'Do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited.'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related it thus, through Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

An Account of the institution of the ḥijāb, the screen, on the morning of Zaynab's wedding arranged by God.

It was appropriate for the screen to be instituted during this wedding, as a protection for her and for her sisters, also known as the *umahāt al-mu'minīn*, the "mothers of the faithful". This was in accord with the previously held view of ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqqāsh related to him, quoting Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who said, "I heard my father say, 'Abū Mijlaz quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, he invited people in and they ate and sat there conversing. When he was ready to arise, they did not do so. When he saw that, he himself arose. When he did so, others also arose, though three men remained seated. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (back) to go inside, the people were still sitting, but they then got up and left. I went and told the Prophet (ṢAAS) that they had left and he returned and went inside. I went as if to go inside too, but he let down the screen between myself and him. Then God Almighty revealed, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet."'''

Al-Bukhārī related this in other passages; and Muslim and al-Nasā'ī did so with other lines of transmission from Muʿtamir. Al-Bukhārī then related it – he alone doing so – from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb from Abū Qullāba, from Anas in similar form.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Muʿammar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "A feast of bread and meat was given for the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. I was dispatched to invite people to come for the food, and they would come and eat then leave; others would come and do the same. I continued inviting until I could not find anyone left to invite. I then said, 'O Prophet of God, I don't find anyone to invite.' He responded, 'Take the food away.' But there were three men who stayed in the house conversing. So the Prophet (ṢAAS) left and went to the chamber of ʿĀ'isha and said, 'Peace be upon you, people of the house, along with the mercy and blessings of God.' She replied, 'Peace be upon you, along with the mercy and blessings of God. How

did you find your family, may God bless you!' He then went and visited the chambers of each of his wives, spoke to them as he had to ῾Ā᾽isha and they responded to him as she had done. He then came back and the three men were still in the house conversing. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was exceedingly modest and he then left again, heading for ῾Ā᾽isha's chamber. And I don't know whether I told him or whether he was (otherwise) informed that the people had left, but he came out, and, placing one foot over the threshold of the door and leaving the other outside it, he let down the screen between myself and him. Then the verse relating to the *ḥijāb* was revealed."

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this from this line. He then related it, also uniquely, from Isḥāq, he being Ibn Naṣr, from ῾Abd Allāh b. Bukayr al-Sahmī, from Ḥumayd b. Anas in similar form. That account refers to two men, instead of three. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī also gave the chain of a similar *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Ja῾d Abū ῾Uthmān, from Anas.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim said, "My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Muẓaffar, quoting Ja῾far b. Sulaymān, from al-Ja῾d Abū ῾Uthmān al-Yashkurī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and some of his wives gave a wedding feast. Umm Salīm made some *ḥays*, a dish of date, butter and curds, and placed it in a bowl, saying, "Go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him that this is a little something for him from us."'

"Anas went on, 'People at that time were under strain. I took it to him, saying, "Messenger of God, Umm Salīm has sent you this, with her greetings, and says, 'This is a little something for you from us.'" He looked at it and said, "Place it over near the house." He then said, "Go and invite for me so-and-so" and he named a large number of men. He added, "And any other Muslims you may meet." So I invited those he had told me, along with the other Muslims I met. When I returned, I found the house, the stone benches and the courtyard filled with people. I (Ja῾far b. Sulaymān?) asked, "Abū ῾Uthmān, how many must there have been?" "Some 300" he replied.'

"Anas went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me to accompany him and I took it (the bowl of food) to him. He placed his hand over it and prayed, saying, *mā shā᾽a Allāh*! "Whatever God wills!" He then said, "Have them form groups of ten and invoke the name of God; every person should eat what he finds." They began invoking God's name and to eat until all had done so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me, "Pick it up." I then went and took the bowl and looked inside. And I don't know whether there was more when I had put it down or when I picked it up!

"'Some men stayed behind conversing in the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile, his wife, whom he had brought in with them, was there turning her face to the wall. The men stayed so long chatting that they annoyed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the most modest of men; if they had realized it, they would have felt badly. Eventually he went off into his chambers

to his wives. When they (the men there) saw him do so, they thought they had annoyed him, and so they moved to the door and left. Then he returned, let down the screen and went inside while I was there in the (outer) room. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed inside his house for a while and God made a revelation of the Qur'ān. He came out reciting this verse, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked. If you are invited, then do enter and when you have eaten, disperse. Do not linger on for conversation. That would annoy the Prophet, though he would be too shy (to tell you so); but God is not shy of the truth. And if you should ask something of them (his wives), do so from behind a screen. That is more pure for both you and them. And you should not annoy the Messenger of God, nor should you ever marry his wives after him. That would indeed be offensive to God. And whether you divulge something or keep it concealed, God has knowledge of all."'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53, 54).

Anas went on, "He recited these to me before the others. And so I have known them longer than them."

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī all related this tradition from Qutayba, from Ja'far b. Sulaymān, from al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Muslim also related it, from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān.

Al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth*, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, from several lines, from Abū Bishr al-Aḥmasī al-Kūfī, from Anas, in similar form. Ibn Abū Ḥātim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Naḍra al-'Abdī, from Anas in similar form; they did not explicate it. Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Amr b. Sa'īd and from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Anas, in similar form.

I note that Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, may God be pleased with her, was one of the first women who migrated. She was a woman of great goodness and charity. At first her name was Tarra, then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed her Zaynab. She was known as *Umm al-Ḥakam*, "al-Ḥakam's mother".

'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her, said, "I never knew a woman more religious, more God-fearing, more truthful in her speech, more protective of family ties, more trustworthy or more charitable than Zaynab."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as will be seen in the *ḥadīth al-ifk*,[49] "the calumnious account", that 'Ā'isha stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, about me. She was the (only) wife of the Prophet who could compete with me for his favour. God encompassed her with goodness, and she said, 'O Messenger of God, in all truth and obedience, I say I never knew of her ('Ā'isha) anything but good.'"

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Maḥmūd b. 'Aylān related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Shaybānī, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā b.

49. See above, pp.217 et seq.

Ṭalḥa, from ʿĀʾisha 'mother of the believers', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The women who will be the earliest to join me (in the Hereafter) are the ones who are the most generous.' We used to vie with one another over which of us was the most generous. In fact it was Zaynab, because she made things herself and gave to charity."

Muslim is alone in giving this.

Al-Wāqidī and other authorities on the biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the early military campaigns and on history, state that she died in 80 AH. The Commander of the Believers ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, prayed over her. She was buried at al-Baqīʿ; and she was the first woman for whom a bier was made.

THE YEAR 6 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "People used to say that it was in Muḥarram of that year that there was the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslama to Najd. It was during this that they captured Thumāma b. Athāl al-Yamāmī."

I note, however, that in the text of Ibn Isḥāq from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra, that he (Abū Hurayra) was present then and it was after the expedition against Khaybar that he (Abū Hurayra) emigrated. It (the expedition to Najd) would therefore have to be dated thereafter. But God knows best.

It was during the early part of this year, for certain, that the expedition was mounted against Banū Liḥyān.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayẓa took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda and the start of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 5 AH that is." As is related above.

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina thereafter for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, Muḥarram, Safar and both Rabīʿ al-Awwal and Rabīʿ al-Thānī. In Jumadā al-Uwlā, at the start of six months following the conquest of Banū Qurayẓa, he went forth against Banū Liḥyān seeking revenge for Khubayb and his companions who were killed at al-Rajīʿ. In order to surprise the enemy, he made it appear that he was heading for Syria."

According to Ibn Hishām, he left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

What Ibn Isḥāq is referring to here is as follows. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached their homes (in his attack on Banū Liḥyān) they retreated before him and sought refuge in the mountain heights. He therefore turned off to ʿUsfān, where he encountered a force of polytheists. It was there that he performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the "fear prayer".

This expedition has been described above as having occurred in 4 AH. Al-Bayhaqī related it there.

But what Ibn Isḥāq relates is most probable, namely that it took place after the battle of al-khandaq. It is established that he did perform the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at ʿUsfān on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān. It should best, therefore, be

included here and removed from there, in accord with the Imām, the prime authority, on the military expeditions in his own era and thereafter. As al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Whoever wants information of the military expeditions is dependent upon Muḥammad b. Isḥāq."

Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān:

"If Banū Liḥyān had stayed they would have met at their dwellings a band of brave fighting men
Mounted on fast horses; their hearts would have filled with terror at the great force of their host, vast as heaven's gate.
But they were mere weasels, keeping to the high and inaccessible Ḥijāz passes."

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST DHŪ QARAD.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded to Medina. He had been there only a few nights when ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī and some horsemen of Ghaṭafān attacked milch-camels belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ghāba. A man of Banū Ghifār and his wife had been guarding the camels; the raiders killed him and abducted his wife along with the camels.

"ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related the following to me, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, along with another man I trust, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik; each of these sources gave part of this account. The first to become aware what they had done was Salama b.ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ al-Aslamī who was heading for al-Ghāba armed with his bow and arrows and accompanied by a slave belonging to Talḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh leading his horse. When he had climbed up to the al-Wadāʿ pass, he saw some of their horsemen. Then he looked down towards Salʿ and cried out (in alarm), '*Wā sabaḥā*!'[50] He hurried off in pursuit of the raiders, like a lion. When he caught up with them, he began shooting his arrows at them, exclaiming, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! Today the wicked will die!'

"Whenever their horsemen headed for him he would flee, then return and shoot again at them whenever he could, repeating the same battle cry. One of them exclaimed (using a pun on his name, Ibn al-Akwaʿ) 'Is he trying to *yukawwiʿu*, "to divert us", so early in the day!'

"News of Ibn al-Akwaʿ's battle cry reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, and he called out there: 'Alarm! Alarm!' At that the cavalry hurried to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first to reach him was al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, followed by ʿAbbād b. Bishr, Saʿd b. Zayd, Usayd b. Zuhayr (though there is some doubt about this man), ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, brother of

50. A cry for help.

Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, brother of Banū Salama, Abū ʿAyyāsh ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Ṣāmit, brother of Banū Zurayq.

"When they were gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he appointed Saʿd b. Zayd as their leader. He then told them, 'Get out and pursue them, and wait till I join you with our men.'

"I have been told by some men of Banū Zurayq that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said the following to Abū ʿAyyāsh: 'What if I were to give this horse over to a better rider than yourself so that he can catch up the enemy?' Abū Ayyāsh says, 'I responded, "Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I'm the best of all horsemen!" Then I slapped my horse and I swear by God, he'd not carried me 50 arms-lengths before he tossed me! I was amazed.'

"Some men of (Banū) Zurayq say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave over Abū Ayyāsh's horse to Muʿādh b. Māʿiṣ, or to ʿĀʾidh b. Māʿiṣ b. Qays b. Khalda, the eighth (of the horsemen there). Some count Salama b. al-Akwaʿ as the eighth and drop Usayd b. Ẓuhayr. But God knows best. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ was not a rider that day; he was the first to catch up with the raiders on foot."

The account continues, "The horsemen left and caught up with the enemy. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the first rider to catch up with them was Muḥriz b. Naḍla, known as al-Akhram, and also as Qumayr. The horse he rode belonged to Maḥmūd b. Maslama. The name of the horse was Dhū al-Lamma. When he reached the enemy, he said, 'Stop, you tribe of no-goods, and let the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* pursuing you catch up with you!' One of the raiders then attacked and killed him. His horse wheeled and could not be caught; it raced off without stopping until it reached a stable of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; that is, it went back to the stall in Medina where it had been."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "No other Muslim than him was killed that day."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some other scholars refer to Waqqāṣ b. Mujjaziz al-Mudlijī as having been killed along with him."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A source I trust related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that Muḥriz was riding a horse named al-Janāḥ, belonging to ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. Muḥriz was killed and Janāḥ was captured. But God knows best.[51]

"When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda killed Ḥabīb b. ʿUyayna, covered him with his cloak, then caught up with the rest. Soon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived there with the other Muslim warriors."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

"When the Muslim force found Ḥabīb (b. ʿUyayna) covered with Abū Qatāda's cloak, they were shocked, believing the latter had been killed. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'It's not Abū Qatāda; it's someone he has killed, then covered with his cloak to let you know that he did it.'"

51. There seems to be some confusion in Ibn Isḥāq's account as to the name of the father of Waqqāṣ and whether or not he was killed in this engagement.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan then caught up with Awbār and his son ʿAmr who were riding the same camel. He pierced both with his lance, killing them both together. They then retrieved some of the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on and encamped at Mt. Dhū Qarad; he was joined by his force and they remained there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ told him, 'Messenger of God, if you were to send me on with 100 men, I could recover the rest of the herd and kill the enemy.' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been told, replied, 'By now they are being served their evening drinks among Ghaṭafān.' He then provided a slaughtered camel for each 100 men and they remained there. After that he returned to Medina.

"The wife (who had been abducted) of the Ghifārī guard then arrived in Medina on one of the camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to whom she reported. When she had finished her account, she told him, 'Messenger of God, I promised God I would slaughter this camel if God allowed me to escape on it.' He smiled and responded, 'But you would be rewarding the camel badly, since God bore you away and let you escape on it, if you slaughtered her. No vow in disobedience of God is valid, nor is one relating to something you do not own. She is one of my camels. Go back to your family, with God's blessings.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The *ḥadīth* on this subject was transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī."

This, then, is this story with its text and line of transmission as given by Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, states following his materials relating to the al-Ḥudaybiyya incident and before his account of the expedition to Khaybar, "The expedition to Dhū Qarad; this incident relates to the enemy's raid on the milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), three days before the Battle of Khaybar. Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, who said, 'I heard Salama b. al-Akwaʿ say, "Once I left (town) before the call had been made for the *al-fajr*, dawn, prayer. The milch-camels belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to graze at Dhū Qarad. (On the way) I was met by a slave belonging to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who said, 'The milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have been stolen!' 'Who took them?' I asked. 'It was Banū Ghaṭafān,' he replied. I called out three times, '*Wā sabāhā!*' I (shouted so loudly I) made all between Medina's two mountains hear me. I then rushed on ahead until I caught them up as they were watering their camels. I began shooting my arrows at them; I was an archer. (As I did so) I called out, in *rajaz*, doggerel verse, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and today the wicked will die!' I (continued shooting until) I had retrieved the milch-camels and I also seized from them thirty cloaks.

"'"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his men arrived, I told him, 'Messenger of God, I have prevented the enemy getting water. They will be thirsty. Send a force after them now.' He replied, 'Ibn al-Akwaʿ, you mastered them; now be charitable!'

"' "We then went back; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seated me on his camel along with himself for the journey back to Medina."' "

Muslim related it thus from Qutayba. Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū ʿĀṣim al-Sahlī, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayda, from his freed-man Salama in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who reported that his father had said to him, "At the time of the Hudaybiyya expedition, we came to Medina with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then I and Rabāḥ, a slave of his, left, without his prior knowledge. I went with a horse belonging to Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh; I wanted to graze it with the camels. But when it was dark ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUyayna raided the camels of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He killed their herdsman and drove them away, he and the horsemen he had accompanying him. I told Rabāḥ to ride the horse back to Ṭalḥa and to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that his herd had been raided.

"I then climbed a hill, turned towards Medina and shouted three times, '*Yā sabāḥā*!' I then pursued the enemy, bearing my sword and arrows. I began shooting at them and wounding them; this was when there were plenty of trees about. When one of the horsemen would come back at me, I'd sit at the base of a tree and shoot. And every rider who came near I shot. As I shot at them, I would call out, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! Today the wicked will die!' When I would attack one of their men on his mount, my arrows would fall on him until I pierced him in the shoulder, then I'd cry out, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and today the wicked will die!'

"While I was in the trees, I plastered them with my arrows; when the mountain trails were narrow, I would climb up the mountain side and hurl down rocks on them. My engagement with them continued, with me following them and calling out my battle cry, until God so arranged it that I retrieved and left behind me all of the property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having saved it from their control. I went on shooting at them until I had got over 30 of their spears and over 30 cloaks they were bearing. All of this they cast away I placed beneath stones, gathering everything into position in the path the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take. Later in the morning ʿUyayna b. Badr al-Fazārī came to reinforce them; at that point they were in a narrow defile. I climbed the mountain so that I was above them. ʿUyayna asked them, 'What's this I see?' They replied, 'We've had too much trouble from this fellow. He's been with us from dawn till now. He's seized everything we had and placed it all behind himself.' ʿUyayna commented, 'Well, if this fellow saw that he was being hunted, he'd have left you alone. Some of you should attack him.' A group of four of them did so, climbing up the mountain.

"Having made them hear my call, I asked them, 'Well, do you know me?' 'Who are you?' they asked. 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ,' I told them. 'By Him who

honoured Muḥammad, none of you who pursue me will catch me, whereas no one I hunt will escape me!' One of them commented, 'I agree!'

"So I had not left that position of mine when I saw the cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), coming through the trees. Leading them was al-Akhram al-Asadī, followed by Abū Qatāda, the horse-master of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). After him came al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī. The polytheists then withdrew and I came down from the mountain and took hold of the reins of al-Akhram's horse. I told him, 'Take care of the enemy' – meaning 'watch out for them'; 'I'm worried they might cut you off. Take it slowly until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men catch up with you.' But he replied, 'Salama, if you truly had faith in God and the last day and knew that heaven and hell are real, then you would not try to block my way to martyrdom!'

"So I released the reins of his horse and he charged at ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUyayna who turned to face him. They exchanged a few thrusts. Al-Akhram wounded ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who then thrust back at him and killed him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān mounted al-Akhram's horse, but Abū Qatāda closed with him and they exchanged a couple of thrusts. Abū Qatāda was wounded, but he killed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and mounted al-Akhram's horse.

"I then ran out in pursuit of the enemy, continuing until I saw some dust rising from the advance of the warriors of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Before sunset they turned off into a defile where there was water, a place called Dhū Qarad, where they wanted to drink. When they saw me running ahead after the enemy, they turned away from there and halted in the mountain pass where there was a well. The sun set. I caught up with one of the enemy and shot at him, yelling, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! And today the wicked will die!' He responded, '*Bukra*, "tomorrow", al-Akwaʿ's mother will be bereaved!' 'Right you are, you're your own enemy,' I replied. The man I had shot at was named Bukra. I shot a second arrow at him and both stuck in him. The enemy abandoned two horses, and I brought these back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at the water-hole from which I had diverted them, at Dhū Qarad. He was there with a force of 500 men. Bilāl had slaughtered a camel I had retrieved; he was busy cooking its liver and its hump for the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"I went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Please let me choose 100 of your men to attack the enemy in the dark. I've killed all their guards.' He replied, 'Would you really do that, Salama?' 'I certainly would, by Him who honoured you!' I replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so heartily I could see his molars in the firelight. He then said, 'They are being served drinks now in Ghaṭafān territory.' A man of Ghaṭafān then arrived and said, 'The enemy force passed by so-and-so the Ghaṭafānī and he slaughtered a camel for them. But when they began removing its skin, they discovered an ulcerous wound. So they abandoned it and fled.'

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Abū Qatāda is the finest of our horsemen, while the best of our foot-warriors is Salama.' And he awarded

me both the share for a horseman and that for a foot-warrior. He then set me to ride behind himself on (his camel) al-ʿAḍbā' on our way back to Medina.

"When we were about half a day's travel from the town, one of our warriors, an *anṣārī*, who had never been beaten in a race, began calling out, 'Will someone race me? Won't someone race me into the town?' He repeated this several times while I was there riding behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked the man, 'Don't you respect the noble or fear the powerful?' 'No, I don't', he replied, 'except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' I then asked, 'Messenger of God, do please, for the sake of my mother and my father, let me race with the fellow!' 'If you like,' he replied. 'I'll come to you,' I told the man. At that he jumped off his mount and I bent my leg and jumped down from the camel. I then let him get well ahead, holding myself back, then I ran hard, caught up with him and slapped him on the shoulder, saying, 'I beat you, by God!' – or I made some such comment. The man laughed and said, 'I agree.' So we went on into Medina."

Muslim related this *ḥadīth* in this way with lines from ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār in similar form. His version ends, "... so I beat him into Medina and we remained there only three days before we left for Khaybar." Ahmad also has this text.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī relate this engagement after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar, similarly to Ibn Isḥāq. But God knows best. Thus it should be placed later, to early in 7 AH, for Khaybar took place in Ṣafar of that year.

Regarding the woman who escaped on the camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS), having sworn to slaughter it for its having allowed her to get away, this story is related by Ibn Isḥāq from Abū al-Zubayr, with an incomplete chain of authorities back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also given with a complete line through other sources.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Abū al-Halab, from ʿUmrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, '(The camel named) al-ʿAḍbā' had belonged to a man of Banū ʿUqayl and had been one of the mounts racing at the *ḥajj* fair; the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, had taken it when he had captured him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding a donkey with a velvet saddle cloth, had later passed by the man, who was in fetters, the latter had called out to him, "Hey, Muḥammad, why did you take me and the *ḥajj* racing camel?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "We've seized you on account of your allies Thaqīf."'"

(The narrator continued) "Thaqif had taken captive two of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The prisoner then said, along with other things, 'But I'm a Muslim!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you were to have said that when you had your freedom, you would have been very successful.' As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on his way, the man called out, 'Muḥammad, I'm hungry and I'm thirsty! Give me some food and drink!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Yes, that's what you're after!' Then the two men were ransomed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retained al-ʿAḍbā' for his own journeys.

"After that the polytheists raided the Medina milch-camels and made off with them, including al-ʿAḍbāʾ, and they also took captive a Muslim woman. When they made camp, they set his camels free in their enclosures. One night after they were asleep, she went out to the camels. Each one grunted until she reached al-ʿAḍbāʾ. She had come upon a female riding camel that was well used to being ridden. She mounted it and directed it towards Medina. She then vowed that if God were to allow her to escape on it, she would slaughter it. When she reached Medina, the camel was recognized as belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was told of her vow (or she came to him and told him of it) and he stated, 'It was a bad vow she' (or 'you') 'made to slaughter it if God allowed her to escape on it.' He went on, 'No vow in disobedience to God is valid, nor is one relating to what one does not own.'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Among the verses spoken relating to the Dhū Qarad incident were the following by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Had the frogs of their hooves not suffered while being
led, south of Sāya, (our horses)
Would have met you bearing fully armed warriors
carrying the banner, men of fine ancestry.
And those offspring of sin would have rejoiced that we
were at peace that morning when al-Miqdād's horsemen
came.
There were eight of us, while they were numerous and
loud-mouthed, but they were pierced by our lances and
they fled.
We belonged to that people who were pursuing them and
who gave free rein to each horse.
Indeed, by the lord of the camels that race to Minā,
(we will) cross by the passes over the mountains
Until we make our mounts urinate amidst your horses and
make off with your women and children,
Moving quickly, our garments tucked up, our horses
swift and moving proudly, in valley or battlefield,
Having worn down their quarters and made their backs
bare on days being led and on others at the chase.
Our steeds, moreover, get milk to drink and warfare is
fanned by the breeze.
And the steel blades of our swords slice through
shields of iron and recalcitrant heads.
God places barriers in their way on account of what is
sacrosanct, and for the dignity of the All-Merciful.
They once were contented at home, but on the day of Dhū
Qarad their faces were like slaves.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Sa'd b. Zayd, leader of the riders moving in advance of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was enraged at Ḥassān and swore he would never speak to him. He said, 'He raves away about my horses and riders and then credits al-Miqdād'. Ḥassān then apologized to him, claiming that al-Miqdād's name matched the rhyme. He then spoke verses praising Sa'd b. Zayd,

'If you need the fiercest and most determined, or a man
of real ability, then seek out
Sa'd b. Zayd, who never gives in.'

"But the verses did him no good.

"Hassān b. Thābit also spoke the following about the incident at Dhū Qarad.

'Did 'Uyayna imagine when he visited it that he would
demolish the castles there?
You were proved to lie in what you claimed as true;
you said, "We will seize much booty!"
You hated Medina when you visited it, and became used
to the roar of lions there.
Quickly they retreated, like speeding ostriches, and
they uncovered no camels' hideout.
The messenger of the lord was the leader over us; how
beloved a leader we find him!
A messenger who proves true his mission and who recites
a book that illuminates and enlightens.'

"Ka'b b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the Dhū Qarad incident in praise of the Muslim horsemen that day,

'Do those offspring of sin consider that we on
horseback are not the match for their knights?
We are men who see no disgrace in death and we do not
bend before the rigid lance.
We serve our guests the choicest of meats, and we
strike off the heads of happy braggards!
We turn back bemedalled warriors when they charge with
blows that dispel the courage of the brave,
With heroes who protect the banner, men of glory,
fierce as wolves of the jungle.
They protect their reputation and their lands with
swords that slice off the tops of helmets wearing
heads.
Ask of Banū Badr, if you meet them, what our brothers
did on the day of battle.
When you go forth tell the truth to those you meet; do
not hide your news in your meetings.
Say we escaped the claws of a lion in his lair, whose
deep anger remains unalleviated.'"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-MUṢṬALIQ OF KHUZĀʿA.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "This was the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "That took place in 6 AH."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba, however, set it in 4 AH.

Al-Nuʿmān b. Rashīd stated, quoting al-Zuhrī, "The *ḥadīth al-ifk*,[52] the 'calumnious report', occurred during the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ." Similarly al-Bukhārī related it from the military chronicle of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, to the effect that it took place in 4 AH. However, it was related from both him and from ʿUrwa that it occurred in Shaʿbān, 5 AH. Al-Wāqidī stated, "It took place when two nights remained of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) was accompanied by 700 men."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār stated, following his account of the Dhū Qarad incident, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for part of Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab, whereafter he made an expedition against Banū al-Musṭaliq of Khuzāʿa, in Shaʿbān, 6 AH."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī in command of Medina; Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī, however, is also named."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān related to me, each narrating part of the account relating to the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were assembling to attack him, under the leadership of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the father of Juwayriyya, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later married. When he heard of their activity, he went forth against them, engaging them at one of their water sources at a place called al-Muraysīʿ, near Qudayd, towards the coast. The forces met and did battle; God defeated Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, a number of them being killed, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) took over as booty their women, children and possessions.' "

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth with two nights having passed of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, with a force of 700 of his Companions against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. They were allied to Banū Mudlij. When he reached them, he entrusted the banner of the *muhājirīn* to Abū Bakr, the Trusting – though some say to ʿAmmār b. Yāsir – and that of the *anṣār* to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. He then ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell the enemy, 'Cry out the words, "*Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*!", "There is no god but God". By this you will protect yourselves and your property.' But they refused and cast arrows instead.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then ordered the Muslims to attack. They did so as one. And not one man escaped them; they killed ten and captured the rest. Only one of the Muslims was killed."

It is related in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, who said, "I wrote to Nāfiʿ asking him about the battle-cry prior to the fighting. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū al-Muṣṭaliq while

52. See above, p.217 et seq.

they were engrossed in their pleasures, taking water at the well. He killed their warriors and took captives. It was that day he acquired – I think that is what he said – Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar narrated this to me, and he was with that army.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "One of the Muslims, Hishām b. Ṣubāba, was struck down that day. He was killed in error by one of the *anṣār* who thought him to be an enemy."

Ibn Isḥāq related that Hishām b. Ṣubāba's brother, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, arrived from Mecca professing Islam and requested blood-money from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since his brother had been killed in error. He did pay blood-wit and Miqyas stayed on a short while but then attacked and murdered his brother's killer. He then returned, an apostate, to Mecca and spoke the following verses,

"It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
clothing stained with the blood of his jugular.
My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
kept me from enjoying my bed.
By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
and I was prompt to return to the idols.
Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to
the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fāriʿ castle."[53]

I note that this is why this Miqyas was one of the four persons whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed on the day of the conquest of Mecca, (having said) "... even if they be wrapped in the drapes of the *kaʿba*!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "While the warriors were there at the well, a group of men arrived to get water. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had with him a hired man of Banū Ghifār named Jahjāh b. Masʿūd who led his horse. Jahjāh and Sinān b. Wabr al-Juhanī, an ally of Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, got in one another's way at the water-hole and began fighting. Al-Juhanī called out, 'Help, *anṣār* friends!' Jahjāh shouted, 'Help, *muhājirī* friends!' At this ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl became angry; he had with him a number of his people, including Zayd b. Arqam, a boy. 'Did they really cause this?' he asked. 'They challenge us and outnumber us in our own lands! I swear by God, the old maxim well applies to us and these Quraysh ruffians: "fatten your dog and you it will eat!" I swear, when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker!' He then approached some of his people and told them, 'See what you have done to yourselves! You let them settle among you and shared your property with them. I swear, if you had kept what you owned from them, they would have gone some place else!'

"Zayd b. Arqam overheard this and so informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with him at the time. ʿUmar advised him,

53. In Medina.

'Order ʿAbbād b. Bishr to kill him!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'How would it be, ʿUmar, to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own Companions. No, give orders to leave instead.' This was at a time of day when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not accustomed to begin a journey. So everyone then set off.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was told that Zayd b. Arqam had reported what he had been heard to say. He swore by God that he had not said any such thing and had not spoken to Zayd. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was a great chief of his people, and those *anṣār* of his men present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Messenger of God, perhaps the lad mistook what was said, or did not memorize it correctly.' They said this to give support and protection for ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set forth and travelled some distance, he was met by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr who addressed him as a prophet and greeted him in peace. He said, 'Messenger of God, aren't you out travelling at an unpleasant time when you don't usually do so?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him, 'Have you heard what your friend said?' 'What friend was that then?' Usayd asked. 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy,' he replied. 'Well, what did he say?' he asked. 'He claimed that when he gets back to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Usayd responded, 'Well, I swear by God, Messenger of God, you'll drive him out if you wish. He's certainly the weak one, and you the strong.' He went on, 'Be kind, Messenger of God! I swear, God brought you to us while his people were stringing pearls with which to make a crown for him. And so he considers that you have robbed him of his kingdom.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on throughout that day and that night and the following morning until they suffered greatly from the sun. He then had them make a halt and they all fell asleep as soon as they dismounted. He had only behaved in this way to keep the minds of his men off discussion of what ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy had said the previous day. After that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his men off into Ḥijāz and encamped at a water-hole there, a little above al-Naqīʿ, at a place called Baqʿāʾ. When he left there a gale arose that much discomforted and frightened the men. He told them, 'Don't be afraid at it; it is blowing this way due to the death of one of the unbelievers' chiefs.' When they reached Medina, they discovered that Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. Thābit, of Banū Qaynuqāʿ, a leader of the Jews and a supporter of the hypocrites, had died that day."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Wāqidī related this similarly.

Muslim related, through al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, much the same story, although he did not name the hypocrite who had died. He stated, "A gale blew up while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on one of his travels, and he said, 'This is because of the death of a hypocrite.' And when we reached Medina, we found that one of the chief hypocrites had died."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Then the *sūra* was revealed in which God made mention of the hypocrites, with reference to Ibn Ubayy and those like him. The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the ear of Zayd b. Arqam and said, 'This is he who devoted his ear to God!'"

I comment that I have written on this in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) at sufficient length to obviate need to repeat it here. We have listed the various lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* from Zayd b. Arqam; to God belong all praise and credit. Should anyone wish to include this material here, he is at liberty to do so. And to God all credit is due.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda related to me that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have heard that you want to kill ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy because of what you were informed about him. If that is so, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head. I swear that Khazraj well know that there is no man more loyal to his father than me. I fear that if you order someone other than myself to do it and he does kill him, then my spirit will not allow me to look upon the killer of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy walking freely among people and so I will then kill a believer in exchange for an unbeliever, and so enter hell!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'On the contrary, we will treat him kindly and enjoy his company so long as he stays with us.' Thereafter, if anything bad had happened, ‘Abd Allāh's people would blame and reproach him. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been informed that they were treating him that way, asked ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Well, what do you think now, ‘Umar? I swear, if I had killed him the day you suggested it, there would have been much resentment. But if I were to order his death today, they would all kill him!' ‘Umar responded, 'Well, I've certainly learned that orders you give are more blessed than mine would be!'"

‘Ikrima, Ibn Zayd and others relate that this son, ‘Abd Allāh, stood in the way of his father ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl at the narrow entry into Medina and told him, "Stop! By God, you'll not enter until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives you permission to do so!" When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy did indeed ask his permission to enter and he sent to him allowing him to do so.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A number of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were killed that day. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib killed two of them – Mālik and his son."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The battle-cry of the Muslims was, '*Yā Manṣūr*! *Amit*! *Amit*!' 'O conqueror! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took many captives that day and he distributed them among the Muslims."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Sa‘īd related to him, quoting Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far, from Rabī‘a b. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān, from Ibn Muḥayrīz, who said, "I went into the mosque and there I saw Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudarī. I sat with him and asked him about *al-‘azl*, coitus interruptus. Abu Sa‘īd replied, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) on the expedition to Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. We took many of the bedouin captive and we lusted after the women; celibacy was very hard on us. We liked to practise *al-ʿazl*, but wondered whether we should do this without asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was there with us. So we did ask him about it, and he replied, 'You might well not do that; for any soul that is going to exist till Judgement Day will so exist.'"

He (Muslim) also related this *ḥadīth.*

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of those taken captive that day was Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed the captives taken from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was awarded to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, or to a cousin of his and she wrote a *muqābala*[54] deed giving herself to him. She was a very sweet and attractive woman; every man who saw her fell for her. She came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask his help in preparing the document. And, I swear, as soon as I saw her at the door of my room, I disliked her and recognized that he would see in her what I did. When she went in to him, she said, "Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the leader of his people. You can see what my plight is now; I have fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās" – or to his cousin – "and I've prepared a deed awarding myself to him. I've come to ask your help in writing it."

"'He then asked her, "Would you prefer better?" "What would that be, Messenger of God?" she asked. "I will take responsibility for your deed myself and marry you," he replied. "Yes, Messenger of God," she commented, "I agree."

"'The news spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married Juwayrīyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. And so people said, "Then they (i.e. our captives) are relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" And so they released their captives.

"'And so by his marriage to her, he released 100 of her relatives from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. I know no woman who brought greater blessings to her people than she.'"

Thereafter Ibn Isḥāq reported the incident of *al-ifk* in its entirety as part of his narration of this expedition. Al-Bukhārī and several other scholars did the same. I have laid out the various lines of transmission in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of *sūrat al-Nūr* (XXIV) and this could be joined to what was mentioned here. And God is the source of help.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ḥarām related to us, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said, 'Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, stated, "For three nights before the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I seemed to see the moon travel from Yathrib and fall into my lap. I did not like to tell anyone of this prior to the

54. A contract between slave and master wherein the former agrees to pay the latter a certain sum for emancipation.

arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But when we were taken captive, I felt good about the visions. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) freed me and married me. I swear, I never spoke to him on behalf of my people; it was the Muslims themselves who sent messages to them. The first I knew of it was when a slave girl belonging to one of my female cousins told me the news. And I gave thanks to God Almighty.""

Al-Wāqidī stated, "It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave as dowry for her the freeing of 40 of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, quoting Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, that her father sought her out and paid ransom for her and that then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought her in marriage and he (her father) then married him to her.

THE QIṢṢAT AL-IFK, THE 'CALUMNIOUS REPORT'.

This is the text of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq's account of the calumny.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Zuhrī related to me the following from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba. He, al-Zuhrī, said that some of these sources had given more information than others, and that he had consolidated all into the account that follows."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "(Also) Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me the following, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr from ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿĀʾisha who was narrating about herself when people spread the calumny about her. Each one of these contributed to this account of hers, some giving information not reported by others. Each is regarded as a reliable source for information from her, and all reported what they had heard her say.

"ʿĀʾisha said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to go on a journey he would draw lots among his wives to decide who would accompany him. He did so, as usual, for the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; my name was drawn and so he took me with him. The women on such occasions would eat light filling foods rather than meat which would increase their weight. I would sit in my *howdah* while my camel was being saddled. The men responsible for mounting it would then grasp the *howdah* from below it and lift and place it upon the camel's back, tying it there with ropes. They would then lead the camel away by the head.

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed that journey, he directed the party to return home and when close to Medina he made a halt for part of the night. A crier then called out to everyone to depart again, and people prepared to do so. I went out to relieve myself. I was wearing a necklace of onyx beads from Ẓafār.[55] When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my

55. A town in Yemen.

knowledge. Having returned to my mount, I felt for it around my neck but did not find it there. People were beginning to leave, but I returned to where I had been to search for the necklace and eventually I found it. The men who had now finished saddling my camel came back for me and raised up the *howdah*, thinking I was inside as usual, and fastened it on the camel; they had no doubts about my being inside. Then they took the camel by the head and led it away.

"'When I returned to the campsite, there was absolutely no one there; everyone had left. So I wrapped myself in my cloak and lay down; I was sure that they would return for me when they missed me.

"'I swear, I was lying there when Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī came by. He had for some reason of his own been lagging behind the other warriors and had not spent the night with the others. When he saw my form he approached and stood above me; he had seen me before the veil was required for us. When he saw me, he exclaimed, "To God we belong, and to Him we return! Isn't it the *ẓaʿīna*[56] of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" I was all wrapped up in my cloak. He then asked, "What made you stay behind, *yarḥamuki Allāh*! 'May God have mercy on you!'" I did not speak to him. He then brought up the camel and said, "You ride." He kept away from me.

"'So I mounted and he led the camel away by the head, moving quickly to catch up with the rest. I swear by God, we neither caught them up nor did they miss me before morning. By the time the force had halted and made secure, the man appeared leading me. And so those who spread the calumny began talking and the men were greatly purturbed. However, I swear I knew nothing of this.

"'We then went on into Medina. There I soon fell seriously sick and heard nothing of what was going on. All the talk soon reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and my parents, but they told me absolutely nothing of this. All I noticed was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not as kind as usual towards me; whenever I had been sick he had been very kind and comforting to me, but not on this occasion. I pretended not to notice. When he came in to see me, my mother being present nursing me, he would just say, formally, "*Kayfa fīkum*?" ("How are you?"). He would add nothing more.

"'Eventually this coldness of his bothered me and so I asked him, "Messenger of God, if you will allow it, I'd like to go and stay with my mother to have her care for me." "No problem," he replied. And so I moved in with my mother. I still had no knowledge what was going on until I recovered from my illness some three weeks later.

"'We were an Arab people and did not have in our homes those toilets that foreigners use; we find them disgusting. We would go out and use the open areas of Medina. Each night the women would go outside to relieve themselves. I went out to do so one night accompanied by Umm Misṭaḥ, daughter of Abū Ruḥm

56. A term denoting a woman borne in a *howdah*.

b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was walking with me when she tripped over her gown and swore *ta῾is Misṭaḥ*! "perish that Misṭaḥ!" Misṭaḥ was her son's nickname, his real name being ῾Awf. I commented, "That's a terrible thing to say about a *muhājirī*, and a man who fought at Badr!" "Has the news not reached you, daughter of Abū Bakr?" she asked me. "What news?" I asked. She then told me what those spreading the calumny were saying. I exclaimed, "This is really so?" "Yes", she said, "it really is so."

"'I swear, I was so upset I could not do my business and went home. I wept so much I thought my crying would burst my liver! I told my mother, "May God forgive you for not telling me anything about what people have been saying about me!" She replied, "Don't take it too seriously, daughter; rarely does a beautiful woman with a husband who loves her not have her co-wives, and others too, speak badly about her."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had stood and addressed people on this subject, but I knew nothing of that. He had praised and thanked God, then said, "Why is it that people are giving me concern about my family and speaking untruths against them? I swear by God, I know nothing but good of them! And they are also saying the same against a man of whom I have never known anything but good. He has never entered any of my dwellings without me being in his company."

"'The greatest blame for this lay with ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, some of the Khazraj and Misṭaḥ, and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. Ḥamna spoke thus because she was the sister of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, who also lived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And Zaynab was the only one of his wives who would rival my status with him. Zaynab herself was given God's protection through her religion, for she spoke only good of me. Ḥamna spread her rumours about me to do harm for her sister's sake, and I suffered for that.

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made this address, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr stated, "Messenger of God, if they were from al-Aws, we would deal with them for you; if from our Khazraj brethren, then give us your order and I swear by God, they deserve to have their heads cut off!"

"'Then Sa῾d b. Ubāda arose; he had previously been considered a fine man. He said, "You lie, I swear by God's life! You'd certainly not cut off their heads! And you only made that statement because you knew that they were of Khazraj; if they had been from your tribe, you'd never have said that!"

"'Usayd b. Ḥudayr then responded with, "It's you who lie, I swear by God's life! You're a hypocrite arguing on behalf of hypocrites!"

"'People became so angry that there was almost fighting between these two tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

"'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood down and came in to see me. He called for ῾Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Usāma b. Zayd and consulted with them. Usāma spoke well of me and then said, "Messenger of God, this is about your family about whom we know nothing but good. It's all foolish lies." ῾Alī

said, "Messenger of God, there are plenty of women; you can exchange them. Ask the slave girl; she will speak the truth to you."

"'So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Burayra to ask her. ʿAlī went up to her and struck her violently, saying, "Speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" Burayra replied, "I swear by God, I know nothing but good! I never found fault with ʿĀʾisha at all, except that, when I knead dough and ask her to watch over it she may fall asleep, and the pet lamb comes and eats it!"'

"ʿĀʾisha continued, 'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to me; I had with me both my parents and an *anṣārī* woman. I was weeping, and so was she. He sat down, gave praise and thanks to God, and said, "ʿĀʾisha, you have been informed what people have been saying about you. Fear God. If you have indeed done wrong, as they say, then repent to God. God accepts repentance from his servants." As soon as he said this my tears dried up so that I could feel nothing of them. I waited for my parents to respond on my behalf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but they did not speak.

"'I swear to God, I thought myself too humble and unimportant for God to send down a verse of the Qurʾān about me, one that would be recited and used for the prayer. But I had hoped that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have some vision in his sleep by which God would prove my veracity from His knowledge of my innocence and would give some information. But as for a verse of the Qurʾān being revealed about me, I swear I thought myself too insignificant for that. When I saw that my parents were not going to respond on my behalf, I asked them, "Will you not reply to the Messenger of God?" They replied, "By God, we don't know what to reply."

"'I swear, I don't know any household that ever suffered so much as did that of Abū Bakr through those days. When they were unable to respond for me, I burst out crying again. Then I said, "By God, I'll never repent to God for what you refer to. I swear, I well know that if I were to affirm what people say while God knew me to be innocent of it, I would be affirming what had not happened. And if I were to deny what they say, you would not believe me!" I then tried to remember the name of Jacob, but I could not remember it, so I said, "But I will speak as did the father of Yūsuf, 'Patience is fine, and God's help is to be sought against what you describe'" (*sūrat Yūsuf*; XII, v.18).

"'I swear, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not left his seat before God sent down upon him what he used to send; he was wrapped up in his cloak and a pillow of leather was placed beneath his head. As for myself, when I witnessed this, I swear I felt no alarm or concern. I knew that I was innocent and that God would not harm me. However, I swear by Him who bears ʿĀʾisha's soul in His hands, that as soon as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recovered, I thought my parents would expire for fear that confirmation of what people had been saying would come from God.

"'Having recovered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat up, his face streamed with droplets like a winter's day. He began wiping the sweat from his face and

saying, "Rejoice, ʿĀʾisha! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has sent down (confirmation of) your innocence!" "Praise be to God!" I exclaimed.

"'He then went out to the people, addressed them and recited to them what God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed from the Qurʾān on the subject. He then gave orders about Misṭaḥ b. Uthātha, Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh – these having been the most outspoken in their calumny – and they received the flogging prescribed by law.'"

This *ḥadīth* is cited in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Zuhrī. Its text has many virtues. It refers to the punishment for false accusation of fornication having been applied to Ḥassān and those with him. Abū Dāʾūd related it in his *Sunan*.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A Muslim spoke the following verses on the flogging of Ḥassān and his associates,

'Ḥassān, along with Ḥamna and Misṭaḥ, tasted what they
deserved for speaking a foul calumny.
They engaged in slanders against the wife of their
Prophet, incurred the wrath of Him on the noble throne,
and were cast down.
They harmed the Messenger of God through her and were
exposed to lasting and public disgrace and censure.
Whips lashed them with the force of sudden rain showers
from storm clouds.'"

Ibn Isḥāq related that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke verses in which he criticized Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal and a group of Quraysh who fought at the well, associates of Jahjāh, as mentioned above. These verses commence,

"These strangers have become powerful and numerous and
Ibn al-Furayʿa[57] has become top man in the land!
A man's mother is as bereaved, or it is as if he is in
a lion's claws, if you fight him;
For the man I come upon and kill, I'll take no blood-wit,
nor compensation.
The sea, riding high when the wind blows north and it
casts foam on the shore, is not
More violent than me when you see me strike like a
sudden hail-cloud.
As for Quraysh, I will not make peace with them until
they leave error for the right
And abandon al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā and all of them bow
down before the One and Everlasting
And bear witness that what the Messenger of God said to
them is true, and they are faithful to God's truth and
to the pacts made."

57. "Ibn al-Furayʿa" is a reference to Ḥassān himself.

Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal confronted him and struck him with his sword, saying,

"Receive from me my sword's blade, for I'm a man who
speaks no poetry when attacked!"

He (Ibn Isḥāq) related that Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās seized and bound Ṣafwān after he had attacked Ḥassān. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa found him thus, he asked, "What's all this?" Thābit replied, "He struck Ḥassān with his sword." ʿAbd Allāh then asked, "Does the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) know anything of this?" "No," he replied, and released Ṣafwān. They all then went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal told him, "Messenger of God, he did me harm and ridiculed me, and my anger so overcame me that I struck him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Ḥassān, would you scorn my people once God gave them guidance?" He added, "Be nice about your injury." "As ever you say, Messenger of God," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated him by awarding him Biʾr Hā castle that Abū Ṭalḥa had given over as alms, and a Coptic slave-girl named Sīrīn; she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

ʿĀʾisha used to say, "Enquiries were made about Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal and he was found to be impotent; he did not approach women. Thereafter he was martyred. May God be pleased with him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "After that, Ḥassān spoke the following verses in apology for what he had said about ʿĀʾisha,

'Chaste and sensible, untouched by suspicion, because
of my error she became food for scandal-mongers.
A noble woman of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, people of honour,
their glory unending.
What was said of you could never apply to you; they
were the words of a slanderer.
If I did speak what you claim, then may my hands never
raise my whip again!
How could this be, in light of my friendship and
support for the illustrious family of the Messenger of
God.
Their dignity is such that all others are beneath them,
falling far short; may their glory last very long.'"

There should be written down here the verses of *sūrat al-Nūr*, namely from God's words, "Those who related the calumny are a faction among you. Do not consider it an evil for you; in fact it is good for you. Let each man of them suffer the punishment he has earned" to the words, "Forgiveness and a fine reward" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, v.11–26). Also here should be inserted the traditions, chains of transmisssion and other relevant matters that have come down from the earliest and later authorities. And success comes through God.

THE ḤUDAYBIYYA EXPEDITION.

This indisputably took place in Dhū al-Qa'da, 6 AH. Those who state this include al-Zuhrī, Nāfi', freed-man of Ibn 'Umar, Qatāda, Mūsā b. 'Uqba and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, along with others too. This is also what was related by Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwā – namely, that it occurred in Dhū al-Qa'da of 6 AH.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated, "Ismā'īl b. al-Khalīl related to me, from 'Alī b. Mushir (who said), 'Hishām b. 'Urwa narrated to me, quoting his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out for al-Ḥudaybiyya in Ramaḍān; (the agreement at) al-Ḥudaybiyya was made in Shawwāl."'"

This is very strange to have come from 'Urwa.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim relate from Hudba, quoting Ḥammām, from Qatāda, that Anas b. Mālik narrated to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *'umra* four times (sic) in Dhū al-Qa'da, apart from the *'umra* performed along with his pilgrimage. The Ḥudaybiyya *'umra* took place in Dhū al-Qa'da, that of the following year was in Dhū al-Qa'da, that of al-Ji'rāna was in Dhū al-Qa'da, when he divided up the booty from the Battle of Ḥunayn, and there was the *'umra* that took place along with his pilgrimage."

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for Ramaḍān and Shawwāl; then, in Dhū al-Qa'da, he left to perform the *'umra*, not to engage in warfare."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. 'Abd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He invited the local Arabs and the bedouin in neighbouring areas to accompany him, fearing that Quraysh would attack him or block his way to the *ka'ba*. But many of the bedouin refrained from joining him.

"Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth accompanied by men of the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* and those bedouin who had joined him. He took with him the animals for sacrifice and dressed in pilgrim garb so that people would feel secure from attack by him and would recognize that he was only leaving to visit this House that he wished to venerate.

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya intending to visit the *ka'ba* and not wanting to engage in battle. With him he took 70 camels for sacrifice and was accompanied by 700 men. Each sacrifice was for 10 persons. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say, so I have been told, 'Those of us present at al-Ḥudaybiyya totalled 1,400.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled as far as 'Usfān, where he met Bishr b. Sufyān al-Ka'bī, who told him, 'Messenger of God, these

Quraysh have heard of your travelling and have gone forth accompanied by milk-giving camels accompanied by their young. They have dressed in tiger skins and encamped at Dhū Ṭuwān, swearing to God that you will not ever enter it (the city) by going past them. And Khālid b. al-Walīd is in charge of their cavalry and they have advanced to Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Woe upon Quraysh! They are consumed by the warfare! What harm would it do them to leave my way clear to the other Arabs? If they (the Arabs) should defeat me, that would be what they themselves wanted. And if God gave me victory over them, they (the Arabs) would enter into Islam in droves. Otherwise, they (the Arabs) will fight on for as long as they have strength. What is Quraysh thinking of? I swear by God, I'll keep on striving to accomplish that for which God sent me my mission until He brings it to pass or I myself perish!'

"He then asked, 'What man will direct us by some path other than the one where they are?'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that a man of Aslam replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' He then led them along a rough, stony trail between mountain passes. When they emerged from it, the Muslims, who had suffered greatly from this trail, emerged on to easy terrain at the end of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'Say: we ask God's forgiveness and turn to him in repentance!' They did repeat this and he then said, 'I swear by God, that was the *ḥiṭṭa*[58] put before the Israelites, but they did not say it.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to his men as follows, saying, 'Keep to the right, passing between the two sides of al-Ḥamaḍ on a road traversing the pass of al-Murār, on to the slope of al-Ḥudaybiyya, below Mecca.'"

Ibn Shihāb went on, "The army did follow that route, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw by the dust raised by the army that they had diverted from their own path, they raced back to Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on until having crossed the al-Mirār pass, his camel knelt. People then said, 'It's turned refractory!' He replied, 'It has not turned refractory; that's not her nature. The One who restrained the elephant from Mecca stopped her. Quraysh shall not today call upon me to respect any ties of kinship that I will not agree to.'"

"He then addressed the men as follows, 'Dismount.' They told him, 'Messenger of God, there's no well in this *wadī* where we can make camp.' He then took out an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his Companions who took it down to one of the water-holes there and stuck it in its centre. It then produced water and they had their mounts lie down there after they had been watered."

58. A word implying a plea for forgiveness of sins.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A scholar related to me, from some men of Banū Aslam, that the man who took the arrow of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) down into the water-hole was Nājiyya b. Jundab, the driver of his sacrificial camels."

Ibn Isḥāq also said, however, "A(nother) scholar maintained that al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib used to say, 'It is I who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' God knows best what in fact happened."

Ibn Isḥāq then gave evidence for the first person named by reporting that an *anṣārī* slave-girl came to the well while Nājiyya was down filling a bucket.

"She spoke the following verses,

'Hey, you drawing water, my bucket is before you.
I saw our people praising you
Wishing you well and congratulating you.'

The man then responded to her with the following verses,

'A Yemeni slave-girl has learned that it is I who draw
the water, and that my name is Nājiyya.
Many a deep, gushing wound I've made, piercing the
chests of the enemy.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had rested, Budayl b. Warqāʾ, along with some men of Khuzāʿa, came to talk with him and to ask him why he had come. He told them that he had not come intending to do battle, but to visit the *kaʿba* and to venerate its sanctity. He then said to them much the same as he had to Bishr b. Sufyān. The men then returned to Quraysh and told them that they were treating Muḥammad too hastily, and that he had only come to visit the *kaʿba*. Quraysh responded by making accusations against the men and by calling them cowards, saying, 'Even if he has come not wanting to fight, he'll never enter it by compulsion! The Arabs will never say that of us!'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Khuzāʿa, both their Muslims and their polytheists, were advisers to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), hiding from him nothing that happened in Mecca.

"They then sent to him Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, a brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him approaching, he said, 'This man is untrustworthy!' When Mikraz reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and addressed him, the latter replied to him much as he had to Budayl and his companions. Mikraz then returned to Quraysh and reported what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told him. They then dispatched Ḥulays b. ʿAlqama, or Ibn Zabbān, who at that time was the leader of the Abyssinian fighters, he being a member of Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he commented, 'This man is from people who are devout; drive out the animals for sacrifice in front of him so he

will see them.' When he saw them going past from the valley side, wearing their neck decorations and having eaten their own hair from having been long confined, he went back to Quraysh without actually having gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since they were so impressed with what he had seen. He reported this to them (Quraysh). They told him, 'Just sit down! You're only a bedouin, without any sense!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-Ḥulays was angry at this and retorted, 'Quraysh, it wasn't for this that we allied with you and made a pact with you! Shall someone who has come to venerate God's house be barred from it? By Him who holds the soul of al-Ḥulays, either you allow Muḥammad to do what he has come for, or I'll take away the Abyssinians to the last man of them!' They responded, 'Keep silent and leave us alone until we get for ourselves what we want!'"

Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, "Then they (decided to send) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī and he told them, 'Tribe of Quraysh, I saw the violence and bad language you directed at those who came back to you after you dispatched them to Muḥammad. You well know that you are as my father and myself the son' (ʿUrwa was in fact the son of Sabīʿa, daughter of ʿAbd al-Shams). 'Having heard what has occurred to you, I gathered some of my people who obey me and so have come to you to help you myself.'

"They replied, 'You speak the truth; you have our trust.'

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Muḥammad, so have you gathered together a whole mix of people, then brought them to your own home to destroy it with them? Quraysh have come forth with their milch-camels, accompanied by their young and dressed in tiger skins, having sworn to God that you will never enter contrary to their wish. By God, I'll wager these people will abandon you tomorrow!'

"Abū Bakr, the Trusting, God be pleased with him, was behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and commented, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Us abandon him, indeed!' ʿUrwa then asked, 'So who is this, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'This is Ibn Abū Quḥāfa.' ʿUmar then said, 'If I wasn't obligated to you, I'd punish you for that. But now we are even.'

"ʿUrwa then began fondling the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was speaking to him. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who was standing close by, dressed in armour, began tapping at ʿUrwa's hand as it touched the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you'll never get it back!' ʿUrwa commented, 'Damn you, how churlish and rude you are!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this, so ʿUrwa asked him, 'Who is this, then, Muḥammad?' 'This', he replied, 'is your nephew al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba!' At this ʿUrwa commented, 'You wretch, wasn't it only yesterday you learned how to wash your own private parts!'"

Al-Zuhrī went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUrwa approximately what he had to the others, telling him that he had not come seeking battle. ʿUrwa then left, having observed how the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him. When he washed, they rushed to the water he had used. If he spat, they hurried to retrieve it, and if a hair fell from his head, they would take it. Consequently, when ʿUrwa returned to Quraysh, he told them, 'Men of Quraysh, I've been to Chosroe in his kingdom, Caesar in his and the Negus in his; but I swear, I never saw a king amidst his people like Muḥammad amidst his Companions. I have seen people who would never abandon him for any reason. So draw your own conclusions.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuzāʿī and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Thaʿlab, to tell their leaders on his behalf why he had come. But they hamstrung the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and wanted to kill him. The Abyssinian troops, however, prevented this and they released him, so he made his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq also stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Quraysh had sent 40 or 50 of their men with orders to encircle the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to capture one of his Companions. But they were taken prisoner and brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He forgave them and released them. They had hurled stones and shot arrows at the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"He then summoned ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to send him to Mecca to inform the Quraysh leaders for him why he had come. ʿUmar responded, 'Messenger of God, I fear for myself from Quraysh. There is no one in Mecca of Banū ʿAdī who could protect me. Quraysh are well aware of my enmity towards them and of the roughness with which I have treated them. But I will suggest to you a man they respect more than myself, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and did send him to Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh leaders to tell them that he had not come to wage war, but to visit the *kaʿba* in veneration of its sanctity. ʿUthmān set out for Mecca, where he was met by Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, either before or after he had entered the city. Abān mounted ʿUthmān before himself and gave him protection until he delivered the message of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUthmān went on to meet Abū Sufyān and the other Quraysh leaders. He gave them the message entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he had done so, they told ʿUthmān, 'If what you want is to circumambulate the *kaʿba*, then do so.' He replied, 'I could never circumambulate it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.'

"Quraysh then kept ʿUthmān as their prisoner. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were informed that ʿUthmān had been killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when

he was informed that ʿUthmān had been killed, 'We'll not leave before engaging the enemy in battle!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called upon the men to pledge allegiance to him. This pledge, the *bayʿat al-raḍwān*, the 'willing pledge', was made beneath a tree. People would say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a pledge of allegiance unto death. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, however, used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not have us pledge allegiance unto death, but had us swear that we would not flee.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received their pledge and the only Muslim present who abstained from it was al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of Banū Salama. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'I swear, I can almost see him now, standing glued to the side of his camel, trying to hide from everyone.'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received the news that the report about ʿUthmān was false."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Wakīʿ recounted, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Shaʿbī, that the first man to make the *bayʿat al-riḍwān* to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was Abū Sinān al-Asadī.

"And a reliable source related to me a tradition from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God himself (ṢAAS) made the pledge for ʿUthmān, clapping one of his hands to the other."

This tradition mentioned by Ibn Hishām with this line of authority is weak; however, it is confirmed in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated, 'Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. ʿAmr, brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him, "Go to Muḥammad and make peace with him. The only condition for peace with him is that he withdraw from us this year. By God, the Arabs shall never say that he entered it by compulsion!"'

"Suhayl b. ʿAmr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, seeing him approach, 'The enemy wanted peace when they dispatched this man.'

"When Suhayl reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he spoke with him at length; they reconciled and made peace. The matter having been concluded, with nothing but a document remaining to be drawn up, ʿUmar jumped up and went over to Abū Bakr. He asked him, 'Abū Bakr, is he not God's messenger?' 'Indeed yes,' he replied. 'And are we not Muslims?' he asked. 'Indeed yes,' Abū Bakr replied. 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes,' he agreed. 'So why should we agree to something that demeans our religion?' ʿUmar asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'Obey whatever he says; for I testify that he is the Messenger of God.' ʿUmar added, 'I too testify that he is the Messenger of God.'

"He (ʿUmar) then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, 'Are you not the Messenger of God?' 'Yes, indeed.' 'And are we not Muslims?' 'Indeed yes.' 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes.' 'So why then should we

demean our religion?' 'I', he replied, 'am the servant of God and His messenger. I shall not oppose His order and He will not let me fail.'

"'Umar, God be pleased with him, used to say, 'I have gone on fasting, giving alms, praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day and out of fear for what I said that day, until I felt that I had made up.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him and told him, 'Write: "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent".' Suhayl objected, 'I don't know that (phrase).' 'Write instead, "In Your name, O God."' And 'Alī wrote it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Write down: "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and Suhayl b. 'Amr."' Suhayl then said, 'If I were to testify that you are the Messenger of God, I would not oppose you. Write down your name and that of your father.'

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Write down, "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, with Suhayl b. 'Amr. They have made peace by agreeing to put aside warfare from the people for ten years. During this period, people will be safe and leave one another alone. Provided that if anyone from Quraysh comes to Muḥammad without permission of his guardian, then he must send him back to them. If, however, anyone goes to Quraysh from Muḥammad, they are not to send him back to him. There are to be no secret agreements, bad faith or antagonism between us. Anyone wishing to enter into a pact or agreement with Muḥammad may do so. Anyone wishing to enter into an agreement or pact with Quraysh may do so."'

"At this Khuzā'a promptly announced, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Muḥammad!' And Banū Bakr responded at once, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Quraysh!'

"The agreement went on, 'You shall retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will. Next year we will make way for you, and you and your people may enter and stay for three nights, each rider bearing his own weapons – swords in sheaths, that is, and bringing in no other weapons.'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was writing the document, up came Abū Jandal, Suhayl's son, dragging fetters, having escaped to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When those with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone forth, they had not doubted that there would be victory, because of visions he had seen. Witnessing now the peace being made and their withdrawal being arranged and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was agreeing to on his own behalf, they were all very disappointed and deathly depressed.

"When Suhayl saw (his son) Abū Jandal, he got up, went to him and struck him in the face, grabbing him by the collar and saying, 'The matter was agreed to between us before this fellow came to you!' 'You are right,' he agreed. And so

Suhayl began dragging his son away to return him to Quraysh custody, while Abū Jandal screamed at the top of his voice, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists who will subvert my faith?'

"This increased their sense of depression.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Be patient and control yourself, Abū Jandal! God is preparing relief and succour for you and the others with you who are powerless. We have made a peace pact with the enemy and we and they have sworn to this in God's name; we cannot act falsely with them.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up and walked along beside Abū Jandal, saying, 'Be patient! They're only polytheists, their blood worth no more than that of dogs!' He was keeping the hilt of his sword close to Abū Jandal. ʿUmar used to say, 'I was hoping he would take the sword and strike his father with it! But the man spared his father, and the matter was settled.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the document, he called upon some of the Muslims and some of the polytheists to witness the peace. These men were Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Maḥmūd b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ (he having been a polytheist at that time), ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. It was he, ʿAlī, who wrote out the agreement."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up his tent in unhallowed territory and he would say his prayers on sacred ground. When he had concluded the peace, he set about sacrificing his animals. He then sat and had his head shaved; the man who shaved it that day was Khirāsh b. Umayya b. al-Faḍl al-Khuzāʿī. When the Muslims saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made sacrifice and shaved, they hurried to do the same."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Some men shaved their heads at al-Ḥudaybiyya, while others cut their hair short. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "May God have mercy on those who shaved!" They asked, "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" "May God have mercy on those who shaved," he repeated. "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" they again asked. He said, "And on those who cut it short."

"'They then asked him, "Messenger of God, why did you emphasize God's mercy for those who shaved and not for those who cut their hair short?" He replied, "They did not doubt."'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ stated, "Mujāhid related to me, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sacrificed one camel among the rest that had belonged to Abū Jahl and had a silver ring on its head; he did this to anger the polytheists."

This is the text given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; may God be pleased with him for this account. In the text of al-Bukhārī that will follow there are differences in some places with this text, as you will see, if God so wills it and in Him is all

trust. We will give it complete, making reference to traditions considered both authentic and good for the benefit in them. If God Almighty wills it; our reliance is upon Him, for He is the one from whom to seek help.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khālid b. Makhlid related to us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, who quoted Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Abd Allāh, from Zayd b. Khālid, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and at night it rained hard. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with us. Later he turned to us and said, "Do you know what your Lord said?" We replied, "God and His messenger know best!" He said, "God Almighty said, 'Of my servants, some have awakened to belief in me, others to disbelief. Those who said, "Our rain comes by God's mercy and bounty" are believers in me and disbelievers in the stars. Those who said, "Our rain comes by this or that star" is a believer in the stars and a disbeliever in me.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim gave the tradition in various lines back to al-Zuhrī. From al-Zuhrī the line of transmission went back to ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Abd Allāh from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "῾Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to us, from Isrā῾īl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā᾿, who said, 'You use the word *al-fatḥ*, "the victory", to apply to the *fatḥ* of Mecca. That was certainly a victory. We consider *al-fatḥ* (also) to have been the *bay῾at al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge", that occurred at al-Ḥudaybiyya. There were 1,400 of us with the Prophet (ṢAAS). At al-Ḥudaybiyya there is a well; we went down to it and drained it to the last drop. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard of this, he came there and sat on its edge and called for a vessel of water, with which he performed the ablution. Then he rinsed out his mouth, prayed, and poured it in the well. We then went a little way off, and later it produced for us (the water that) we and our mounts needed.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, regarding the words of God Almighty, "but He made apart from that a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27), (referring to) "the Ḥudaybiyya peace". "Al-Zuhrī stated, 'No victory occurred previously in Islam than was greater than it. (Previously) wherever men had met, there had been fighting; when the truce was made, warfare came to an end and all made peace with one another. When they met they would negotiate with one another when they talked. And no one of any intelligence had Islam explained to him without accepting it. In those two years the same number of men entered as before, or even more.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The proof of what al-Zuhrī said is in the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya with 1,400 men, as Jābir states, and then two years later attended the 'conquest of Mecca' with 10,000."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yūsuf b. ῾Īsā related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, quoting Ḥusayn from Sālim, from Jābir, who said, "At al-Ḥudaybiyya the men were thirsty while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had before him a waterskin

he would use for ablutions. Eventually the men went over to him and he asked what they wanted. They told him that they had no water for ablutions or for drinking and that all that remained was in his waterskin. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then placed his hand in the waterskin and the water began spurting out from between his fingers as if it were a spring." Jābir continued, "So we drank and performed the ablutions." We asked Jābir, "How many were you there that day?" He replied, "Even if we had been 100,000, there would have been enough for us. We were 1,500 men."

Al-Bukhārī also related this *ḥadīth*, as did Muslim, from different lines of transmission, from Ḥuṣayn, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Jābir.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda (who said), "I said to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, 'I have heard that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say that they were 1,400 strong.' Saʿīd replied, 'Jābir told me that they were 1,500 in number who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Abū Dāʾūd traced this tradition back with a line including Qurra, from Qatāda. Al-Bukhārī is alone in thus giving this *ḥadīth*.

Thereafter al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that ʿAmr said, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to us at al-Ḥudaybiyya, "You are the best people on earth!" We were 1,400; and were I able today to see, I would show you the place where the tree stood.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this tradition, as did Muslim, from several lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Layth b. Saʿd related it similarly, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "A slave belonging to Ḥāṭib came to make a complaint about him. He said, 'Messenger of God, Ḥāṭib will surely enter hell-fire!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You have lied; he will not enter hell; he was present at Badr and al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Muslim related this.

Muslim also gave, from several lines of transmission, the following from Ibn Jurayj, "Abū al-Zubayr narrated to me that he heard Jābir say, 'Umm Maysar told me that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he was with Ḥafṣa, "None, if God wills it, will enter hell of those who made the pledge beneath the tree." Ḥafṣa commented, "On the contrary, Messenger of God." He berated her and she then quoted, "All of you are headed there" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then responded, "Almighty God stated, '... and then We will deliver those who are pious, and We will leave there the evil-doers, prostrate'"'" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.72).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh said, "My father related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, who stated, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā said, "The men at the tree were 1,300 in number; Aslam were one-eighth of the *muhājirīn* (there)."'"

Muḥammad b. Bashār included in the chain of authorities Abū Dāʾūd and Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it with ʿAbd Allāh as one of the authorities in the chain. Muslim narrated it from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh, from his father, from Shuʿba. Also from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Abū Dāʾūd, from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, both of them quoting Shuʿba.

Thereafter, al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from Marwān and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who both said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya with some hundreds of his Companions. While he was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put ceremonial necklaces on the sacrificial camels, marked them and entered into the *iḥrām*, the state of ritual consecration."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this tradition. This text will follow complete hereafter.

What is implied here is that all these accounts contradict what Ibn Isḥāq maintained, namely that those at al-Ḥudaybiyya were 700 in number.

He only said this – though God knows best – because he was using his independent scholastic judgement; since there were 70 sacrificial camels, each one of which would have been for ten men, then those making the sacrifice would have been 700 in number.

But there is no need for all of them to have been participating in the offering, nor that all of them were making the pilgrimage. It is established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out one group of them, who included Abū Qatāda. And Abū Qatāda did not adopt the *iḥrām* state until after he had killed that wild donkey which he and his companions ate. They carried some of it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while on the journey, and he asked (those in a state of *iḥrām*), "Did any of you order that he bring the meat or make any gesture towards it?" "No," they said. "Then eat what remains of the donkey," he told them.

Al-Bukhārī had stated, "Shuʿba b. al-Rabīʿ related to us, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, from Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, that his father (Abū Qatāda) related to him, as follows, 'We set off with the Prophet (ṢAAS), the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and my companions went in the *iḥrām* state, but I did not.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ related to him, quoting Shabāba b. Suwār al-Fazārī, quoting Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, "I saw the tree; then I came to it later but did not recognize it."

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, quoting Ṭāriq, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, that he was among those who made the pledge beneath the tree. So we returned to it the following year; but it was obscure to us."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Mahmūd related to him, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh, from Isrāʾīl, from Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said, "I set off as a pilgrim, and

passed by some people praying. 'What *masjid*, place for prayer, is this then?' They replied, 'This is the tree where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge".' I then went over to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and related this to him. Saʿīd then said, 'My father related to me that he was among those who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beneath the tree. He told me, "The following year we had forgotten it and could not find it."'

"Saʿīd then said, 'The Companions of Muḥammad did not know it but you people do! You know best, then!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition, as did al-Thawrī, Abū ʿAwāna and Shabāba, from Ṭāriq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd related to him, quoting his brother, from Sulaymān, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbbād b. Tamīm, who said, "At the battle of al-Ḥarra, people were making a pledge to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala. Ibn Zayd asked, 'What is the pledge the people are making to Ibn Ḥanẓala?' He was told, 'To the death'. He then said, 'I will not pledge that to anyone following the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya with him."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from various lines, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd (who said), "I said to Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, 'What pledge was it you made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya?' 'To the death,' he replied."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states that he sought the pledge three times – from a first group, from a middle group and from a final group.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* there is a *ḥadīth* from Maʿqil b. Yasār that he held the tree branches away from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was receiving their pledge. (It also states there) that the first man to give his pledge that day was Abū Sinān, he being Wahb b. Miḥṣan, brother of ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. The name of Sinān b. Abū Sinān is also given.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Shujāʿ b. al-Walīd that he heard al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad (say), that Ṣakhr b. al-Rabīʿ quoted Nāfiʿ as having said, 'People relate that ʿUmar's son accepted Islam before ʿUmar, yet it was not so. The day of al-Ḥudaybiyya ʿUmar sent (his son) ʿAbd Allāh to bring him a mare of his that was with one of the *anṣār*; this was so that he could ride it to battle. At the time, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was receiving the pledge beneath the tree, though ʿUmar did not know this. ʿAbd Allāh pledged his allegiance, then left. ʿUmar then went with him and made his pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is why people say that ʿUmar's son accepted Islam before ʿUmar did."

"Hishām b. ʿAmmār stated, 'Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, (who said), "Nāfiʿ narrated to me, from Ibn ʿUmar,

that the people who were with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya were dispersed in the shade of the tree. Then they all began looking directly at the Prophet (ṢAAS). He ('Umar) then said (to his son), "'Abd Allāh, go and find out why everyone is looking directly at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He ('Abd Allāh) found them to be making their pledge, and he did so himself. He then returned to 'Umar, who went and pledged allegiance."'" Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* from both these lines of authorities.

An Account of the texts given by al-Bukhārī relating to the pilgrimage of al-Ḥudaybiyya.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his military chronicle as follows, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Sufyān, who said, 'I heard al-Zuhrī when he related this *ḥadīth*. I learned part of it by heart and Ma'mar corroborated me. (The *ḥadīth* quotes) from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of these adding to the account of the other. They both stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya accompanied by some 1,000 men. When he arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put neck decorations and badges on the sacrificial camels, and went out from there as a pilgrim, sending on ahead a scout of his from the Khuzā'a.

"'"The Prophet (ṢAAS) travelled on till he arrived at the stream at al-Ashṭāṭ, where his scout came to him and said, 'Quraysh have gathered a force against you. They have assembled the Abyssinian warriors to fight you. They intend to do battle with you and to keep you away from the *ka'ba*.' He then asked, 'Men, give me your advice. Do you think that I should give way for the children and families of those who wish to keep us from the *ka'ba*? (Better) if they do come and join us, (so) God will have cut out one eye of the polytheists; alternatively, we will leave them defeated.' Abū Bakr replied, 'Messenger of God, you have come forth to visit the *ka'ba*, not intending to do battle or to make war against anyone. Proceed to it, and we will fight anyone who blocks our way.' He responded, 'Then proceed onwards, in God's name.'"'"

This is how al-Bukhārī related this tradition here, stopping at this point and adding nothing more.

In his work, *Kitāb al-Shahādāt*, al-Bukhārī stated, that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma'mar, quoting al-Zuhrī, quoting 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of them corroborating the other's account. They both stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya and proceeded on for part of the way. At that point the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Khālid b. al-Walīd is at al-Ghamīm with cavalry as Quraysh's vanguard. Take a route to the right.' And, by God, Khālid had no awareness of them until he saw their army's dust. He then raced off to inform Quraysh.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) proceeded on until he reached the pass from which the way led down to them. There his camel kneeled down; people said, '*Ḥal! Ḥal!* Get up! Get up!' but it persisted (in kneeling). People said, 'Al-Qaṣwā' (the camel's name) has become refractory!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'No, al-Qaṣwā' has not; that's not in her nature. She has been held back by Him who held back the elephant.' He then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, I'll accept any request that they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified!' He then scolded his camel and it got up.

"He then veered away from Quraysh and halted beyond al-Ḥudaybiyya at a well there that had little water. His men kept taking the water from it, little by little, and soon they had bailed it out completely. Complaint of thirst was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he drew an arrow from his quiver and told them to put it into the water-hole. And, by God, it continued providing them plenty of water until they left.

"While this was going on, Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī arrived, accompanied by others of Khuzā'a. They were the trusted confidants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the people of Tihāma. Budayl said, 'I have just left Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy who have encamped at the Ḥudaybiyya wells; they have with them their milch-camels with their young. They are going to do battle with you and prevent you from reaching the *ka'ba*.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'We have not come to fight anyone. We have come to make a pilgrimage. Quraysh have been consumed by the warfare! It has ruined them. If they want, I will give them respite for a period. They should then give me access to the people. If it (Islam) prevails, and they wish to join into what the people have entered, they could do so. Otherwise, they will have gained in numbers. If they refuse this, then I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, I will battle them in this cause of mine until I perish! Let God's will be done!'

"Budayl said, 'I will inform them what you say.' He then went off to Quraysh and told them, 'We come to you from that man. We have heard him make certain statements which, if you wish, we will relate to you.' Fools among them said, 'We have no need for you to tell us anything of him.' Those of them who were sensible, said, 'Tell us what you heard him say.' He responded by relating to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said.

"'Urwa b. Mas'ūd then arose and said, 'People, am I not as your father?' 'Yes, you are,' they told him. 'And are you not as my children?' 'Yes, indeed,' they replied. 'Do you mistrust me?' he then asked. 'No,' they answered. 'Do you not know that I called to the people of 'Ukāẓ to come forth to war alongside me and that when they put me off I came to you with my family and my son, and all who obeyed me?' 'Yes indeed,' they replied. 'This man', he went on, 'has made an appropriate offer. Accept it, and let me go to see him.' 'Go to him,' they told him.

"When he went to him, he began talking to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said to him approximately what he had told Budayl. ʿUrwa at that point said, 'Hey now, Muḥammad, haven't you considered that you are ruining your people? Have you ever heard of any Arab who ruined his people before yourself? And if that doesn't happen, I swear I don't see faces here; I just see a hodge-podge of people who are quite capable of fleeing and abandoning you.'

"Abū Bakr said to him, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Would we flee and abandon him!'

"ʿUrwa asked, 'Who is that?' 'Abū Bakr,' people told him. ʿUrwa commented, 'Well, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I weren't obligated to you, I'd give you a reply all right!'

"He then went on speaking to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and while doing so would take hold of the latter's beard. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who was standing at the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a sword and a helmet, would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword each time ʿUrwa stretched it out to touch the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saying, 'Keep your hands off the beard of the Messenger of God!' ʿUrwa raised his head and asked, 'And who is that?' 'That is al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba,' they replied. ʿUrwa then said, 'You wretch! I couldn't match your treachery!'

"Before Islam, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba had stayed with a family and had murdered them and taken their property. Thereafter, he came and accepted Islam, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'As for Islam, do accept it. As for money, I've nothing to do with that.'

"Then ʿUrwa began watching closely the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said (later), 'I swear that if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat, the phlegm would fall into the hand of one of them and that person would rub it on to his face or skin. If he gave them a command, they would carry it out immediately. If he performed the ablutions, they would almost kill one another trying to get to the water he had used. If he spoke, they lowered their voices. And they never looked directly at him, out of their reverence for him.'

"ʿUrwa returned to his companions and told them, 'Well, I've gone in to kings, had audiences with Caesar, Chosroe and the Negus and I swear by God I've never seen the subjects of any king venerate him the way Muḥammad's people venerate him! I swear, if he spits, the phlegm always falls into the palm of one of them and he will then rub it on to his face or skin. If he gives them a command, they hurry to carry it out. If he performs the ablutions, they almost kill one another for the water he used. If he speaks, they lower their voices in his presence. And they never look directly at him, out of their veneration for him. He has made you an appropriate offer; accept it.'"

"A man of Banū Kināna then asked to be allowed to go to see him and Quraysh agreed. As he was approaching, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented,

'This is so-and-so; he is from a tribe who much venerate sacrificial camels. Send them out to him.' They were put out for him and people greeted him chanting *labbayk*,[59] 'at Your service', ('O Lord'). When he saw this, he said, 'All praise be to God! It is not right for these people to be kept from the *kaʿba*.' When he returned to his companions, he told them, 'I have seen the sacrificial camels necklaced and decorated with badges, and I don't think they should be kept from the *kaʿba*.'

"One of their men, named Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ, then arose, and said, 'Let me go to him.' 'Do so,' they told him. When he approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is Mikraz; he is an immoral man.' As Mikraz began to speak to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Suhayl b. ʿAmr arrived."

Maʿmar stated, "Ayyūb narrated to me, from ʿIkrima, that when Suhayl b. ʿAmr arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your problem has *suhhila*, "been eased"!'[60]

Maʿmar went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, 'Suhayl then came and said, "Come on now, write an agreement between us." The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked for a document to be brought and said, "Write down: *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (in the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent)". But Suhayl objected, "As for that term *al-raḥmān*, I swear I don't know what that is. Instead, put down *Bismik Allāhumma* (In your name, O God), like you used to write." The Muslims insisted, "By God, we'll write it only *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*!" But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Write down *Bismik Allāhumma*."

"He then said, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has determined.' Suhayl objected, 'By God, if we knew you to be the Messenger of God, we'd not have blocked your access to the *kaʿba*, nor would we have battled you. However, write down "Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'By God, I certainly am the Messenger of God, even though you call me a liar! Write down "Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh."'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "This relates to his having said, 'I'll accept any request they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'on condition that you allow us access to the *kaʿba* so that we may circumambulate it.'

"Suhayl objected, 'By God, we'll not have the Arabs say that we accepted pressure; however, that can happen next year.'

"So he wrote it. Suhayl then said, 'A condition is that any of our men who come over to you, even if in your religion, you will return to us.'

"The Muslims said, 'Goodness gracious, how could someone be returned to the polytheists if he came as a Muslim!'

"While this discussion was in progress Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr came along, dragging his chains, having escaped from below Mecca, and threw himself

59. A liturgy addressed to God by a pilgrim in the *iḥrām* state.

60. The comment makes a pun on the name Suhayl, from a root meaning to make easy, or facilitate.

down among the Muslims. Suhayl said, 'This fellow, Muḥammad, is the first whom I charge you to return to me.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'But we've not completed the agreement yet.' 'In that case,' Suhayl insisted, 'I'll never make a pact with you over anything.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Release him to my custody.' 'I'll not release him to you,' Suhayl said. 'I insist that you release him!' 'That I'll not do,' he replied. Mikraz then said, 'Very well, we'll release him to you.'

"Abū Jandal then exclaimed, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists? I have come to you as a Muslim. Can't you see how I've been treated?' He had been brutally tortured in God's cause.

"'Umar, may God be pleased with him, said, 'So I went to the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and asked, "Are you not truly the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "And are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Why, then, are we so demeaning our religion?" I asked. He replied, "I am the Messenger of God, and I will not disobey him; He is my helper."

"'"Well," I asked, "didn't you tell us how we would come to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it?" "Indeed yes," he replied. "But did I tell you we would do that this year?" "No," I replied. "Well," he said, you will go to it and circumambulate it."'

"'Umar went on, 'I then went down to Abū Bakr and asked, "Abū Bakr, is this man not in truth God's prophet?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "But are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Well", I asked him, "then why are we demeaning our religion?" He replied, "Look, man, he is indeed the Messenger of God and he will not disobey Him; He is his helper. Trust him; he is right."

"'"But', I continued, "didn't he tell us we would go to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it?" "Yes indeed," he agreed. "But did he say you would get there this year?" "No," I said. "You will get there and circumambulate it," he said.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "'Umar went on, 'So I therefore did certain things.'

"He went on, 'And when he had completed the document, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, 'Make your sacrifices and shave.'

"'And, I swear, not a man of them did so until he repeated this three times. When none of them arose, he went in to Umm Salama and told her how the men were acting. Umm Salama said, "Prophet of God, do you like that? Go on out without speaking a word to anyone and sacrifice your camel. Then call for your barber and have him shave your head."

"'He went out and spoke to no one until he had done this. He made his sacrifice and called for his barber who shaved his head. When the men saw this, they arose and made sacrifice. Then some so hurriedly shaved the heads of others that it appeared that they were killing each other in their grief.

"'Then some believing women went to see him. And so God Almighty revealed the words, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to

you as emigrants, then test them ..." and so on to the words, "... the marriage ties of unbelieving women"' (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.10).

"That day ʿUmar divorced two women who had been his while he was a polytheist. Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān married one of these, while Safwān b. Umayya the other.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina. There Abū Baṣīr, a Quraysh man, came to him, he being a Muslim. They (Quraysh) sent two men to retrieve him, referring to the pact that had been made. He gave Abū Baṣīr over to them and they left with him and went to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, where they halted to eat the dates they had. Abū Baṣīr said to one of the two men, 'By God, I can see that that sword of yours is a very fine one.' The other man unsheathed it and said, 'Yes, it is; I swear it is fine. And I've put it to the test often.' Abū Baṣīr asked, 'Do let me look at it.' He then took it from him and struck him until he was dead. The other man fled back to Medina where he ran into a mosque. When he saw him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'That man has seen something dreadful.'

"When the man reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), the man exclaimed, 'I swear by God, my companion has been killed! And I'm as good as dead!' Then Abū Baṣīr arrived and said, 'Prophet of God, God has fulfilled your obligation! You returned me to them, and then God saved me from them.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then commented, 'Woe on his mother! What an inciter to war he would have been if he had had supporters!'

"When Abū Baṣīr heard this, he knew that he would return him to Quraysh, and so he left for the coast."

He went on, "Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr escaped from Quraysh and joined Abu Baṣīr. Thereafter, every man who left Quraysh to accept Islam went and joined Abū Baṣīr. Eventually a group of them were formed. Whenever they heard of a Quraysh caravan heading for Syria, they would attack it, killing the men and taking the goods.

"And so Quraysh sent to the Prophet (ṢAAS) invoking God and family ties (and saying) that if he were to send for those men they would be safe. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send for them. Thereafter, God Almighty revealed, 'And His it was who kept their hands away from you and yours away from them in the valley of Mecca, after He had given you control over them ...' as far as the words, '... their zeal, the zeal of *al-jāhiliyya*'" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII v. 24).

Their "zeal" referred to is the fact that they did not agree that he was the Prophet of God, and that they would not accept the words, "in the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate". And the fact that they denied them access to the *kaʿba*.

This text has additions and advantages that are absent from the narration of Ibn Isḥāq from al-Zuhrī. His account quoted al-Zuhrī from a group of others, including Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Maʿmar and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. All of these quoted al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from Marwān and Miswar, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī gave it at the beginning of his work, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth b. Sa'd, from 'Uqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in relating the narrative.

This is the best chain of authority. For Marwān and al-Miswar were young at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. It is obvious that they acquired it from the Companions, may God be pleased with them, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Sābiq, quoting Mālik b. Mighwal, who said, 'I heard Abū Ḥuṣayn state, "Abū Wā'il said, 'When Suhayl b. Ḥunayf arrived from Ṣiffīn, we went to him asking for news. He replied, "Be sceptical. At the battle of Abū Jandal, if I could have reversed the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I would have done so. And God and His messenger know best. And we never took down our swords from our shoulders for any problem that troubled us without them providing us some solution we could appreciate. Before this affair, that is. Now, we no sooner deal with one contender[61] than another arises before us that we don't know how to deal with."'"'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was travelling one night in the company of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar asked him a question on some matter, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made him no reply. 'Umar asked him again and yet again, receiving no reply from him. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then exclaimed, "'Umar, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! You persisted three times in asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and despite that he would not respond to you."

'Umar related, "So I moved my mount away and advanced to the front of the Muslims, fearing that there was going to be a revelation about me. But immediately I heard someone shouting at me. I responded, 'I was afraid there was about to be a revelation about me.'

"Then I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and greeted him. He said, 'Tonight a *sūra* has been revealed to me that is more pleasing to me than anything over which the sun rises.' He then recited, 'We have made for you a clear victory!'" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.1).

I note that I wrote about the *sūrat al-Fatḥ* fully and sufficiently in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), to God being due all praise and credit. Those wishing to insert that material here should do so.

Chapter: On the Expedition and missions that took place in 6 AH.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, quoting al-Wāqidī, gives a summary of these.

61. The footnote of the Arabic printed text reminds us that the statement comes in the context of the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya over succession to the Caliphate.

In Rabīʿ al-Awwal (or Rabīʿ al-Ākhir) of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan with a force of 40 men to Gharw Marzūq. They fled from him and he encamped at their wells. He sent some men in pursuit of them and took 200 of their camels which he led into Medina.

Also that year was the dispatch of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa, also with 40 men. He made for them on foot, reaching them in the morning while it was still dark. They fled from him into the mountain heights. He captured one of their men and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

And there was his dispatch of Muḥammad b. Maslama with a force of 10 men. The enemy hid from them until night; all the companions of Muḥammad b. Maslama were killed and he escaped, wounded.

That year too there was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Jamūm. A woman of Muzayna called Ḥalīma was captured and she directed them to one of the places where Banū Salīm were. There they captured cattle and sheep and took a number of the polytheists prisoner. Among them was the husband of Ḥalīma; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him to her and released them both.

Also that year was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, in Jumādā al-Uwlā, to Banū Thaʿlaba with a company of 15 men. The bedouin fled from him; he captured 20 of their camels, then returned, having been absent for 4 nights.

Zayd b. Ḥāritha also left in Jumādā al-Uwlā that year for al-ʿĪṣ.

He (al-Wāqidī) also said, "That year the property that had been with Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ was taken; he sought refuge with Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and she took him in."

Ibn Isḥāq related this man's story, about when the camels that were with him were taken, his companions were killed and he fled from them and went to Medina. His wife, Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had emigrated after Badr. When he arrived in Medina, he sought refuge with her, and she took him in following the *al-subḥ* prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him over to her custody and told his men to return the camels taken from him. They did return to him everything taken from him, so that he lost nothing. When he returned with his property to Mecca and gave over to those he owed what was due them from their deposits, he accepted Islam. He then left Mecca and returned to Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his wife to him by the first marriage, not by remarriage or contract, as was related heretofore. The period between his accepting Islam and her having emigrated was six years; it is also said to have been two years.

We have explained that there is no discrepancy between the two accounts, and that his acceptance of Islam came two years after the time when believing women were prohibited to unbelievers. His acceptance of Islam came in 8 AH, in the year of the conquest (of Mecca), not as is told above in the account of al-Wāqidī that it took place in 6 AH. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated that in that year Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī came back from Caesar, who had awarded him money and robes of honour. When he was at

al-Ḥuṣmā he was waylaid by some men of Judhām. They robbed him and left him with nothing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, may God be pleased with him, against them.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to me, from Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba, who said, "ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, went forth with 100 men to a village of Banū Asad b. Bakr. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned that a group of their men wanted to extend help to the Jews of Khaybar. He approached them at night, keeping hidden by day. He (ʿAlī) captured a scout of theirs who confirmed that he had been sent to Khaybar to suggest to them that they hand over to them their dates.'"

Al-Wāqidī, may God be pleased with him, said, "In Shaʿbān of 6 AH there was the expedition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to Dūmat al-Jandal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If they obey, then marry the daughter of their king.' They did accept Islam and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married their king's daughter, Tamāḍur, daughter of al-Isbaʿ al-Kalbīya; she was the mother of Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Shawwāl of 6 AH the expedition of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī against the people of ʿUraynī took place; they had killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had stolen his cattle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Kurz b. Jābir with 20 horsemen to track them down and they retrieved them."

According to texts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, quoting Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, what happened was that a group from ʿUkl and ʿUrayna (from ʿUkl or ʿUrayna, according to one version) went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told him, "Messenger of God, we're really herdsmen, not farmers and we find Medina unhealthy." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to leave with a small herd, in the charge of a shepherd, and told them to live by drinking the milk and urine of the animals. They left and when in the vicinity of al-Ḥarra, they killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), drove off the herd and denied Islam after having accepted it earlier. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them and had their hands and feet cut off and their eyes gouged out; they were left there at al-Ḥarra in that state until they died.

Qatāda stated, "We have heard that thereafter, whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address he would speak in favour of compassion and against exemplary punishment."

This *ḥadīth* is related by one group of scholars from Qatāda, while another group relates it from Anas b. Mālik.

In the account of Muslim, from Muʿāwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, it is stated that a group of ʿUrayna went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and announced their acceptance of Islam and their allegiance. Then smallpox broke out in Medina, and they told him, "Since this smallpox has broken out, we'd like to go

back to the camels." He replied, "Yes; go and be with them." They did then leave, but they killed the herdsmen and left with the camels.

According to that account, he sent some 20 of the *anṣār* in pursuit of them, along with an expert tracker. When they were found, their hands and feet were severed and their eyes were gouged out.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who is quoted as saying, "A group from ʿUkal arrived and accepted Islam. They loathed Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him so. He then said to them, "Then go and join the camels; drink their milk and urine." They then left and lived among them for a time; but eventually they killed the herdsman and stole the camels. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before the sun next arose they had been brought to him. He had iron rods brought and these were heated and used to cauterize them. He then had their hands and feet cut off and they were dumped out in the heat, where they sought water. But they were given none until they died, without protection.

In an account from Anas, he is quoted as saying, "I saw one of them biting the ground in his thirst."

Abū Qalaba stated, "That gang murdered, stole and apostatized after having declared their faith. They fought against God and His messenger (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them, he said, "O God, make them lose their way and make it narrower than a camel's ankle." He went on, "They did lose their way and were captured and brought back. He had their hands and feet severed and their eyes gouged out."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states, "The reason he had their eyes gouged was that they had done this to the herdsman."

Section: Relating to happenings that year, 6 AH.

During that year the obligation of making the pilgrimage was revealed; al-Shāfiʿī asserts that this came at al-Ḥudaybiyya in the words of the Almighty, "and complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.196).

This is why he (al-Shāfiʿī) held the view that the pilgrimage could be deferred and need not be performed as an urgent matter, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not himself make the pilgrimage until 10 AH.

His view is opposed by the other three authorities, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal). According to them, the pilgrimage is to be considered a matter of urgency for all who can make it. They deny that its *wujūb*, "necessity" is deduced from the Almighty's words, "and complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" but maintain that in this verse the requirement is only to finish it once it has been commenced. They prove this through various citations, to

many of which we referred in our explanation of this verse in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God is due all praise and credit.

It was during this year that Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists. This was an exception to the general rule established by the truce agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya that year, namely that members of Quraysh were to be returned to them even if wishing to accept Islam. And so the words of the Almighty were revealed, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to you as emigrants, then test them. God knows best about their faith. If you ascertain them to be believers, then do not return them to the unbelievers. These women are not permitted for marriage to those men, nor are those men permitted for marriage to those women" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.10).

That year also there was the expedition to al-Muraysī῾, during which the *qiṣṣat al-ifk*, the calumnious report, arose which ultimately resulted in the Revelation telling of the innocence of the *umm al-mu᾽minīn*, the mother of the believers, ῾Ā᾽isha, as was related above.

The *῾umra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya occurred that year too, along with the blockade made by the polytheists against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ultimately there resulted peace between them lasting ten years, during which time people lived in security with one another on the understanding that there should be neither fetters used nor swords drawn. Reference is made at length in the appropriate places heretofore; and to God belong all praise and credit. That year the polytheists had control of the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Dhū al-Ḥijja of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth six men in the company of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta῾a to al-Muqawqis, the governor of Alexandria. He also dispatched Shujā῾ b. Wahb b. Asad b. Judhayma, who was present at Badr, to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shammar al-Ghassānī, the king of the Christian Arabs, that is. Also he sent Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, he being Heraclius, emperor of Rome. And he dispatched ῾Abd Allāh b. Hudhāfa al-Sahmī to Chosroe, king of the Persians. Also he sent Salīṭ b. ῾Amr al-῾Āmirī to Hawdha b. ῾Alī al-Ḥanafī, and ῾Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, king of the Christians of Abyssinia, his name being Aṣḥama b. al-Ḥurr."

THE YEAR 7 AH. THE EXPEDITION AGAINST KHAYBAR, EARLY THAT YEAR.

Shu῾ba stated, from al-Ḥākim, who quoted ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā as having said that the words, "and He rewarded them with a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.18), referred to Khaybar.

Mūsā b. ῾Uqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) from al-Ḥudaybiyya, he remained for some 20 days and then went forth to Khaybar; this was what God had promised to him."

Mūsā narrated, from al-Zuhrī, that the conquest of Khaybar was in 6 AH; what is correct is that this occurred early in 7 AH, as stated above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then remained in Medina after his return from al-Ḥudaybiyya for Dhū al-Ḥijja and for part of al-Muḥarram. He then went to Khaybar for the remainder of al-Muḥarram."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, that Marwān and al-Miswar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya and *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (XLVIII) was revealed to him, while he was between Mecca and Medina. In Dhū al-Ḥijja, he came back and stayed until he went forth to Khaybar, making camp at al-Rajīʿ. That is a valley between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān. He was concerned that Ghaṭafān might give them assistance. Next morning he attacked them."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Wāqidī related similarly on the authority of his sheikhs that he went forth (to Khaybar) early in 7 AH."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs stated that Isḥāq said to him, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'Since the conquest of Khaybar took place following al-Muḥarram, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived (back) at the end of Ṣafar.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Wahīb, quoting Khuthaym – Ibn ʿArāk, that is – who quoted his father (as saying) that Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina with a group of his people while the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Khaybar, having left *Sibāʿ* b. *ʿUrfuṭā – of Banū Ghaṭafān,* that is – in command of Medina. He, Abū Hurayra stated, 'When I went to him he was saying the *al-subḥ* prayer, at the first *rakʿa* reciting "*kāf hā yā ʿayn ṣād*" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX), and at the second, the verse, "Woe to those who default" (*sūrat al-Muṭafifīna* (or *al-Taṭfīf*); LXXXIII, v.1). I told myself, "Woe to so-and-so who receives full measure but gives short change!"'"

He went on, "When he had prayed, we went back some distance, as far as Khaybar; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had by then conquered Khaybar. He addressed the Muslims and gave us shares of the booty along with them."

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Wahīb, from Khuthaym b. ʿArak, from his father, from men of Banū Ghifār, who said, "Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina and related this."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina for Khaybar, he went by way of Mt. ʿIṣr, where a mosque was built for him. He then passed by al-Ṣahbāʾ, advancing with his army and eventually making camp at a *wādī* by the name of al-Rajīʿ. He made his camp between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān to prevent the latter from giving assistance to the people of Khaybar. They, Ghaṭafān, had declared their support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have heard that when Ghaṭafān heard about all this, they met together then went forth to give aid to the Jews against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they had travelled for a day, however, they heard from home a rumour regarding their property and families. They thought that their enemy had surprised them and

so they retraced their steps and stayed with their property and families, leaving the way clear between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Khaybar."

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama, from Mālik, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr, that Suwayd b. al-Nu'mān related to him that he went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the year of the attack on Khaybar, eventually reaching al-Ṣahbā', a place below Khaybar. There the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the *al-'aṣr* prayer, then called for provisions to be brought. All that was produced was *al-sawīq*, barley gruel. He ordered it to be diluted and he ate, as did we. He then arose to perform the *al-maghrib* prayer, rinsed out his mouth and prayed, without performing the ablutions.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "We went forth for Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We travelled by night, and one of our men said to 'Āmir, "Āmir, would you recite us a little something you have composed?' 'Āmir was a poet. So he dismounted to recite for our men, saying,

'*Allāhumma*! O God! Without You we would not have been rightly guided,
Nor would we have given alms nor prayed.
We beseech You to forgive what we have done (wrong) – may we be sacrificed for You!
We beseech you to send down Your serenity upon us
To make our feet secure when we meet our enemies.
And if they cry out trying to subvert us, we will refuse.
Already have they loudly sought others' help against us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who is this camel driver?' 'That's 'Āmir b. al-Akwa',' they replied. '*Yarḥamuhu Allāh*! God have mercy on him!' he exclaimed. One of the men then commented, 'Have you then made his martyrdom inevitable, Prophet of God? I wish you had let us enjoy his (company) longer!'

"When we reached Khaybar, we besieged them and were afflicted by great hunger. God then helped us conquer them and that evening – the evening of the conquest – the men lit many fires. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Why all these fires? What do you plan to cook?' 'Meat,' they replied. 'What kind of meat?' he asked. 'The meat of domestic donkeys.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Cast away the meat and break the pots!' One man asked, 'Should we not throw away the meat but wash the pots?' 'Either way,' he replied.

"When the opposing forces were lined up for battle, 'Āmir's sword was short, and when he aimed it at a Jew's leg, the sharp blade swung back and injured his own knee, causing his death.'"

Salama went on, "When they returned from battle, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me (looking sad) and took me by the hand, asking, 'What is wrong?' I replied, 'May my father and my mother be your ransom, they say that ʿĀmir failed.'[62] The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever said that lied; he will receive a double reward.' He raised two fingers, adding, 'He was a warrior whose valour few Arabs have ever matched.'"

Muslim related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl and others, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd.[63]

Ibn Isḥāq related the story of ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ from a different chain of authorities. He stated, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me, from Abū al-Haytham b. Naṣr b. Dahr al-Aslamī, that his father related to him that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while on his way to Khaybar, say to ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ, he being the uncle of Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ, 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and let's hear one of your compositions.' So he did and recited the following,

'*Wallāhi*! By God! Without God we would not have been
rightly guided, nor given alms, nor prayed.
We are a people who, if badly treated or subverted,
resist strongly.
So send down serenity upon us and steady our feet when
we clash with the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May your Lord have mercy on you!' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then said, 'You've made it (his martyrdom) inevitable, Messenger of God! I wish you had let us enjoy him longer!' And he was martyred at Khaybar."

He went on to related the manner of his death much as al-Bukhārī had done.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from Abū Muʿtib b. ʿAmr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached a point overlooking Khaybar, he said, 'Stop!' Then he spoke as follows before his Companions, of whom I was one, 'O God, Lord of the heavens and all they shade, Lord of the earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deceptions, Lord of the winds and what they winnow, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from its evil, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in God's name!'"

This is a very anomalous *ḥadīth* indeed, from this line of transmission.

62. Since he had accidentally caused his own death rather than earned martyrdom at the hand of the enemy.

63. Ibn Kathīr here comments on a grammatical point relating to the Arabic text; his explanation has been judged of too little interest for inclusion here.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from al-ʿUṭāridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Mujmiʿ, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. When we were near it and overlooking it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the men to stop and when they had done so, he said, 'O God, Lord of the seven heavens and what they shade, Lord of the seven earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deception, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from the evil of this village, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in the name of God the most-Merciful and Compassionate!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to attack an enemy, he refrained from doing so until it was morning. If then he heard a call to prayer, he would stop. If he did not, he would attack. We made camp at Khaybar overnight and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rested until morning came, at which time he did not hear a call to prayer. And so he mounted up and we all did so along with him. I rode behind Abū Talḥa, with my foot touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). On the way, we met the Khaybar labourers leaving the village with their hoes and baskets. When they saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they exclaimed, "It's Muḥammad and his army!" They then turned away in flight. At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Hārūn related this to us similarly from Ḥumayd, from Anas."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Khaybar at night. Whenever he reached an enemy at night, he would not attack them until morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out bearing their hoes and baskets and, seeing what they did, they exclaimed, 'It's Muḥammad, by God! Muḥammad and his army!' At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account; Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Abū ʿUyayna, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "We arrived at Khaybar early in the morning as its people were coming out bearing their hoes. When they saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) they called out, 'By God, it's Muḥammad and his army!' At that the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, commented, 'Khaybar is ruined!

It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their square!'"

(Anas went on) "We captured some donkey meat. Then the crier of the Prophet (ṢAAS) called out, 'God and His prophet forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys; it is unclean!'"

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this; Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Khaybar, he found them carrying their hoes as they went out to their fields. When they saw him and the army with him, they fled back into their forts. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadith*; it conforms to the criteria for both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the pre-dawn prayer close to Khaybar and then he said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!'

"They (the people of Khaybar) took various paths in flight. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their families prisoner. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to the lot of Ḍiḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who set her free as her dowry.

"ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb said to Thābit, 'Abū Muḥammad, was it you who asked Anas, "What was it he gave as her dowry?"' Thābit nodded in affirmation to him."

He was alone in relating this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim reported the prohibition of eating the meat of domestic donkeys through various chains of transmission in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū Ṭāhir, the jurist informed us, quoting Khaṭṭāb b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī; Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Abyūridī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from Muslim al-Aʿwar al-Malāʾī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to visit the sick, follow behind funeral processions and respond to the pleas from slaves, and rode on donkeys. At the expeditions to Banū Qurayẓa and to al-Naḍīr, he rode a donkey. At the battle of Khaybar he rode a donkey with a halter made of palm fibre, and his saddle was also made of palm fibre.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this *ḥadīth* in its entirety from ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, and Ibn Māja, from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyān, and from ʿUmar b. Rāfiʿ from Jarīr, all of them quoting Muslim, he being Ibn Kaysān al-Mulāʾī al-Aʿwar al-Kūfī, from Anas. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "We know of this only from his *ḥadīth*; and he is a somewhat weak source."

I comment that what is well established, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhāri from Anas, is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode along with a Companion at Khaybar and that in consequence his pants became pulled up to his thigh. It is obvious that he was riding a horse that day, not a donkey.

It may be that this *ḥadīth*, if true, makes it likely that he did ride donkeys on some days, while he was besieging the enemy. But God knows best.

Al-Bukharī stated that Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Khuzāʿī related to him, quoting Ziyād b. al-Rabīʿ, from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, who said, "Anas looked out at the people on Friday and saw some *taylasam*,[64] some shawls. He commented, 'They look like the Jews of Khaybar!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was lagging behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, suffering from sore eyes. ʿAlī commented, 'How should I lag behind the Prophet (ṢAAS)?' And he joined him.

"And on the night (before) when Khaybar was conquered, he said, 'I will certainly give the banner tomorrow to someone (or the words were: 'may someone tomorrow take the banner') whom God and His messenger love, and it will be conquered by him.' We had hoped for that, but it was said that this referred to ʿAlī. So it was given to him, and Khaybar was conquered."

Al-Bukhārī related (this) also, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from Ḥātim.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "Sahl b. Saʿd narrated to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at Khaybar, 'I will certainly give this banner tomorrow to a man at whose hand God will grant victory, someone who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love.'"

The account continued, "The men spent that night wondering to which of them it would be given. When morning came, they all went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), each hoping that it would be given to him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then asked, 'Where is ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib?' 'Messenger of God,' they told him, 'his eyes are bothering him.' 'Send for him,' he said. They sent to fetch him and he came. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat in his eyes and said a prayer for him. And he was cured, there being pain no longer. He then gave him the banner. ʿAlī asked, 'Messenger of God, shall I battle them until they become as we are?' He replied, 'Continue riding until you reach their main square and dismount there. Then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties to the Almighty therein. And by God, if God gives guidance through you to just one man among them, that will be better for you than for you to have the *ḥumr al-naʿm*, the choice part of the herd!'"

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī both related this from Qutayba.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, and in al-Bayhaqī, there is given a *ḥadīth* of Suhayl b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The

64. A garment worn over the head and shoulders, not unlike a shawl.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. God will grant victory at his hands.'

"ʿUmar commented, 'It was only that day that I loved leadership!'"

"He called for ʿAlī and gave him his mission. He then said, 'Go and fight on till God gives you victory; do not turn aside.' ʿAlī asked, 'How long should I battle the enemy?' He replied, 'Fight them until they bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. If they do that they will have saved their blood from us, along with their possessions, except for what is otherwise justified, their accounting being with God.'"

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām and Jaḥsh b. al-Muthannā said that Isrāʾīl related to them, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIṣma al-ʿIjlī, (who said), "I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, may God be pleased with him, say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the banner and waved it. Then he asked, "Who will take it properly?" Someone came and said, "I will." He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), told him to leave. He did so, and another man came up. He told him too to leave. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "By Him who honoured the face of Muḥammad, I shall certainly give it to a man who will not retreat." He then said, "Come here, ʿAlī."

"'He then left and eventually God conquered Khaybar and Fadak at his hands, and he brought in its dates and dried meat.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is fair, though somewhat strange.

This man ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIṣma is also known as "Ibn Aʿṣam" and similarly by the honorific Abū ʿAlwān al-ʿIjlī. Originally from al-Yamāma, he lived in Kufa. Ibn Muʿīn classified him as a reliable source. Abū Zurʿa said, "He's a fairly good source." Abū Ḥātim said, "A sheikh". Ibn Hibbān included him among reliable sources, saying, "He makes many errors." He also included him among weak sources. He commented, "He relates about well-established matters in ways dissimilar to those of the fully reliable authorities, so that one suspects that his reports may be imaginary or invented."

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as saying, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from his father, from Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ, may God be pleased with him, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to several of the forts at Khaybar. He engaged in battle, but then returned, there having been no conquest despite his efforts.

"'He then sent ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, and he battled and returned without conquest. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow I shall certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His messenger love and who loves God and His messenger. God will grant victory at his hands; and he is not someone who retreats."'"

Salama stated, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, whose eyes were bothering him that day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat in his eyes, then said, 'Take the banner and carry on with it until God grants you victory.'

"He went forth with it, travelling fast and with confidence, and we followed directly after him. Eventually he planted the banner in a pile of rocks beneath a fort. A Jew looked down from the fort and asked, 'And who are you?' He replied, 'I am ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib!' The Jew then said, 'I swear by what was revealed to Moses, you are victorious!' And he did not return until God granted victory at his hands!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿUṭāridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, as having said, "My father narrated to me as follows, 'At the battle of Khaybar, Abū Bakr took the banner but returned without having been given victory. Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed, and the army came back.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Tomorrow I will certainly award my banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will not return until God grants him victory." We slept well that night, confident that the next day there would be victory. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer and called for the banner. He arose and then not one among us with good standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not hope that he would be that man. I myself was presumptuous enough to hold my own head high in expectation, because of my standing with him. He called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, whose eyes were bothering him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped them and then gave him the banner. And victory was granted him.'"

(The narrator went on) "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda say, 'My father related to me that he was a friend of Marḥab.'"[65]

Yūnus stated that Ibn Isḥāq said, "The first of the forts at Khaybar to be defeated was that of Nāʿim. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was dropped from it upon him and it killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Musayyab b. Maslama al-Azdī, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda related to him, from his father who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) might well be affected by a bad headache and spend a day or two without going outside to the people. When he made camp at Khaybar he suffered a severe headache and did not come out to the men. Abū Bakr took up the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and then set out to battle where he fought fiercely. He then returned. ʿUmar next took it, fought a battle even more fierce than the first and then he returned. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he said, 'Tomorrow I shall

65. The reference is to a Jew who was champion of a fort at Khaybar. See the *ḥadīth* reported hereafter, pp.254 et seq.

certainly give it to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will take it (Khaybar) by force.'

"ʿAlī was not present. The men of Quraysh there had aspirations for it, each one hoping to receive it. Next morning ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came riding a camel of his. He made it kneel nearby. He was suffering from an eye ailment and had bound his eye with a piece of striped cloth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's wrong?' He replied, 'My eyes became sore after you left.' He told him, 'Come close to me.' He then spat in ʿAlī's eye and he suffered no pain from it till he left.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the banner and he took it and left. He was wearing a purple and red outer garment, the nap of which had worn off. When he reached Khaybar, Marḥab, the commander of the fort, came out, wearing on his head a Yemenī helmet with a stone with a hole in it the size of an egg. He was reciting the following,

> 'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
> well tested.
> When lions advance and rage, their prey retreats from
> the victors' attack.'

"ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, responded with the verse,

> 'I am he whom my mother named "Ḥaydar", "lion", like
> those of the forests, extremely fierce
> I'll give you full measure for measure.'"

He went on, "They exchanged two blows and ʿAlī then surprised him with a blow that split the stone, and his helmet and his head, right down to the molars. He then conquered the city."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related from ʿAbbād b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr, from Ḥakīm b. Jubayr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the story of the dispatch first of Abū Bakr, then of ʿUmar at Khaybar, and then the mission of ʿAlī at whose hands victory came. In his text there are unsatisfactory and strange elements. His chain of transmission includes persons accused of Shīʿī sympathies. But God knows best.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī, the following being the wording of the latter, related through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father who narrated a long account in which he told of their return from the expedition against Banū Fazāra. He said, "We remained there only three days before going forth to Khaybar. ʿĀmir went out and began to recite,

> 'By God, had it not been for you, we would not have
> been rightly guided, nor given alms nor prayed.
> By your grace, we have not failed; so send down Your
> serenity upon us
> And make our feet firm when we meet the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked who it was speaking. 'That is ʿĀmir,' they said. 'May your Lord forgive you!' he then said. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made such special mention of any person without him being martyred. ʿUmar, mounted on a camel, commented, 'I wish you had let us go on enjoying ʿĀmir!'

"When we approached Khaybar, Marḥab came out, brandishing his sword and reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"ʿĀmir, may God be pleased with him, went out to challenge him, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am ʿĀmir, fully armed, a hero
brave.'

"They exchanged two blows, then Marḥab's sword struck into ʿĀmir's shield. He charged vigorously at him, and he, ʿĀmir, retreated and struck his own ankle, causing a fatal wound."

Salama stated, "I then left and came across a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'ʿĀmir's work was all in vain; he killed himself!'

"When I approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I was weeping and he asked, 'What's wrong with you?' I replied, 'They say that Āmir's work was in vain.' 'And who said that?' he asked. 'Some of your Companions,' I replied. 'They lied,' he said, 'he shall have a double reward.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked that ʿAlī, who was suffering from sore eyes, be sent for and said, 'I shall certainly give the banner today to a man who loves God and His messenger.' I returned with ʿAlī, leading him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat into his eye and he was cured. He gave him the banner. Marḥab came forth, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"ʿAlī went out to challenge him, saying,

'I am he whom my mother named "Haydar", "lion"; like
those of the forests, fearsome in aspect.
I'll give you full measure for measure.'

"He then struck Marḥab and split open his head, killing him. Then the conquest came."

Thus according to this text it was ʿAlī who killed Marḥab, the Jew, God damn him!

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Ashqar related to him that Qābūs b. Abū Ẓubyān related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAlī,

who said, "When I had killed Marḥab, I brought his head to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī that the man who killed Marḥab was Muḥammad b. Maslama. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated the same, as follows, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl, of Banū Ḥāritha, quoted from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, 'Marḥab the Jew came forth from the fortress at Khaybar reciting the following,

"Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well tested,
Sometimes I thrust and at others I strike, like lions
charging in fury.
Those I defend are indeed under protection and shall
not be approached."

"'Kaʿb b. Mālik responded to him as follows,

"Khaybar knows that I am Kaʿb, the problem-solver,
brave and determined.
When warfare arises and the battle rages, I wield a
sharp sword that pierces like lightning.
He will tread you underfoot until the brave are
humbled, by the hand of a faultless warrior."'

"As Marḥab recited (other) verses, he asked, 'Will anyone engage me in combat?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will do this?' Muḥammad b. Maslama responded, 'I will, Messenger of God! It is up to me to seek revenge, for they killed my brother yesterday.' He told him, 'Go at him! O God, give him aid against him!'

"When they drew near one another a brittle old tree was there between them and each of them began using it to avoid his adversary. Whenever one of them took refuge behind it, the other would cut the wood with his sword to get at the other. Eventually the tree stood branchless, like a man. Marḥab then attacked Muḥammad b. Maslama and struck him. He met the blow with his shield and Marḥab's sword cut into it and remained wedged there. He then withdrew it, and Muḥammad struck at him until he had killed him."

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, in similar terms. Ibn Isḥāq went on to state, "Some people say that Muḥammad b. Maslama recited the following verses as he struck him,

'Khaybar knows that I am a warrior; sweet if I wish, or
a deadly poison!'"

Al-Wāqidī related it thus from Jābir and other early authorities, to the effect that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who killed Marḥab.

Al-Wāqidī went on to recount that Muḥammad b. Maslama cut off both of Marḥab's legs and that Marḥab asked him, "Finish me off!" He replied, "Taste death as did Maḥmūd b. Maslama!" Then ʿAlī passed by and cut off his head.

The two men later disputed over his possessions before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who gave to Muḥammad b. Maslama his sword, his spear and his helmet along with its inner lining. Inscribed on his sword were the words, "This is the sword of Marḥab; he who tastes it dies."

Ibn Isḥāq then recounted that Marḥab's brother Yāsir next came out, asking, "Who will do combat with me?"

Hishām b. ʿUrwa claimed that al-Zubayr went out to fight him and Umm Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, asked, "Messenger of God, will he kill my son?" He replied, "On the contrary, your son will kill him, if God so wills it." The two men then fought and al-Zubayr killed him.

If anyone thereafter commented to al-Zubayr, "By God, your sword was really sharp that day!" he would reply, "I swear by God, it wasn't sharp. I just hit him really hard."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, from one of his people, from Abū Rāfiʿ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "We went forth with ʿAlī to Khaybar; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out with his banner. As he approached the fort, its people came out to him and he battled them. One of them, a Jew, struck him and knocked his shield from his hand. ʿAlī picked up the gate of the fort and used it to defend himself. It stayed in his hand as he fought, until God (ṢAAS) granted him victory. He then threw it aside. And I, with seven others, myself being the eighth, tried hard to turn that door over, but we could not do it!"

There seems some vagueness about this report, as well as an obvious gap in *its chain of transmission.*

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm gave an account through Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqīr, from Jābir, that ʿAlī carried the gate at Khaybar so that the Muslims could climb over it and conquer the town. The account states that afterwards 40 men tried but could not carry it!

There is weakness in this *ḥadīth*. There is a further weak account, from Jābir, that states, "Then 70 men joined together and it was all they could do to replace the gate."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, who said, "I saw a scar from a blow on Salama's leg. I asked him, 'Abū Muslim, what blow caused this?' 'This is a wound I got at Khaybar. People told one another, "Salama was wounded!" Then I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he blew on it three times. And I've never suffered from it right up till now.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ḥazim, from his father, from Sahl, who said, "On one of his expeditions, the Prophet (ṢAAS) met and battled the polytheists. Then each side returned to their camp. Among the Muslims there was one man who tirelessly chased after

all and sundry of the polytheists, striking at them with his sword. Someone said to him, 'None of us has accomplished so much as so-and-so has.' He replied, 'He will go to hell.' They asked him, 'Well, if he's going to hell, which of us will go to heaven?' One of the men said, 'I'm going to follow him. Whether he hurries or slows down, I'll be with him.' Eventually the man was wounded and wanted to die. So he placed the hilt of his sword in the ground and its tip between his nipples and bore down on it, thus killing himself.

"So the men (who had followed him) came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and exclaimed, 'I do bear witness that you are the Messenger of God!' 'What's up with you?' he asked him and the man told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A man may perform actions like those who belong in paradise and seem to people to belong in paradise, yet be headed for hell, or he may perform actions such as those of the inhabitants of hell and be headed for paradise.'"

He related this also from Qutayba, from Yaʿqūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl. That account is the same, or almost so.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī (who said), "Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed me that Abū Hurayra said, 'We took part at Khaybar, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, referring to a man among his force who was pretending allegiance to Islam, "This man belongs in hell." When the fighting commenced, that man fought very fiercely and received many wounds, so that some people began to have their doubts. The man suffered much pain from his wounds and put his hand into his quiver, took out an arrow and cut his throat with it. Some of the Muslims hurried off and said, "Messenger of God, God has fulfilled what you said! So-and-so has committed suicide!" He then said, "Get up, so-and-so and so-and-so and announce, 'No one but a believer will enter paradise; and God aids the faith even through an evil man!'"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī the story of the black slave upon whom God bestowed faith and martyrdom within the same hour. Ibn Lahīʿa narrated it similarly from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa. Both stated, "There was a black Abyssinian slave who lived in Khaybar who cared for a herd belonging to his master. When he saw that the people of Khaybar were taking up their weapons, he asked them, 'What are you going to do?' 'We are going to do battle with that man who claims to be a prophet.'

"This reference to a prophet had an impact upon him and he took his herd and approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him, 'To what do you invite?' He replied, 'I invite you to Islam, to bear witness that there is no god but God, that I am the Messenger of God, and that you will not worship any other than God.' The slave then asked, 'What will I get if I bear witness to that and believe in God?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Paradise, if you die believing that.'

"The slave accepted Islam and said, 'Prophet of God, this herd I have is my security.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Drive it out of our camp and

throw stones at it. God will discharge your security from you Himself.' He did so, and the herd returned to its Jewish master, who realized that his slave had accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and addressed his men."

He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* of him having given the banner to ʿAlī, the approach of the latter to the fort of the Jews, and his killing of Marḥab. (The account states) "Also killed (while) with ʿAlī was that black slave, who was borne by the Muslims to their camp and brought into the main tent. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked inside the tent, then turned to his Companions and commented, 'God has honoured this slave and led him to good. Islam was truly within his heart. At his head I saw two of the *houris* of paradise.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī narrated through Ibn Wahb, from Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ, from Ibn al-Hādd, from Shuraḥbīl b. Saʿd, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the expedition to Khaybar. A raiding party went out and they captured a man who was shepherding a herd."

He went on to relate roughly the same story of the black slave and said of him, "He died a martyr and had not made a single prayer prostration to God!"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated that Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh related to him, quoting Abū Bakr al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Messenger of God, I'm a man who is black in colour, ugly of face and who owns nothing. If I fight those people until I'm killed, will I enter paradise?" "Yes," he replied.

(Anas's account continues that) "the man then went forth and battled until he was killed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to his body, he said, 'God has made your face handsome, sweetened your smell and increased your wealth.' Then he said, 'I saw his two wives, *houris*, competing to take off his gown; they were entering the space between his skin and his gown.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated through Ibn Jurayj as follows, "ʿIkrima b. Khālid informed me, from Ibn Abū ʿAmmār, from Shaddād b. al-Hādd, that a bedouin came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), expressed his belief in him and followed him, saying, 'I will go forth with you.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave him into the charge of one of his Companions. At Khaybar the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received booty and divided it up, including a portion for this man which he gave to the Companions of this man for he had been guarding their rear. When he came to them they gave it to him. He asked, 'What is this?' They replied, 'The portion assigned to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He responded, 'It was not for this that I followed you! I followed you so that I might be shot right here.' And he pointed with an arrow at his throat. 'So I would die and enter heaven!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then said, 'If you keep trust with God, he will keep trust with you.'

"They then arose to battle the enemy. Later he was carried in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he had been struck with an arrow where he had pointed! The

Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, 'That is really him?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'He kept trust with God, so God kept trust with him.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then gave his own gown for him to be wrapped in, laid out his body in front and prayed over him. Part of his prayer that is known includes, 'O God, this is your servant; he went forth in your cause and was killed a martyr. I bear witness for him'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Suwayd b. Naṣr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jurayj, in similar words.

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took possession of the properties one by one as he conquered one fort after the next. The first of their forts conquered was Nāʿim. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was tossed down on him and it killed him. The next fort was al-Qamūṣ, that of Banū Abū al-Ḥaqīq."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired captives from them. These captives included Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. She had been the wife of Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥaqīq. Also captured were two of her female cousins. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose Ṣafiyya for himself; Diḥya b. Khalīfa had asked him for her; when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her for himself, he gave to Diḥya her two cousins.

The captives taken at Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The men were eating the flesh of donkeys, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued a proclamation against their doing this.

Al-Bukhārī devoted his attention to this and reported the prohibition from excellent sources.

Its prohibition has been accepted by most scholars both early and later; all four of the "orthodox Imāms" prohibited its consumption.

However, some early authorities, including Ibn ʿAbbās, maintained that eating it was permissible. These scholars offered varying reasons for discounting the *aḥādīth* that have come down prohibiting it. For example, it was suggested that the prohibition came because they were using the donkeys for transport. Another reason given was that the prohibition related to the fact that the donkeys were booty that had not yet been divided up into the (required) fifths. It is also suggested that it related to the donkeys eating excrement, dung that is.

The truth is that it was prohibited because of its nature. Authentic evidences relate that the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "God and His prophet prohibit your eating the meat of donkeys; it is unclean."

Affirmation of this is to be found in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Sallām b. Kirkira related to me, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh – Jābir himself not having been present at Khaybar – that

when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited people from consuming donkey meat, he also allowed them to eat horsemeat."

The provenance of this is secure in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from Jābir, may God be pleased with him. He said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited eating the meat of donkeys and gave permission for horses (to be eaten)."

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to us, from Makḥūl, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prohibited four things that day: intercourse with pregnant women, eating domestic donkeys, eating carnivorous animals, and selling the spoils of war before their (official) allotment."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking proper transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Abū Marzūq, Najīb's freed-man, from Ḥanash al-Ṣanʿānī, who stated, 'We were on an expedition with Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*, to *al-Maghrib*, North Africa. One of the towns there, named Jirba, was conquered and a crier stood among us and announced, 'I am telling you only what I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tell us at Khaybar. He stood up among us and said, "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to mingle his sperm with that of others" – referring to intercourse with pregnant captive women. "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to have intercourse with a captive woman before determining that she is without child. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to sell any spoils of war before its allotment. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to ride any mount from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is exhausted. Nor is it permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to wear any clothing from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is worn out."'"

Abū Dāʾūd narrated this similarly through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Ḥafṣ b. ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, from Ibn Wahb, from Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb, from Rabīʿa b. Salīm, from Bishr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit in abbreviated form. He characterized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, "good".

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, it is stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar prohibited the meat of domestic donkeys, and also the eating of garlic.

Ibn Ḥazm narrated, from ʿAlī and Shurayk b. al-Ḥunbal, that they accepted the prohibition of onions and raw garlic. What al-Tirmidhī transmitted from them was that (use of them) constituted *al-karaha*,[66] a practice considered repugnant. But God knows best.

66. That is, something for which there was disapproval but not prohibition.

People speak of the *ḥadīth* given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh and al-Ḥasan, sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, from their father, from his father ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited at Khaybar *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*, "temporary marriage", and (eating) the meat of domestic donkeys.

This wording in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections comes down through Mālik and others, from al-Zuhrī. This *ḥadīth* requires that the prohibition of *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* applied only to the battle at Khaybar.

This is problematic, from two viewpoints. One is that at the battle of Khaybar there were no women to be so married, and their having captive women obviated temporary marriage.

The second problem is that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, related from al-Rabīʿ b. Sabra, from Maʿbad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to engage in *al-mutʿa* at the time of the conquest (of Mecca), but then prohibited it before he had left Mecca, saying, "God has prohibited it until Judgement Day."

According to this, then he would have prohibited it, then permitted it and then for it to have been again prohibited. This would have required there to have been abrogation twice. And that is unlikely.

Al-Shāfiʿī, moreover, stated that he knew of nothing that had ever been permitted then prohibited, then permitted and again prohibited, apart from *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*. And the only reason he made the exception for this was because he was relying upon both these traditions referred to above.

Al-Suhaylī and others quote scholars who claim that it was permitted three times and prohibited three times. Others state that this happened four times. This is most unlikely. But God knows best.

The authorities differ as to when was the first time it was prohibited. Some say at Khaybar, others at the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, others in the year of the conquest (of Mecca); this latter seems the most likely. Others say it was first prohibited at Awṭās (a time close to that of the alternative preceding it); others say at Tabūk, others at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage".

Abū Dāʾūd related this.

Some scholars refute the *ḥadīth* related from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, by saying that it contains *taqdīm wa taʾkhīr*, "an inaccurate sequencing of time".

The best alternative seems to be what the Imām Aḥmad related, as follows, "Sufyān related to us, from al-Zuhrī, from al-Ḥasan and ʿAbd Allāh, the two sons of Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥanafiyya) from their father. Ḥasan was the more convinced of the two that ʿAlī had said to Ibn ʿAbbās, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and eating the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.'"

They said, "The narrator believed that the mention of Khaybar was the time and place for the prohibition of both; that was not so, however, since it was one only for the prohibition of donkey meat. There is no time and place mentioned

in fact for *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*. He included this only because ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, learned that Ibn ʿAbbās had permitted the *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and the meat of donkeys, as is well known. And the Commander of the Believers, (ʿAlī) therefore told him, 'You are misguided. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.'"

He joined both together in this prohibition for him so that he would retract what he had considered permissible.

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, may God encompass him in his mercy, tended to accept this explanation.

Nevertheless, Ibn ʿAbbās did not retract the permission he had given regarding donkey meat and temporary marriage. He attributed the prohibition against eating donkeys to the fact that they were their baggage animals. As for temporary marriage, he only rendered this permissible in case of need while travelling. As for the prohibition, that referred to when the circumstances involved indulgence of wealth or lust. Various of his associates and followers have adopted his position. This was well known to be the view of the scholars of Hijāz up to the time of Ibn Jurayj and beyond.

There is an account relating that Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal took the same position as Ibn ʿAbbās; however, this account is weak.

Certain persons who adhere to the view of permissibility try to relate an account from the Imām (Aḥmad) to the same effect. This also is inauthentic, but God knows best. The text relating to this is in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. And help is sought through God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then began advancing slowly upon their forts and properties. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him by someone of Aslam that Banū Sahm of Aslam came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have fought hard and yet we have nothing.' They had not found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) able to give them anything. He then said, 'O God, You well know their state and that they have no strength and that I have nothing to give them. Open up before them the wealthiest of their fortresses and give them sufficiency mainly in fats and food.' Next morning the fort of al-Saʿb b. Muʿādh was conquered for them. And no fort in Khaybar was wealthier or had richer food than it."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Various fortresses having been conquered and certain properties acquired, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived finally at their forts called al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim; those were the last of the Khaybar castles to be conquered. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the enemy there for some ten days."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Their rallying cry at Khaybar was, *Yā Manṣūr! Amit! Amit!* 'O Victor! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Burdayda b. Sufyān al-Azdī al-Aslamī related to me, from some men of Banū Salama, from Abū al-Yusr Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, who said, 'I was

with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar one evening when a herd of sheep belonging to a Jew passed by, heading for their forts which we were besieging. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Which man will feed us from these sheep?' I replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then do so,' he told me.

"So I went out, racing as hard as I could, like an ostrich. When he saw me do this, and was about to head back, he exclaimed, 'O God, let us enjoy him long!' When I had reached the sheep, the first ones had already entered their fort. But I caught two ewes from their rear, tucked them under my arms and sped back, carrying them as if I bore nothing. I threw them down before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they slaughtered and ate them both."

Abū al-Yusr was one of the last of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to die. He would weep when telling this *ḥadīth*, and then say, "And they were given my whole life to enjoy; I was the last of them."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) as follows, "Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Iṣbahānī informed us, quoting ʿAbū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī, quoting Saʿdān b. Naṣr, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (or from Abū Qalāba) who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advanced on Khaybar, the fruit was unripe. But the men raced for it, became feverish and complained to him of this. He told them to cool water in pots and then to have this poured over them when dawn came and to repeat the name of God. They did this and it was as though they had been hobbled and then had their cords removed.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfiʿ with an uninterrupted line of transmission. According to it the phrase 'between the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿashā* times for prayer' was used."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā and Bahz both related to him as follows, "Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'My share of the booty at Khaybar was a leather bag of lard. I gripped it tight and said, "I'll not give any of this to any one!" Then I turned and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiling.'"

Aḥmad said, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'While we were besieging the fortress at Khaybar, someone threw down at us a leather bag containing lard. So I went and took it. Then I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I felt ashamed.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Muslim also related it, from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from ʿUthmān b. al-Mughīra.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Someone whose word I do not doubt related to me from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal al-Mazanī as follows, 'At Khaybar, I captured a leather bag of lard. I carried it around my neck and went off to my mount and my companions. The man placed in charge of the booty then came up to me and grabbed the side of it, saying, "Come on! Not till it's divided up among the Muslims." I replied, "No, by God, I'll not give it to you!" He then began pulling

the bag away from me. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw us while we were behaving this way, and he smiled and laughed. He then told the booty-master, "Let him have it." So he released it and I went off with it to my mount and to my companions and we ate it.'"

Most scholars refer to this *ḥadīth* in relation to Imām Mālik's prohibition of the use of the fat from animals sacrificed by Jews and captured by Muslims. This is because God Almighty stated, "and the food of those to whom the Book came is permissible for you" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.5). He (Imām Mālik) said, "This is not food for them (the Jews)." (His opponents, however,) cite this *ḥadīth* against him. Nevertheless, there are doubts about this *ḥadīth*. This lard could well have been permitted to them. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* was also cited to show that food is not subject to the division into fifths. This is supported by what Imām Abū Dāʾūd related, as follows, "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to us, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya, quoting Isḥāq al-Shaybānī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Mujālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, 'I asked, "Didn't you divide up (captured) food into the fifths during the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He (*sic*) replied, "We did capture food at Khaybar. People would come and take of it what they needed, then leave."'"

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this; the *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, "good".

An Account of the Story of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub al-Naḍriyya, may God be pleased with her.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forced the Jews of Banū al-Naḍīr to vacate Medina, as was related above, most of them went to Khaybar. Their number included Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub and Banū Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who were persons of wealth and prestige among their people. Ṣafiyya at that time was a child, not yet having reached maturity. Thereafter, when she was ready for marriage, it was arranged to her cousin. When she was conducted to him after the wedding, he consummated the marriage. Their married life continued for some time. Then in her sleep she saw the moon descend from the sky in her lap. She related this vision to her cousin, who slapped her face and said, "So you yearn to have the 'king of Yathrib' as your husband, do you?"

Soon thereafter the arrival and siege of them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred and Ṣafiyya was among those captured, while her husband was killed.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her and she became part of his household, to which she now belonged, as will be related. After ascertaining that she was not pregnant and not menstruating he consummated marriage with her and discovered the mark made on her cheek by her husband's blow. He asked her about this, and she related to him what she had seen in those wonderful visions. May God be pleased with her and grant her pleasure.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣubḥ*, morning prayer, while it was still dark, near Khaybar. He then said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy who has been warned when we can dismount in their open square!'

"Then the enemy hurried to escape along the alleyways and the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their children captive. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to Diḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who gave her her freedom as her dowry."

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd which has several lines of transmission from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam related to him, from Shuʿba, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, who said, "I heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) took Ṣafiyya captive and then gave her her freedom and married her.' Thābit asked Anas, 'Did he not give her a dowry?' He replied, 'He gave her herself as dowry, rewarding her her freedom.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. Dāʾūd related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, as did Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, quoting Wahb (who said), "Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhrī informed me, from ʿAmr, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'We came to Khaybar. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered the fortress, mention was made to him of the beauty of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub. Her husband had been killed, she still being a bride. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then chose her for himself. He left with her, travelling in her company until he reached Sudd al-Ṣahbāʾ. She was then free of her menses and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, he made some *ḥays*, dates with butter, on a small leather mat. Then he told me, "Make an invitation to those around you." And this was the wedding banquet given for Ṣafiyya. We then left for Medina. I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) make a cushion behind himself for her with his cloak and would then sit upon his mount. He would bend his knee and she would put her foot on it, then mount up.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr (who said), "Ḥumayd narrated to me that he heard Anas say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed between Khaybar and al-Madd for three nights, Ṣafiyya being brought to him for consummation of their marriage. I invited the Muslims to his wedding banquet. There was no bread or meat; all he did was order Bilāl to get some leather dishes in which he threw some dates, sour milk cheese and butter. The Muslims asked, "Is she to be considered one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, 'mothers of the believers', or someone taken captive?" They replied, "If he keeps her veiled, then she is

one of the former; if not, then of the latter." When he rode on, he placed her behind himself and put a veil over her.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this.

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ῾Abd al-῾Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "Ṣafiyya went to Diḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū Dā᾽ūd also stated, "Ya῾qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to us, saying, 'Ibn ῾Aliyya related to us, from ῾Abd al-῾Azīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, who said, "The captives were gathered" – meaning at Khaybar – "and Diḥya arrived and said, 'Messenger of God, award me a slave girl from amongst the captives.' He replied, 'Go along and select one.' He selected Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy. Then a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Prophet of God, you gave to Diḥya' (Ya῾qūb added, 'Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyay, a lady of Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr') 'someone for whom only you are appropriate.' He replied, 'Have her brought.' When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, 'Take a slave girl from the captives other than her.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set her free and married her."'"

He gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ῾Alīya.

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhilī related to him, quoting Bahz b. Asad, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "A lovely slave girl fell to the lot of Diḥya, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought her for a price of seven head of cattle. He then gave her over to Umm Salama to prepare her." Ḥammād (b. Salama) said, "And I believe he said, 'And she was readied in her house, Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy.'"

Abū Dā᾽ūd alone gave this *ḥadīth.*

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered al-Qamūs, the fort of Banū Abū al-Huqayq, brought to him were Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub and another girl. Bilāl, who had brought them both, had gone past some of the Jews who had been killed. When the woman with Ṣafiyya saw them she screamed, slapped her face and poured dirt over her head. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, 'Get that she-devil away from me!' He ordered Ṣafiyya to be brought to him and she was placed behind him and he threw his cloak over her. And so the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told Bilāl, so I have been informed, after having seen how that Jewess had behaved, 'Have you lost your sense of compassion, Bilāl, taking the two women past their dead menfolk!'

"While still the bride of Kināna b. al-Rabī῾ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Ṣafiyya had seen a vision in her sleep that a moon dropped into her lap. She told her husband of her vision and he replied, 'That's only because you desire the "king of Hijāz", Muḥammad!' He then gave her a slap on her face that blackened her eye. The mark of this was still upon her when she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He asked her how it had happened, and she told him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ brought to him; he was in charge of the Banū al-Naḍīr treasury. When asked about it, Kināna denied knowledge of its whereabouts. Then there was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a Jew who said, 'I saw Kināna circle around the treasure early every morning.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Kināna, 'Do you realize that I'll kill you if we find it with you?' 'Yes,' he replied. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their treasure be dug up and some of it was brought out. He then asked Kināna the whereabouts of the rest, but he refused to hand it over. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwām to go to him, saying, 'Torture him until you root out what he has.' Al-Zubayr then repeatedly struck fire on his chest until he was close to death. Finally, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pushed him over to Muḥammad b. Maslama, who cut off his head in revenge for the loss of his brother, Maḥmūd b. Maslama."

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. When they were sure that all was lost, they asked him to let them leave, and to spare their blood. He did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had seized all the wealth of al-Shiqq, al-Niṭāt and al-Katība, and all their forts, except for those two. When the people at Fadak heard what had happened to the others, they wanted the same. So they sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to let them leave and to spare their blood on the understanding that they would leave their possessions for him. He agreed. One of the intermediaries between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and them in this matter was Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha.

"When the people of Khaybar surrendered on this agreement, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to grant them a half share in the properties, saying, 'We know more about it than you do, and we'll make it produce more.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made peace with them on this basis of half shares, provided that, 'If we wish to expel you, we will do so.' He made a similar arrangement with the people of Fadak."

Section: On the Conquest of their Forts and the Division of their Land.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When the Jews from the forts of Nāʿim and of that of al-Ṣaʿb b. Muʿādh went to that of al-Zubayr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged them for three days. Then one of the Jews, a man named ʿAzāl, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, will you give me protection if I direct you to what refreshes the people of al-Naṭāt and then proceed against those of al-Shiqq? Those at al-Shiqq are deathly afraid of you.'"

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give this man protection for his family and possessions, and the Jew then told him, 'If you were to stay a whole month besieging them, they would not care. They have underground springs to which they can go out at night and drink from and then return to their fortress.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that their springs be cut off and the Jews came out and fought most fiercely. A number of the Muslims were killed that day, as were ten of the Jews. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then conquered it. The last of these forts (to fall) was al-Naṭāt. He then turned his attention to al-Shiqq, which consisted of several forts. The first one he attacked was Ubayy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then attacked a castle named Samwān and he fought for it most vigorously. One of the enemy there, a man named 'Azul, came forth and made a challenge for single combat. Al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir went out to fight him and cut off half his arm, the man's sword dropping from his hand. The Jew fled, but al-Ḥabāb followed him and severed his tendon. Another of them then emerged for single combat and one of the Muslims went forth to meet him. The Jew killed him. Abū Dujāna then went out against him, killing him and seizing his weapons. After that they offered no more challenges for single combat and the Muslims shouted '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!' They then mounted an attack on the fortress and entered it, led by Abū Dujāna. Inside they found furniture, furnishings, cattle and food. The fighting men who had been inside fled in great haste, like lizards, until they reached the forts al-Bazāt, at al-Shiqq. There they put up a strong defence; but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men moved slowly towards them and they exchanged arrows. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually shot at them in person until their arrows wounded his fingertips. He then picked up a handful of stones which he cast at their fort which shook under their impact and collapsed to the ground. The Muslims then defeated them in hand-to-hand combat."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned his attention to the inhabitants of al-Akhbiyya, and of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim, two forts of Abū al-Ḥuqayq. These they defended strenuously, having been joined by all those who had been defeated from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiqq. These joined with the rest in defending al-Qamūṣ and al-Katībā – a very strong fortress – and in al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. Ultimately they stopped looking down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) erected a catapult to use against them.

"When they were sure their defeat was certain, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having by then besieged them for 14 days, Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq came down to him and made peace. The conditions were that he would spare their lives and allow them to withdraw, while they would give him free access to their lands, properties, gold, silver, horses, armour and weapons, while they could keep only what was '*alā ẓahri insān*, 'on their backs', their clothing, that is. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'But the protection of God and of His messenger is lost to you if you conceal anything.' They made peace on that basis."

I note that when they did hide things and told lies, concealing that leather bag in which they had much wealth, it became clear that they were not keeping to their pact. And so he killed both sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq and part of his family because they had broken their pacts and agreements.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muqrī al-Asfarāyīnī stated to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar – according to Abū Salama – from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) battled against the people of Khaybar until he forced them to take refuge in their fortress. He thus gained control of their land, their produce and their date-palms. They then made peace with him. The conditions were that they would leave their fortress keeping what their mounts would carry. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go their gold, and silver. They would move away and not hide or fail to disclose anything; if they did so, they would have no valid pact of agreement.

"They then concealed a leather bag containing money and jewels belonging to Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub; he had carried it with him to Khaybar when Banū al-Naḍīr was expelled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked at this time, 'What happened to the leather bag of Ḥuyayy that he brought from al-Naḍīr?' He[67] replied, 'Various expenses and the warfare have exhausted it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Only a little time has passed and there was more money than that.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pushed him over to al-Zubayr who tortured him. Before this, Ḥuyayy had gone inside a ruin and he[68] reported seeing Ḥuyayy circling it. They then went and searched, ultimately finding the bag in the ruin.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then killed the two sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq, one of whom was the husband of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. al-Akhṭub. He took their women and children captive and divided up their possessions since they had broken their agreement.

"He wanted to expel them, but they said, 'Muḥammad, let us stay on this land to care for and improve it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions had no revenues from farming to live on and they themselves were too occupied otherwise to work on the land. And so he gave Khaybar over to them on condition that they would have an equal part of all the produce, dates and other returns, for so long as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa would come to them every year to receive payment for it from them, paying them their half. But they complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the zeal with which he performed this task. They had tried to bribe him. He told them, 'You enemies of God! Would you pay me with

67. Presumably Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, as related in the other accounts given above.

68. It is unclear who is implied. Presumably a third party, as recounted heretofore.

ill-gotten gains! By God, I come to you on behalf of the person most dear to me of all. You are more hateful in my view than the monkeys and pigs that are your like! But my hatred for you and my love for him will not lead me to fail to treat you fairly.'

"They replied, 'By this, heaven and earth are set.'"[69]

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed some blackness around Ṣafiyya's eye and he asked her, 'Ṣafiyya, what is this blackness?' She replied, 'My head was in the lap of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq while I slept. I seemed to see a moon drop into my lap. When I told him of this, he slapped me, saying, "You yearn for the 'king of Yathrib'!"'

"She went on, 'I thought of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the most hateful of men. He killed my husband and my father. But he kept on explaining to me, saying, "Your father incited the Arabs against me and did so on and so forth." Eventually all that left my mind.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to give each of his wives 80 bags of dates and 20 of barley annually. During the Caliphate of ʿUmar, they cheated the Muslims, and threw ʿUmar's son down from atop a house, breaking his wrists. ʿUmar then said, 'Those owning a share of Khaybar should come for us to divide it up.' He did divide it up and their (the Jews') leader said, 'Don't expel us; allow us to remain in it as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr too.' ʿUmar responded, 'Do you consider that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said does not apply to me! But how would you feel if your mount raced off towards Syria, day after day after day!'[70]

"ʿUmar then divided it up between those who were at al-Ḥudaybiyya and then at Khaybar."

Abū Dāʾūd related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī appended the following in the margin of his book, 'Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it.'" I note, however, that I did not see this. But God knows best.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, who said that Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī informed him, from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, "When Khaybar was conquered, the Jews asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to allow them to remain on condition that they would work for one-half of what it produced. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'I will allow you to stay in it on that condition for as long as we wish.'

69. In a footnote to his translation of Ibn Isḥāq's work, (*op. cit.* p.523) Guillaume points out that this is an authentically Jewish expression and that its inclusion here attests to the accuracy of the narrator here.

70. This is a reference to the charges against the Jews of Khaybar for having broken promises and failed to fulfil contracts.

"And so they did. The dates, of one-half of Khaybar, were divided into shares and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a portion of one-fifth. From that fifth, he would provide 100 bags of dates and 20 of barley for each of his wives, annually.

"When ʿUmar wished to evict the Jews, he sent to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told them, 'Whichever of you wishes me to set aside for her (land that would produce) 100 bags, she may have the roots, land and water therefor, along with the plants to produce 20 bags of barley. This I will arrange. Those who prefer us to set aside what she owns of the fifth share as it has been, this too we will do.'"

Abū Dāʾūd narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "Nāfiʿ related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that ʿUmar stated, 'O people, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact with the Jews of Khaybar on the understanding that he could expel them if he wished. Those with property there should go to it; I am expelling the Jews.' And he did expel them."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, (who said) that Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed him as follows, "I and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān walked over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'You gave to Banū al-Muṭṭalib a part of the fifth share of Khaybar but left us out, even though we and they have the same status with you.' He replied, 'Well, Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib are one.' Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave no share to Banū ʿAbd Shams, nor to Banū Nawfal.'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not.

There is one version that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Banū Hāshim and Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are one; they were not separate from us before Islam or thereafter."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "They went into the defile with them and gave them help after their having accepted Islam just as they had before Islam.

"Abū Ṭālib expressed displeasure with Banū ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, saying, 'May God punish badly ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal for us, and the sooner the better!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Thābit, quoting Zāʾida, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded a double share to each horse and a single share to each man on foot.

"This pleased Nāfiʿ, who said, 'So if a man had a horse, he received three shares: two for the horse, one for himself.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (who said), "Zayd informed me, from his father, that he heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide up (among the warriors) each village conquered for me, just as the Prophet (ṢAAS)

divided up Khaybar. However, I will leave it all to them as a (source of) treasury for them to distribute among themselves.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; Abū Dāʾūd did so from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibn Mahdī, from Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, from ʿUmar.

This text requires that Khaybar was divided up in its entirely among those who had earned the booty.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "Ibn al-Sarḥ related to us, (who said), 'Ibn Wahb informed us, saying, "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took Khaybar by force, after fighting, and left some of its inhabitants still there after the battles.'"'"

Al-Zuhrī stated on this, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into fifths, allotting it all to those who fought there."

However, there is some disagreement over al-Zuhrī's statement. What is true is that all of Khaybar was not divided up; in fact, only one-half of it was divided between the men, as will be shown.

Mālik and his followers use this argument, stating that the Imām may choose what is best to do with conquered territories. He may divide them up (between those capturing them), or he may set them aside for the benefit of all Muslims. Alternatively, he may, if he wishes, divide up part of them and set aside part to care for whatever circumstances and needs may arise.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "Al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān, the *muezzin*, related to us, quoting Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ (who said) 'Sufyān related to me, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into two halves; one-half was for his own responsibilities, and one-half went to the Muslims; he divided it up among them on the basis of 18 parts."'"

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. He then related, from a *ḥadīth* of Bashīr b. Yasār that is *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission, "he assigned to the half allotted for his needs (responsibilities) al-Waṭīḥ, al-Katība, al-Sulālim and their adjoining properties, and gave to the Muslims the half consisting of al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt and their adjoining properties; the portions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was what adjoined both of these."

He also stated that Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, the freed-man of the *anṣār*, from men among the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (These men stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gained victory over Khaybar and divided it into 36 shares, each of which combined 100 shares. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims went one-half of this. The second half he put aside for those from the delegations who came to stay with him, and for other matters, along with some portions set aside for those who suffered special misfortune.

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this.

He also stated that Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā related to him, quoting Mujmiʿ b. Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī (who said), "I heard Abū Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ say, on the authority of his uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, from his uncle Mujmiʿ b. Ḥāritha al-Anṣārī – he being one of the reciters of the Qurʾān – say, 'Khaybar was apportioned to those who had (also) been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. He divided it up into 18 parts. The army consisted of 1,500 men, including 300 cavalry. He alloted two shares to each man with a horse, and one share to each man on foot.'"

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Mālik stated, from al-Zuhrī, that Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) conquered part of Khaybar by force.

Abū Dāʾūd also related this. He then stated, "The following was recited to al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn while I was present, 'Ibn Wahb informed you all (as follows), "Mālik b. Anas related to me, from Ibn Shihāb, that part of Khaybar was taken by force and part by peace treaty. Most of al-Katība was taken by force, and there was also a peace agreement about it. I asked Mālik, 'What is al-Katība?' He replied, 'It is land at Khaybar; it consists of 40,000 *ʿadhq*."'" Abū Dāʾūd stated, "*al-ʿadhq*" means 'date-palms'; it can also mean date fronds."

Al-Bukhārī, moreover, stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ḥaramī, quoting Shuʿba, quoting ʿAmāra, from ʿIkrima, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When Khaybar was conquered, we said, 'Well, now we'll have our fill of dates!'

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Qurra b. Ḥabīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'We never had our fill' – meaning of dates – 'until we conquered Khaybar.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt were part of the share of the Muslims. Al-Shiqq consisted of 13 shares, al-Naṭāt of 5. The total was divided into 1,800 shares. This was paid to those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, both those present at Khaybar and those absent from it. And of those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya only Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh was absent from Khaybar; he was awarded his share.

"Those present at al-Ḥudaybiyya consisted of 1,400 men. With them were 200 horses; 2 shares went to each horse. To each 100 men went a portion consisting of 18 shares. Four hundred shares went to the 200 horsemen; this was for their horses."

Al-Bayhaqī related similarly through Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān – namely that they consisted of 1,400 men, with whom there were 200 horses.

I note: the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used an arrow to select the order of the award of shares. The first share of the allotment of al-Shiqq went to ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Katība was a fifth portion assigned to God Almighty; of it a portion went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to (impoverished) relations,

orphans, the destitute and wayfarers, another to feed the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to feed the families of those who went out to arrange the peace treaty with the people of Fadak.[71] These included Muḥayyisa b. Mas'ūd, to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) allotted 30 bags of dates and 30 bags of barley. Its (Fadak's) two valleys that were set aside for him were named Wādī al-Surīr, and Wādī Khāṣ."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to give the details of all the allotments made at Khaybar; he did so fully and very well, may God have mercy on him.

The men placed in charge of the division and the accounting were Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā', brother of Banū Salama, and Zayd b. Thābit, may God be pleased with them both.

The commander who had authority over valuation of the date-palms of Khaybar was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He did this for two years. Following his death, may God be pleased with him, at the battle of Mu'ta, Jabbār b. Ṣakhr, may God be pleased with him, took over his work.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Mālik, from 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī and Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a man in command of Khaybar who brought him some dates that were *janib*, "of very high quality". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaybar like this?" He replied, "No, I swear by God, Messenger of God! We take a *sa'* weight of this (dates of high quality) for two *sa'* or three *sa'* (of lesser quality)." He told him, "No, don't do that. Sell the lesser quality dates for cash and then with that cash buy the *janīb* dates."

Al-Bukhāri stated that al-Darāwardī said, quoting 'Abd al-Majīd, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Sa'īd and Abū Hurayra both related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a brother of Banū 'Adī of the *anṣār* to Khaybar and appointed him in charge of it. And the same is related on a different line of transmission from 'Abd al-Majīd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Samān, from Abū Sa'īd and Abū Hurayra.

I note as follows. The properties of Khaybar gained by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims and all of Fadak, constituted a large part of the territory of Khaybar. They (the Jewish inhabitants) had emerged and made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of their great fear of him. To all this were added the acquisitions mentioned above from Banū al-Naḍīr where the Muslims similarly had no need to use force.

These were the personal property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). From them he would subtract the yearly expenses of his family and then treat the remainder as belonging to God. He would use it to pay for the mounts, weapons

71. According to Ibn Isḥāq, when the inhabitants of Fadak heard of the conquest of Khaybar, they sent emissaries to the Prophet (ṢAAS), offering a treaty of peace under which they would remain there and keep half their produce.

and other needs of the Muslims. When he died, Fāṭima and his wives – or most of them – believed that these properties would be inherited from him. They had not been informed of a statement that has been established to have been made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows, "We prophets do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes *ṣadaqa*, a public charity."

When Fāṭima and the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), along with al-ʿAbbās, sought their share of this and asked (Abū Bakr), the Trusting, to pay it to them, he related to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely, "We do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes a *ṣadaqa*." He told them, "I will provide for those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cared for; I swear by God, the relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) are dearer to me than my own."

He spoke the truth, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure! In that he was faithful, well-guided and adhering to the truth.

Al-ʿAbbās requested, as did ʿAlī on behalf of Fāṭima, since they had failed to receive an inheritance, that they should have access to that charitable fund and use it for those expenses that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to meet. But Abū Bakr refused that, considering it his duty to proceed as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, and not to deviate from his path and practices.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, was annoyed with him about this and experienced some anger. Yet this was not appropriate for her. She and all the Muslims well knew his position and standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his role in assisting him both during his life and after his death. May God reward him well, on behalf of his prophet, Islam and his people.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, died six months thereafter. ʿAlī then renewed his oath of allegiance. During the Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, they asked him to give control of this *ṣadaqa* to ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās. They pressured him through a group of the Companions. And ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, agreed to this. He did so because of the multiplicity of his duties, the extensiveness of his domain and the great spread of his subjects.

ʿAlī gained advantage over his uncle al-ʿAbbās in this matter. Then they accompanied each other and quarrelled in front of ʿUmar. And they brought along a group of the Companions to him and asked him to divide up the assets between them in such a way that each would be independent of the other. But ʿUmar resisted this strongly, fearing that such a division would be similar to the division through inheritance. He said, "Look after it together. And if you can't, then turn it over to me. By Him at whose command the heavens and earth stand, I'll never reach any other decision about this!" The property continued to be managed in this way, by their descendants, into the ʿAbbāside era, the expenditures continuing to be made as they had been by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (This is what became of) the assets of Banū al-Naḍīr, from Fadak and the share of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Khaybar.

DIVISION.

The slaves and the women who were there at Khaybar were awarded portions of the booty, but no actual shares in the assets gained.

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from Muḥammad b. Zayd, (who said), "῾Umayr, freed-man of Abū al-Laḥm, said, 'I was present at Khaybar with my masters. They talked about me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered that I be awarded a sword. I was just about to draw it when he was informed that I was a *mamlūk*, a slave. He then ordered I be given something (suitable) I would enjoy.'"

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā᾽ī related this, from Qutayba, from Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'." Ibn Māja related it from ῾Alī b. Muḥammad, from Wakī῾, from Hishām b. Sa῾d, from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhājir, from Munqidh, from ῾Umayr.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "There were women who were present at Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He awarded them part of the booty, but he did not allot them shares.

"Sulaymān b. Suḥaym related to me, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from a woman of Banū Ghifār, whose name was given me. She said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with some women of Banū Ghifār. We asked him, "Messenger of God, we would like to go forth with you," – he was then on his way to Khaybar – "to take care of the wounded and give whatever help we can to the Muslims." He replied, "May God bless you."'

"She went on, 'So we left with him. I was a young girl then and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed me on his mount behind himself, on a bag of provisions. When he dismounted to perform the *al-subḥ* prayer, I got down from the bag. On it I saw blood of mine; this was my first period. I hurried back to the camel, feeling embarrassed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw I was upset and noticed the blood, he asked, "What is wrong? You probably menstruated." "Yes," I answered. He then said, "Cleanse yourself and then take a vessel of water, put some salt in it and use it to wash the blood off the bag. Then go back to your seat."'

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar, he awarded us some of the booty. He took this necklace you see around my neck and gave it to me, himself putting it on me. By God, I will never be parted from it.' It was around her neck until she died and she left instructions that it be buried with her.

"She never cleansed herself after her menstruation without putting salt in the water. And she left instructions that it be put in the water to be used to wash her when she died."

Imām Aḥmad and Abū Dā᾽ūd related this similarly, from the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his notes, "Al-Wāqidī related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym, from Umm

ʿAlī, daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Rāfiʿ b. Salama al-Ashjaʿī (who said), "Ḥashraj b. Ziyād related to me, from his grandmother, his father's mother, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Khaybar, I being the youngest of six women. When news reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) that there were women accompanying him, he summoned us. We could see from his face that he was angry. He asked us, "Why have you come, and who gave you permission?" We replied, "We have come to hand out the arrows and to pour the *sawīq*;[72] we have with us medication for wounds and we can spin hair and use it for God's cause." "You may proceed," he told us.'

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar for him, he drew arrows (to determine shares) for us, just as he did for the men.' I then asked her, 'Grandmother, what was allotted to you then?' 'Dates,' she replied."

I comment that all he gave them was the produce. He certainly did not give to them shares in the land, as he did to the men. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "In my book, (it states) from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī informed him, as follows, 'Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jahm related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting al-Wāqidī, (who said) "ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mūsā b. Jubayr, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar, and my wife, who was pregnant, accompanied me. On the way she had a discharge of blood. I reported this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he told me, "Soak some dates for her and when it all turns liquid, tell her to drink it." She did so and saw nothing to alarm her. When we had conquered Khaybar, he gave to the women, but did not allot them shares. He gave both to my wife and to my child who was born.'"'" ʿAbd al-Salām added, "I don't know whether it was a boy or a girl."

An Account of the arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was encamped at Khaybar, of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, and those who had remained in Abyssinia.

These were Muslims who had emigrated there, along with those from the people of Yemen who had joined them.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "We learned of the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while we were in Yemen and so we left as *muhājirīn* to join him. I was accompanied by my brothers, myself being the youngest. One was called Abū

72. A drink made of wheat or barley.

Burda, the other Abū Ruhm. We were among a number" (or the narrator may have given the figure 53, or 52) "of men of my people.

"We rode aboard a boat that took us to the Negus in Abyssinia. There we met up with Ja῾far b. Abū Ṭālib, with whom we stayed before all coming on together. We arrived at the Prophet (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar. Some people there said to us – meaning those who had travelled by boat – 'We joined in the hijra before you did!'

"Asmā᾽, daughter of ῾Umays – she having come with us, went in to visit Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), she, Asmā᾽, having been one of those who had emigrated to the Negus. ῾Umar then came in to Ḥafṣa while Asmā᾽ was with her and when he saw the latter, he asked, 'And who is this?' 'Asmā᾽, daughter of ῾Umays,' she replied. ῾Umar then said, 'Is this the "Abyssinian" and the "sailor"?' 'Yes,' Asmā᾽ replied. He then commented, 'Well, we emigrated before you did. And so we have now more right to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you do!' She became angry and replied, 'That's not so, by God! All the time you were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was feeding your hungry and instructing your ignorant, while we were in the *dār*, the domain, of the *bu῾adā᾽* and the *bughaḍā᾽*[73] in Abyssinia! And we were there serving God and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, I'll not eat nor drink again before I tell the Prophet (ṢAAS) what you said, and I'll ask him. And I'll not lie or distort or add anything to it!'"

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, she said to him, 'Prophet of God, ῾Umar said so-and-such' 'And what did you reply?' he enquired. 'I replied so-and-such,' she told him. He then said, 'No one has greater right to me than you do. He and his associates had one hijra, but you boat people had two!'

"She later said, 'I then saw Abū Mūsā and the boat people stream in to me, asking about this conversation. And nothing in the world could have more pleased and impressed them than what the Prophet (ṢAAS) had said about them.'

"Abū Burda narrated, 'Asmā᾽ commented, "When I saw Abū Mūsā, he asked me to repeat this *ḥadīth*."'

"Abū Burda said, quoting Abū Mūsā, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I well know the voices of the '*ash῾arī* people', the reciters of the Qur᾽ān, when they go home at night. And I know their houses from their voices merely reciting the Qur᾽ān at night, even without seeing their dwellings during the day. One of them is Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who, when he meets the enemy" – or he could have said, "cavalry" – "would say to them (the enemy), 'My companions order you to wait for them.'"'"

Muslim related this similarly from Abū Kurayb and ῾Abd Allāh b. Barrād, from Abū Usāma.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, quoting Burayd (b. ῾Abd Allāh) from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "We came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) after Khaybar had been conquered.

73. That is, "those who are far away" and "those who are hateful". Obviously, the Arabic words have similar patterns and sound almost similar.

He did give us a share (of the booty), though he gave none to anyone who had not been present at the victory except for us."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī did relate it, authenticating it from a *ḥadīth* of Burayd.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus to request him for those of his Companions who had remained in Abyssinia. They arrived in the company of Jaʿfar, after the Prophet (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar.

He went on, "Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, that Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day when he conquered Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him between his eyes and hugged him, saying, 'I don't know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar, or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Sufyān al-Thawrī related it thus from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, only as *mursal*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī recorded a line of transmission through Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn al-ʿArzamī, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from Khaybar, Jaʿfar arrived from Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him on the forehead when he met him, saying, 'By God, I don't know what makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawī, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bayrūtī, quoting Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭayba (who said), 'Makkī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ruʿaynī related to me, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "When Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib arrived from Abyssinia, he was met by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Jaʿfar saw him, he *ḥajala*, he hopped on one leg, to show his respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then kissed him between his eyes."'"

Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "In the chain of authorities back to al-Thawrī there are persons not known."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those Meccans who remained behind with Jaʿfar until they joined him at Khaybar were 16 men."

Ibn Isḥāq then listed their names and those of their wives. They were: "Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib al-Hāshimī and his wife Asmā', daughter of ʿUmays, and his son ʿAbd Allāh, who was born in Abyssinia, Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Amīna, daughter of Khalaf b. Asʿad, and his children, Saʿīd and ʿAmma, both born in Abyssinia, his brother ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima, a member of the Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ family.

"Then there were Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, ally of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Asadī, Jahm b. Qays b. ʿAbd Shurahbīl al-ʿAbdarī, whose wife, Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of ʿAbd al-Aswad,

had died in Abyssinia; his son ʿAmr and daughter Khuzayma died along with her, may God have mercy on them all. Then there were ʿĀmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī, ʿUtba b. Masʿūd, an ally of theirs from Hudhayl, al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. Ṣakhr al-Taymī, whose wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had died there, may God have mercy upon her, ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa b. Ahbān al-Jumaḥī, Muḥmiyya b. Juzʾ al-Zabīdī, ally of Banū Sahm, Maʿmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naḍla al-ʿAdawī, Abū Ḥatīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams, Mālik b. Rabīʿa b. Qays b. ʿAbd Shams, both from Banū ʿĀmir. Along with this Mālik was his wife ʿAmra, daughter of al-Saʿdī. Then there was al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Shams b. Laqīṭ al-Fihrī."

Ibn Isḥāq did not mention those others of Banū Ashʿar who were with Abū Mūsā and his two brothers Abū Burda and Abū Ruhm, and his paternal uncle Abū ʿĀmir; in fact of the Ashʿar he referred only to Abū Mūsā, not even venturing to mention his two brothers, who were older than him, as is stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

It is as though Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy upon him, had not seen the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā regarding this. But God knows best.

He went on, "In the two boats with them there were also women who had been the wives of the Muslims who had died in Abyssinia. What he did record here was substantial and good.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān (who said), "I heard al-Zuhrī say, when Ismāʿīl b. Umayya asked him a question, "ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd informed me that Abū Hurayra came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and made a request of him – that is, he asked him for a share in the booty. At this a man from Banū Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, "No, don't give it to him." Abū Hurayra commented (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "This is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal." The man replied: "That's a strange comment to come from a weasel who has come down from Qadūm al-Ḍa'n!"'"[74]

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related from al-Zubaydī that al-Zuhrī said, "ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd informed me that he heard Abū Hurayra informing Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abān (b. Saʿīd) on an expedition from Medina towards Najd.'

"Abū Hurayra stated, 'And Abān and his companions came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after he had conquered it; the girdles of their horses were made of palm-fibre rope.'

"Abū Hurayra said, 'So I said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, don't give them a share!" Abān exclaimed, "You're just a weasel that's come down from atop a *ḍaʾl*,[75] a lotus tree!" At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Abān, sit down!" And he did not give them a share.'"

74. Qadūm al-Ḍaʾn is the name of a mountain in the territory of Banū Daws, Abū Hurayra's tribe.

75. It will be noticed that in this *ḥadīth* the word for the name of the mountain has been changed to a word meaning a lotus tree.

Abū Dā'ūd gave a line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd b. Manṣūr, from Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh, from Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Zubaydī with similar wording.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismā'īl related to him, quoting 'Amr b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd (who said), "My grandfather, Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ informed me that Abān b. Sa'īd came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and greeted him. Abū Hurayra then said, 'Messenger of God, this is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!' Abān retorted to Abū Hurayra, 'How strange! For you, a weasel coming down from Qadūm Da'n to complain about me for the death of a man whom God honoured with martyrdom at my hand, a man whom God prevented from overcoming me!'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* in this position. In his section on *al-jihād*, warfare, after the *ḥadīth* of al-Humaydī, from Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Anbasa b. Sa'īd, from Abū Hurayra, he said, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at Khaybar, after having conquered it. I said to him, 'Messenger of God, grant me a share!' Some of the family of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said, 'Don't give him a share!' I then said, 'Messenger of God, this fellow is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!'" From this point, the *ḥadīth* is the same as above.

Sufyān stated, "Al-Sa'īdī (by whom he meant 'Amr b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd) related it to me, from his grandfather, from Abū Hurayra."

In this *ḥadīth* there is the statement of Abū Hurayra that he was not present at Khaybar, as was asserted in the prior accounts of this engagement. Imām Aḥmad related this through 'Arak b. Mālik, from Abū Hurayra and that he arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar and stated, "He addressed the Muslims and they gave us a part of their shares."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Alī b. Zayd, from 'Ammār b. Abū 'Ammār, who said, 'I was never present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at any distribution of booty without him giving me a share, except at Khaybar; it was specifically for those who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

I note that Abū Hurayra and Abū Mūsa both arrived between al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Mālik b. Anas (who said), 'Thawr related to me, quoting Sālim, the freed-man of 'Abd Allāh b. Muṭī', who said that he heard Abū Hurayra say, "When we conquered Khaybar, we did not gain any booty of gold or silver. We did take camels, cattle, personal possessions and properties. We then departed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Wādī al-Qurā. With him was a slave of his called Mid'am, who had been presented to him by some of Banū al-Ḍabīb. While he was mounting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a stray arrow came in and struck him. People then said, 'Lucky for him; paradise!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Definitely not; by Him in Whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at

Khaybar that the divider of the booty never received will light the fires (of hell) for him!'

"'"A man then approached, after having heard that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), carrying one or two sandal straps and said, 'This is something I captured.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'A sandal strap or two of hellfire!'"'"

An Account of the poisoned sheep and the clear proof and evidence therein.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUrwa narrated this from ʿĀʾisha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth (who said), Saʿīd related to me, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a poisoned sheep was presented to him.'"

Thus he gave it here in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered, a poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter then ordered, "Assemble for me the Jews who were here." They were brought and the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, "I am about to ask you something. Will you respond truthfully about it?" "Yes, we will, Abū Qāsim," they replied.

"'He then asked them, "Who is your father?" They replied, "Our father is so-and-so." He then said, "You lie; your father is so-and-so!" They responded, "You correctly speak the truth." He then asked, "Are you truthful about something if you are asked about it?" They replied, "Yes, Abū Qāsim! If we were to lie, you would know of it just as you did about our father." He then asked, "Who are those in hell?" They replied, "We will be there for a short while, then you will remain there after us." He responded, "By God, we'll never be there after you." He then asked them, "Will you be truthful about something if I ask you?" "Yes indeed, Abū al-Qāsim," they replied. He went on, "Did you put poison in this sheep?" "Yes," they replied. "What made you do that?" he asked. "We wanted to be rid of you if you were a liar; and if you were a prophet, it would not have harmed you."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in his section on *al-jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf. He also gave it in the section on *al-maghāzī*, the military expeditions, from Qutayba, both of these quoting al-Layth. Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Saʿīd b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām, from Sufyān b. Ḥusayn, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told his Companions,

'Stop! It is poisoned!' He then asked her, 'What made you do this?' She replied, 'I wanted to find out if you are a prophet. Because if so, God would make you aware of it. And if you were an impostor, I'd be ridding people of you.'" The narrator concluded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not detain her."

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Saʿīd b. Sulaymān.

Al-Bayhaqī related it similarly through ʿAbd Al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Shurayḥ related to us, quoting ʿAbbād, from Hilāl – he being Ibn Khabbāb – from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He sent for her and asked, 'What made you do that?' '*Aḥbabtu*, I wished' – 'or *araḍtu*, I wanted' – '(to establish) that if you were a prophet, then God would make you aware of it. And if you were not a prophet, people would be rid of you.'"

The narrator continued, "Whenever he experienced pain because of that (poison) he would have blood drawn. He went on, 'He made a trip on one occasion and when he had performed the pilgrimage, he experienced pain and had blood drawn.'"

Aḥmad alone gives this *ḥadīth* and its chain of transmission is good.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Hishām b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik (it states) that a Jewish woman brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a poisoned sheep and that he ate from it. She was then taken to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked her about this, and she replied, "I wanted to kill you!" He then commented, "God would never have given you power over me." (Or he may have said, "power over that".) People asked him, "Aren't you going to kill her?" "No," he replied.

Anas stated, "I continued thereafter to recognize its effects on the palate of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to relate that a Jewish woman of Khaybar poisoned a roasted sheep then presented it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who took a shoulder and ate from it. A number of his Companions ate along with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told them, 'Take your hands away!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent for the woman and asked her, 'Did you poison this sheep?' The Jewess replied, 'Who told you?' 'This in my hand told me,' he answered, referring to the shoulder of meat. She then said, 'Yes, I did.' He asked, 'What did you intend by that?' She replied, 'I told myself that if you were a prophet, it would not harm you. And if you were not a prophet, we would be rid of you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then forgave her and did not punish her. Some of his Companions who had eaten of the sheep did die. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back because of his having eaten

from the sheep. Abū Hind, an *anṣārī* of Banū Bayāḍa, drew the blood with the point and blade of a sword."

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya related to him, quoting Khālid, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was presented by a Jewess at Khaybar with a roast lamb. The *ḥadīth* proceeds as did the above from Jābir. It goes on, "Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Maʿrūr died and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for the Jewess and asked her, 'What made you do this?'" The *ḥadīth* goes on to recount much the same as did that of Jābir, but states that he then ordered her execution. This account does not refer to the matter of drawing blood.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra."

He went on, "It is probable that he did not execute her initially, but did so when Bishr b. al-Barā' died."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that a Jewess presented a roast sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar. He asked her, "What's this?" "A gift," she replied. She was careful not to say a *ṣadaqa*, a charitable donation, for he would not then have eaten it.

(The account went on) "He ate from it, as did his Companions. But then he told them, 'Stop!' He asked the woman, 'Did you put poison in it?' 'Who told you that?' she asked. 'This bone did,' he replied, referring to a leg of it he had in his hand. 'Yes, I did,' she told him. 'Why?' he asked. 'What I wanted was that if you were an impostor, we would be rid of you. And if you were a prophet, it would not harm you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back and ordered his Companions to do the same. Some of them died."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "She then accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left her alone."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. Perhaps ʿAbd al-Raḥmān conveyed it from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Lahīʿa reported from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, as did Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhrī, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, killing some of its inhabitants, the Jewess Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who was the niece of Marḥab, presented to Ṣafiyya some roast mutton that she had poisoned. She included plenty of shoulder and leg because she had learned that these were the parts of a sheep most liked by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to Ṣafiyya accompanied by Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Maʿrūr, of Banū Salama. She offered him the roast mutton and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took some shoulder and bit from it. Bishr took a bone and bit from it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swallowed his morsel, Bishr b. al-Barā' swallowed what was in his mouth. The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take away your hands! The shoulder of this sheep tells me that my death will be announced because of it!' Bishr b. al-Barā' then said, 'By Him who honoured you, I found that too in the piece I ate! The only thing that prevented me from voicing it was that I respected you too much to want to make you dislike your food! And when you swallowed what you had in your mouth, I could not allow myself to protect my life to the exclusion of you. I had hoped you would not have swallowed it, for in it is my death too.' And before Bishr could get up, his colour turned ashen and his pains were such that he could not move before he died."

Al-Zuhrī quoted Jābir as saying, "That day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn. It was a freed-man of Banū Bayāḍa who drew it using a sword point and blade. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lived on for three more years until he suffered the pain from which he died. He said, 'I have continued to have pains often because of that piece of mutton I ate at Khaybar right on up to now, when my aorta is splitting.'[76]

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt secure, Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, wife of Sallām b. Mishkam, presented him with a roasted sheep. She had enquired what part of that meat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preferred, and had been told that it was the shoulder. She put a great deal of poison in the shoulder, as well as in the rest of the sheep, and brought it to him. When she placed it before him, he took the shoulder section and bit from it but did not swallow it. With him was Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr. He had taken some of it just as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, but Bishr had swallowed his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat it out and said, 'This bone tells me it is poisoned!'

"He then summoned her and she confessed. He asked her, 'What brought you to do this?' She replied, 'You well know what you did to my people! So I told myself, "If he is an impostor, I'll be rid of him. And if he is a prophet, he will be told of it."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) let her go, but Bishr died of the piece he had eaten."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Marwān b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Sa'īd b. al-Mu'allī related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during that illness from which he died, when the sister of Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr went in to see him, "Umm Bishr, now is the time when my *abhur*, my aorta, is severing from that piece of food I ate in the company of your brother, at Khaybar."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The *abhur* is the artery attached to the heart."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Muslims consider that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr as well as having been honoured by God with prophethood."

76. That is, "when my death is imminent".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Hilāl b. Bishr and Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-Harrānī related to us as follows: 'Abū Ghiyāth b. Ḥamad related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, that a Jewess presented a roasted sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When people put out their hands (to eat it) he called out, "Stop! One of its limbs is telling me that it is poisoned!" He summoned the woman and asked her, "Did you poison your food?" "Yes," she replied. "Why did you do that?" he asked her. She replied, "If you were an impostor, I would be ridding the people of you; and if you were truthful, then God would tell you of it."

"'He then stretched forth his hand, saying, "Eat, *bismi Allāhi*, 'in the name of God'."'"

The narrator continued, "So we did eat, invoking God's name, and it did not harm any one of us."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār then added, "This is only related from ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abū Naḍra, on this one line of transmission."

I note that there are very strange and offensive aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, before he accepted Islam, saw visions in his sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Khaybar. These visions inspired in him a desire to battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to conquer him. When he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar, he found he had already taken it. So ʿUyayna said, "Muḥammad, give me some of the booty you have taken from my allies" – meaning the people of Khaybar. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told him, "Your visions lied!" And he then told ʿUyayna what he had seen in his dream.

(The account went on) "ʿUyayna then went home and was met by al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, who said, 'Did I not say you were putting your loyalty in the wrong place? By God, Muḥammad will triumph over all between East and West! Jews used to inform me of this. I swear, I heard Abū Rāfiʿ Sallām b. Abū Ḥuqayq say, "We envy Muḥammad for the prophethood, since it has now left Aaron's people. He has been sent, though Jews will not obey me in this. We will suffer two massacres from him – one at Yathrib, the other at Khaybar."'"

Al-Ḥārith went on, "So I asked Sallām, 'Will he govern the earth?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'he will, by the Torah that was revealed to Moses, but I don't want Jews to be told of what I said of him.'"

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When he had finished with Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Wādī al-Qurā. He besieged its inhabitants for some days and then returned to Medina."

He then went on to relate the story of Midʿam and how he was struck and killed by a stray arrow. (He told) how people then said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" The

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had responded, "Definitely not; by Him in whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at Khaybar that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!"

It has been earlier related in similar form as in the account of Ibn Isḥāq from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

An account of his battle at Wādī al-Qurā will follow.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, from Abū ʿUmra, from Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī, that one of the bravest of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at Khaybar. When this was related to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he said, "Pray for your comrade!" The faces of those present showed their surprise at his saying this and he went on, "Your comrade strayed from God's path." (The account states) "So we searched his belongings and discovered one of those Jewish shell necklaces not worth more than a couple of dirhams!"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. Abū Dāʾūd, Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal and Ibn Māja also related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, all three attributing it to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī.

Al-Bayhaqī related that Banū Fazāra wanted to do battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way back from Khaybar and assembled for this purpose. He then sent a messenger to them suggesting a specific site for the battle. Having ascertained this, they fled as fast as they could, moving far outside his path.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded further and when Ṣafiyya was free of her period he consummated his marriage with her at a place called Sudd al-Ṣahbāʾ, on his route to Medina. He served *ḥays* for a wedding feast and stayed there with her for three nights. She accepted Islam and he freed her and married her. He gave her freedom as her dowry. She was one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, 'mothers of the believers' as his Companions understood when he placed a veil over her when she rode behind him on the same mount. May God be pleased with her.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as follows, "When he married Ṣafiyya at Khaybar – on the way back – the woman who combed her hair and prepared her for him was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān, the mother of Anas b. Mālik. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night with her in a pavilion of his, while Abū Ayyūb kept watch over him, wearing his sword, patrolling around the tent until morning. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him there, he asked him, 'What is wrong, Abū Ayyūb?' He replied, 'I was afraid for you from this woman. She is a woman whose father, husband and people you have killed. And until recently she was a disbeliever. So I feared for you from her.' They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'O God, preserve Abū Ayyūb, just as he spent the night watching over me.'"

He went on, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, how they had overslept past the morning prayer on their way back from Khaybar. He told how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first of them to wake up and that he then asked, 'What have you done to us, Bilāl!' He replied, 'Messenger of God,

He who took my soul was He who took yours too!' 'You speak the truth,' he agreed. He then rode his camel a little way off and dismounted, performed the ablution and the prayer as he had done previously."

Mālik related it similarly from al-Zuhrī, from Sa῾īd, but *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission. And this too is *mursal*, from this line as given.

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sa῾īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra (who said), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished with Khaybar, travelled on by night until we reached al-Karī, and there he had his wedding. He told Bilāl, 'Keep awake for us tonight.' But Bilāl's eyes closed in sleep as he rested against his baggage and neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor he, nor any of the others woke up before the sun struck them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first to wake up. In alarm he called out Bilāl's name. Bilāl replied, 'By my father and mother, Messenger of God, He who took my soul away also took yours!'

"They rode their camels off a little way and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ablution. He gave orders to Bilāl who announced the prayer, and then he led the morning prayer for them. When he had finished it, he said, 'One who forgets a prayer should perform it when he remembers. For God Almighty says, "Perform the prayer for remembrance (of Me)"'" (*sūrat Ṭā Hā*; XX, v.14).

Yūnus stated, "Ibn Shihāb used to recite it (the *ḥadīth*) like that."

Muslim related it the same from Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā, from ῾Abd Allāh b. Wahb. Therein is stated that this was on their return from Khaybar.

In the *ḥadīth* of Shu῾ba, from Jāmi῾ b. Shaddād, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ῾Alqama, from Ibn Mas῾ūd, it is stated that occurred on their return from al-Ḥudaybiyya. In one report from him (it states) that it was Bilāl who kept awake for them. And there is a report from him (Bilāl) that it was he who used to keep awake for them.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is likely that this happened twice."

He went on, "And in a *ḥadīth* of ῾Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Abū Qatāda (there is reference to) their sleeping through the prayer. Also in it is the reference to the water vessel. It is likely that this makes reference to one of the two occasions in question, or it might be a third."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidī related in a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qatāda that that happened on their way back from the expedition against Tabūk. He stated, 'Ẓāfir b. Sulaymān narrated, from Shu῾ba, from Jāmi῾ b. Shaddād, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Mas῾ūd, that that occurred on their way back from Tabūk. But God knows best.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then proceeded to relate what the author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection reported concerning the anecdote of ῾Awf al-A῾rābī, from Abū Rajā᾽, from ῾Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn. It tells of their having slept through the prayer and that there was a woman who owned two water skins from which sufficient water was drawn to quench the entire army without diminishing the water in them.

He then recounted what Muslim related from the *ḥadīth* of Thābit al-Bunānī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ribāḥ, from Abū Qatāda. It is a long *ḥadīth* and tells of their sleeping through the prayer and of the great quantity of water taken from that water vessel. ʿAbd al-Razzāq related this from Maʿmar, from Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, from ʿĀṣim , from Abū ʿUthmān, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, about the expedition of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Khaybar. Abū Mūsā stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out towards Khaybar and when his men looked down into a valley, they raised their voices in a shout of '*Allāhu Akbar*! *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*! God is most Great! There is no god but God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Restrain yourselves! You are not calling out to someone deaf or far away; you are addressing One who is All-Hearing and near at hand; He is with you!'

"I was directly behind the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he heard me as I said, '*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh*, "There is no strength nor power except with God".' He said, 'Abd Allāh b. Qays.' I responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Should I not direct you to a phrase from the treasures of paradise?' 'Yes, please do, Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom!' He went on, '*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh.*'"

The other authorities relate this too, along various lines of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mull, father of ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

What is correct is that this incident refers to their return from Khaybar. Abū Mūsā only arrived after the conquest of Khaybar, as is related above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been informed, after he had conquered Khaybar, gave to Ibn Luqaym al-ʿAbsī its chickens and livestock. On the conquest of Khaybar, Ibn Luqaym spoke the following verses,

'Naṭāt was attacked by the Prophet with a well-armed
and very powerful squadron;
It was certain for shame when it was divided up and
the warriors of Aslam and Ghifār were there in its
midst.
They attacked Banū ʿAmr b. Zurʿa early in the morning,
and al-Shiqq's inhabitants had a grim day.
They made its cocks run in its open spaces, and left
only chickens squawking in the trees.
Each fort had someone from Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal or Banū
al-Najjār working with their horses.
And there were *muhājirīs*, their badges showing above
their helmets, not considering flight.
I knew that Muḥammad would triumph and would certainly
stay there for many months of Ṣafar.

Jews there opened their eyelids in the warfare that day beneath the dust.'"

DIVISION.

An Account of those of the Companions who were martyred at Khaybar, may God be pleased with them, according to what Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār, may God have mercy on him, and other authorities on the military engagements reported.

Of the best of the *muhājirīn* were Rabī'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara al-Asadī, freed-man of Banū Umayya, and Thaqīf b. 'Amr and Rifā'a b. Masrūḥ, allies of Banū Umayya, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hubayb b. Uhayb b. Suḥaym b. Ghīra of Banū Sa'd b. Layth, ally of Banū Asad, and their nephew. Of the *anṣār*, there were Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, who ate from the poisoned sheep in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as is told above, and Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān, both these men being of Banū Salam. Then there were Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khālid b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq al-Zarqī, Maḥmūd b. Maslama al-Ashhalī, Abū Ḍayyāḥ Ḥāritha b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān al-'Amrī, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib, 'Urwa b. Murra b. Surāqa, Aws b. al-Fā'id, Unayf b. Ḥabīb, Thābit b. Athila, Ṭalḥa, 'Umāra b. 'Uqba, killed by an arrow, 'Āmir b. al-Akwa', and then Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa'; he was struck in his knee by the edge of his sword and it killed him, as is told above; may God be pleased with him. Then there was al-Aswad, the shepherd. Ibn Isḥāq is alone in telling here the story of the last-mentioned. We already related it early on in the account of the expedition. And to God belong all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb, those of Banū Zahra who were martyred were Mas'ūd b. Rabī'a, an ally of theirs from al-Qāra. And of the *anṣār* of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf there was Aws b. Qatāda, may God be pleased with them all."

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING AL-ḤAJJĀJ B. 'ILĀṬ AL-BAHZĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Khaybar had been conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talked with al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ al-Sulamī, of the sub-tribe of Bahz, who asked him, 'Messenger of God, in Mecca I own money in the possession of my wife Umm Shayba, daughter of Abū Ṭalḥa (she had earlier borne him his son Mu'riḍ b. al-Ḥajjāj) and I also have other funds held by various merchants there. Please allow me to go there.' He did so. Al-Ḥajjāj then said, 'Messenger of God, I'll be forced to speak lies.' 'Do so,' he told him.

"Al-Ḥajjāj stated, 'I travelled to Mecca and at the pass al-Bayḍā' there were men of Quraysh listening for news and asking about the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had heard that he had gone to Khaybar, which they knew to be the chief village of Ḥijāz, productive, well-fortified and well populated. They were seeking information from travellers.

"'When they saw me, they said, "It's al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ." (They did not know of my acceptance of Islam.) "He'll have news, by God. Tell us, Abū Muḥammad. We have learned that *al-Qāṭiʿ*, 'the breaker of family ties', has gone off to Khaybar, a town of Jews and the 'farm of the Ḥijāz'." I replied, "I heard that too; and I have news that will please you." They crowded at both sides of my camel asking, "Well, what is it, Ḥajjāj!" I replied, "He has been badly defeated, such as you could never imagine. Very many of his men have been killed and Muḥammad has been taken captive. And they (the Jews) have said, 'We'll not kill him; instead, we'll send him in to Mecca where they can kill him among themselves in revenge for those of their men he killed.'" (Hearing this) the Quraysh men went off into Mecca shouting, "News has arrived! You need only wait and Muḥammad will be brought in to be killed among you!"'

"Al-Ḥajjāj went on, 'I asked them, "Please help me collect the money I own and is owed me in Mecca; I want to go to Khaybar and acquire the spoils from Muḥammad and his men before some other merchants precede me there." And they did, gathering my assets faster than I had ever heard before. I then went to my wife and said, "I want my money," (I had left money there with her), "for I want to go to Khaybar to seize opportunities to buy before other merchants precede me there."

"'When al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[77] heard the news and about myself, he came and stood beside me in the tent of a merchant. He asked, "Ḥajjāj, what news is this you bring?" I replied, "Could you keep safe what I might entrust with you?" "Yes," he answered. "Then wait", I told him, "till I can meet you alone; I'm collecting my funds, as you can see; please leave me until I finish." When I had finished getting together everything I had in Mecca and was ready to leave, I met al-ʿAbbās and said, "Abū al-Faḍl, keep private what I tell you for three days, because I fear pursuit. After that, say whatever you like." "I agree," he said. I then told him, "I left your nephew the bridegroom of their king's daughter" – meaning Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy – "after he had conquered Khaybar and had taken away all it contained for himself and his men." "What are you saying, Ḥajjāj?" he asked. "It's true, by God," I assured him, "but keep it confidential about me. I have accepted Islam and only came for my money fearing it might be seized. When three days have elapsed, you can tell what you know as ever you want."

"'On the third day, al-ʿAbbās dressed in a fine robe, put on perfume, took his walking stick and went out to the *kaʿba*, which he perambulated. When people

77. An uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS); he had remained in Mecca throughout the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh.

saw him, they said, "Abū al-Faḍl, this must imply, by God, that you are remaining steadfast in the face of some great misfortune!" "Not at all, by God, by Whom you swear oaths. Muḥammad has conquered Khaybar and has married their king's daughter after seizing all their possessions, which now belong to him and his men." "Who brought you this news?" they asked. "The same man who brought news to you! He came to you as a Muslim, took his money and has gone off to join Muḥammad and his men!" "O servants of God," they exclaimed, "God's enemy has escaped! If we had known this he would have had trouble with us!" Soon after, news came to them confirming this.'"

It is thus that Ibn Isḥāq related this story, without a full chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad substantiated it by saying, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar (who said), 'I heard Thābit relating from Anas, as follows, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ asked him, 'Messenger of God, I have funds and family in Mecca. I would like to bring them. Would I be excused if I maligned you or told lies?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to say whatever he liked. So he went to his wife after his arrival there and said, 'Gather up for me what you have; I want to purchase the booty from Muḥammad and his men. They have been captured and their possessions seized.'

"'"This news spread throughout Mecca. The Muslims were defeated and the polytheists expressed their jubilation. When the news reached al-ʿAbbās, he was devastated; he could scarcely stand up."'

"Maʿmar stated, 'ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī informed me, from Miqsam, who said, "He (al-ʿAbbās) picked up a son of his named Qutham stretched out on the ground and placed him on his chest, reciting the following verse,

'My darling Qutham, who has such a nice little nose,
A child of affluence, despite what is claimed.'"'

"Thābit stated, from Anas, 'He then sent a young slave of his to Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāt with the message, "Woe on you for what you brought! What is it you are saying? What God promised is better than what you brought!" Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ responded, "Give my greetings to Abū al-Faḍl and ask him to let me come to him in one of his houses. I have news that will please him." The slave went back home and when he got there called out, "Rejoice, Abū al-Faḍl!" Al-ʿAbbās jumped with joy and kissed him on the forehead. When the slave told him what Ḥajjāj had said, al-ʿAbbās gave him his freedom.

"'Then al-Ḥajjāj came to him and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar and had captured their possessions, which had been apportioned. He recounted how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for himself and offered her a choice between having her freedom and marrying him, or joining her family; she had chosen for him to free her and to be his wife. Al-Ḥajjāj went on, "But I've just come for my

funds that are here and I want to take it. I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to come and he gave it to me, telling me to say whatever I liked. So keep this private for three days then tell whatever you want."

"'So his wife gathered all his funds, jewellery and others of his possessions she had with her, gave them to him and he moved on with it. Three days later al-ʿAbbās came to al-Ḥajjāj's wife and said, "What happened to your husband?" She related to him that he had left on such-and-such a day. She told him, "May God not sadden you, Abū al-Faḍl. The news you received did upset us." He replied, "Indeed not; God does not sadden me and, praise be to God, nothing has happened to displease me. God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger and its properties have been allotted already. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. If you care for your husband, you should join him." "By God, am I to think you're telling me the truth?" she asked. "Indeed I am and the situation is as I have told you," he assured her.

"'Al-ʿAbbās then went to an assembly of Quraysh. As he went by them, they called out, "May nothing but good befall you, Abū al-Faḍl." He replied, "Nothing but good has, praise be to God! Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ related to me that God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger. Its properties have been allotted, and he has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. He asked me to keep this confidential for three days. He came back only to collect his money and possessions here, and then he left."'

"God now reverted to the polytheists that depression that had been upon the Muslims. Having previously taken sadly to their homes, the Muslims now came forth and went to al-ʿAbbās and he told them all he knew. They were delighted, their depression, anger and sadness now transferring to the polytheists."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both the great authorities. Yet only al-Nasāʾī of all six authors of the great collections of *aḥādīth* included it. He quoted Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and his *ḥadīth* is similar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it through Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He also related it through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from Zayd b. al-Mubārak, from Muḥammad b. Thawr, from Maʿmar in similar form.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba similarly stated in his work on the military engagements that much betting and wagering now arose among Quraysh. Some people said, "Muḥammad and his men will prevail." Others said, "The two allies and the Jews of Khaybar will prevail." Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ al-Sulamī, from the sub-tribe of al-Bahz had accepted Islam and witnessed, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the conquest of Khaybar. His wife was Umm Shayba, sister of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Al-Ḥajjāj had much money; he owned mines in Banū Salīm territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevailed over Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to Mecca to gather together his funds. He gave permission; the *ḥadīth* proceeds hereafter as above. But God knows best.

Al-Suhayli, may God be pleased with him, stated, "On the reason for al-Ḥajjāj accepting Islam we narrated a strange story concerning the *jinn*, 'the spirits'. He was the father of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, who was banished by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, from Medina because he had seduced some of the city's young women. Al-Farīʿa, daughter of Ḥammām, mother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, spoke the following line about him,

> 'Indeed not; no way to wine for me to drink, and no way
> to Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj.'

"When he went to Syria, he fell in love with the wife of Abū al-Aswad al-Sulamī, and wasted away for love of her. He was known as al-Ḍinnī, 'he who wasted away'. He died from this."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Among the poetry composed about the expedition to Khaybar are the verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

> 'Those of Khaybar fought only badly for the farms and
> date-palms they had accumulated.
> They disliked death and so their possessions became
> booty; they acted like blameworthy cowards.
> Would they flee death? The death of those who starve
> is not pretty.'"

Kaʿb b. Mālik said, according to what Ibn Hishām related from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī,

> "We descended on Khaybar and its wells, the veins of
> our heroes' hands standing out,
> Men brave in fierce battle, not lacking strength,
> daring in every encounter.
> Many are the ashes beneath their pots each winter,
> men who strike with Yemeni swords made of Indian
> steel,
> Considering death a reward from God if they achieve
> martyrdom; they hope for it, considering it a success
> for Aḥmad.
> Protecting and guarding Muḥammad's honour, protecting
> him with tongue and hand,
> Helping him in every matter that concerns him,
> generously offering their lives for that of Muḥammad,
> Believing sincerely in news of the unknown world,
> seeking honour and success in the future thereby."

Section: On the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) past Wādī al-Qurā and his besieging the Jews and how they made peace with him, as related by al-Wāqidī.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to me, from al-Zuhrī,

from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā. Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. Wahb al-Judhamī had presented a black slave named Midʿam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he who would set the saddle upon the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we made a halt at Wādī al-Qurā we came up against some Jews, and some bedouin also approached it. While Midʿam was setting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in position – some Jews having already greeted us with arrow shots when we dismounted and we were therefore not ready packed and loaded, they being above us in their fortresses shouting – a stray arrow came in and struck and killed Midʿam. People said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Definitely not, by Him in whose hands is my soul. The cloak he took at Khaybar from the spoils that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!" When people heard this, a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with one or two sandal straps. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "A sandal strap or two of hell-fire!"'"

This story is in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in similar form.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) equipped his men for battle and arranged them in lines. He gave his banner to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a flag to al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir, another to Sahl b. Ḥanīf and another flag to ʿIbād b. Bishr. He then called the enemy to Islam and told them that if they did they would win their possessions and spare their blood and that God would reward them.

"One of the enemy then came out to challenge for single combat and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out against him and killed him. Then another made the challenge and ʿAlī went out against him and killed him. This went on till 11 of them had been killed; each time one of them was killed, the rest were invited to accept Islam.

"When prayer times came that day, he would pray with his Companions then return and call upon them to accept Islam and to come to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and His messenger. He went on fighting them till evening. Early next morning he attacked them again and the sun had not risen more than the length of a spear before they surrendered. He conquered it by force and so God gave them their possessions as booty; they won large quantities of furnishings and various goods.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Wādī al-Qurā for four days. He divided up what he had taken among his men, leaving the land and palm trees in the hands of the Jews, putting them in charge of it. When news reached the Jews of Taymāʾ how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had defeated Khaybar, Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā, they made peace with him, agreeing to pay the *jizya*, the poll-tax. They kept their possessions.

"Although ʿUmar had later evicted the Jews from Khaybar and Fadak, he did not force out the people of Taymāʾ and Wādī al-Qurā, because the latter extended into the land of Syria; he considered that what was between Wādī al-Qurā and Medina to be part of Ḥijāz, areas beyond any part of Syria.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left to return to Medina, having now finished with Khaybar and Wādī al-Qurā and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, having given him much booty."

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, from Umm ʿImāra, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jurf saying, "Do not make your way to the women after the *ṣalāt al-ʿashāʾ*, the late evening prayer." One man from the quarter did make his way to his family, but found what he did not like. But he left her free and did not himself leave her. He was reluctant to give up his wife by separating from her. He had children by her and loved her. So by disobeying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he had seen what he did not like.'"

Division.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when Khaybar was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed the Jews in charge of it in return for a half of its dates and other produce.

In some phrases of this *ḥadīth* it is implied that he was removing it from their ownership, while in others it is stated , "The Prophet (ṢAAS) stated to them, 'We will keep you in them for as long as we wish.'"

In the *Sunan* works it is stated that he would send ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to appraise it for them when he came to take the harvest, holding them responsible for it. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was killed at Muʾta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Jabbār b. Ṣakhr to do this, as is told above. The place citing these phrases and discussion of their provenance is in the section on temporary sharecropping contracts in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God so wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "I asked Ibn Shihāb how it was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given the Jews of Khaybar their palm-groves. He informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar by force and after fighting. Khaybar was part of what God bestowed upon him as war booty; he divided its proceeds into fifths, distributing it among the Muslims. After the fighting, some of its inhabitants came out to leave and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for them to approach and told them, 'If you wish, I will make over these properties to you on condition that you work them; their proceeds will be divided between us. I will let you stay for as long as God lets you stay.'

"They accepted and worked the land in accord with this agreement. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to divide up the proceeds, treating them fairly in the appraisal.

"When God took to Himself His Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr affirmed Khaybar in their control on the same basis as that which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had maintained before he died. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reconfirmed them in this from the beginning of his rule. But then ʿUmar learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said during that illness during which God took hold of him, 'Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula!' ʿUmar examined this issue closely until he became utterly convinced of its authenticity, at which point he sent a message to the Jews saying, 'God has granted me permission to evict you. I have learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula." Anyone with a contract with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should bring it to me and I will enforce it. Those without such contracts should prepare to leave.' And ʿUmar did evict those who had no contracts with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

I comment that the Jews of Khaybar in latter-day times, after 300 (years) claim to have in their possession a document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which it states that he exempted them from paying the *jizya*, the poll-tax.

Some scholars have been so deluded by this document as to advocate exempting them from the *jizya*, this being Sheikh Abū ʿAlī b. Khayrūn, of the Shāfiʿī school. The document is spurious and fake, devoid of authenticity; I have demonstrated its foolishness from many viewpoints in a separate book.

A number of colleagues have referred to it and to its foolishness in their writings, such as Ibn al-Ṣibāgh, in his work *Masāʾil* and Sheikh Abū Ḥāmid in his commentary. Ibn al-Maslama devoted a separate section to refer to and to refute it. Now, 700 years later, they are all excited about this and have brought out a book with a copy not mentioned by the early authorities. I have examined it and found it to be fake. It contains testimony of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, though he had died before the date of Khaybar. It also gives the testimony of Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, though he had not yet accepted Islam. At its end it states, "And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib wrote it." This is incorrect, a mistake. It refers to the *jizya*, too, even though this had not yet been legislated. This tax was first introduced and taken from the people of Najrān. They are said to have arrived at the end of 9 AH. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Nāfiʿ, freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'I, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad went out to inspect our properties at Khaybar. When we arrived there, we separated and went to our properties. During the night, while I slept on my bed, an attack was made on me and my wrists were dislocated. When I cried out for my companions, they came and asked me who had done this. I told them I did not know. They administered to my hands and then took me to ʿUmar, who declared, "This is the work of the Jews of Khaybar!"

"'He then stood up before the people to make a speech and said, "People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an agreement with the Jews of Khaybar that we

should evict them if we wished. They have attacked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and dislocated his hands, as you have learned, having attacked one of the *anṣār* before him. We have no doubt that it was they who did it; we have no enemies here besides them. Those who have property at Khaybar should proceed to them; I am going to evict the Jews." And he did evict them.'"

I note that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had a share of the booty at Khaybar. He left it as a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in God's cause, stipulating that it be managed in accord with the instruction set by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He directed that it be managed by the most righteous of his male and female descendants.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated (in a heading) in his work *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), "A summary of the chapters on the military expeditions which are mentioned as having occurred after the conquest of Khaybar and before the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, even though the date of some of these is not considered clear by the scholars of the military chronicles."

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢIDDĪQ TO BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Iyās b. Salama (who said), "My father related to me, saying, 'We went forth with Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having given him command over us. We attacked Banū Fazāra, and when we arrived near the well, Abū Bakr gave us orders and we dismounted to rest for the night. When we had performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, Abū Bakr ordered us to attack. We killed at the well those who passed before us.'

"Salama went on, 'I then looked over at the mass of the enemy which included children and women moving towards the mountain while I pursued them. I was concerned that they would get to the mountain ahead of me, so I cast an arrow which fell between them and the mountain. I then led them back to Abū Bakr whom I reached at the well. Among the enemy there was a woman of Fazāra wearing a worn-out leather garment. With her she had her daughter, an unusually attractive Arab girl. Abū Bakr presented her daughter to me. I did not sleep with her before we reached Medina, then again I went to bed without sleeping with her. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and asked me, 'Salama, give the woman to me!" I replied, "By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly but I've not slept with her." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day he met me in the market and said, "Salama, give the woman to me!" I replied, "By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly, but I've not slept with her!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and said, "Salama, give the woman to me, may God preserve your father!" I replied, "I swear by God, Messenger of God, I've not slept with her, but she is yours." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the people of

Mecca who had in their hands some Muslim prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ransomed them with this woman.'"

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, TO TURBA, IN HAWĀZIN TERRITORY, FOUR MILES BEYOND MECCA.

Then al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Wāqidī with the lines of tradition given by him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, along with 30 riders and a guide of Banū Hilāl. They travelled by night and kept concealed by day. When they reached the enemy territory, they fled and so ʿUmar returned to Medina. He was asked, "Would you like to do battle with Khathʿam?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me only to battle Hawāzin in their lands."

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀḤA TO YUSAYR B. RIZĀM, THE JEW.

He then related, through Ibrāhīm b. Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, and through Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhrī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa with 30 riders – inclusive of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥā – to Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, whom they reached at Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard that he was joining with Ghaṭafān to attack him along with them. When they (the Muslims) met with him, they told him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent us to you to place you in charge of Khaybar." They stayed with him until he eventually followed them with 30 men, each of whom had a co-rider from the Muslims. When they all reached Qarqara Niyār, a place some 6 miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Rizām regretted what he had agreed and reached for the sword of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The latter was aware of this and first held back his mount, then rushed ahead, leading the others. When he could overcome Yusayr, he struck his leg, cutting it off. Yusayr then charged ahead, wielding a cudgel of fir wood and with it struck at the face of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, hitting him on top of his head. Each of the Muslims then turned upon his co-rider and killed him. (All were killed) except one Jew whom they were unable to catch. None of the Muslims were killed; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat upon the wound of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The wound did not fester and it did not hurt him for as long as he lived.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION WITH BASHĪR B. SAʿD.

A *ḥadīth* is related through al-Wāqidī, with its chain of transmission, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Bashīr b. Saʿd with 30 riders to Banū Murra, in

Fadak territory. He drove off their camels and they did battle with him. The Jews killed all the men with him; Bashīr displayed great courage that day and fought most fiercely. Eventually he took refuge in Fadak, spending the night with a Jew there. After that he made his way back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent forth Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh against them, along with a group of his chief Companions." He then mentioned Usāma b. Zayd, Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī, and Kaʿb b. ʿUjra.

Thereafter al-Wāqidī went on to relate how Usāma b. Zayd killed Mirdās b. Nuhayk, an ally of Banū Murra. He told how, when he held his sword over him, Mirdās spoke the words, *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*! "There is no god but God!" and that those with him criticized Usāma since the man had gone on saying this until he had brought his sword down. Al-Wāqidī said that Usāma later regretted what he had done.

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this story from Ibn Isḥāq, from a sheikh of Banū Salama, from men of his tribe, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī to the territory of Banū Murra. He captured Mirdās b. Nuhayk, an ally of theirs from al-Ḥurqa, and Usāma killed him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Muḥammad b. Usāma related to me from his father, from his grandfather Usāma b. Zayd, who said, 'I and one of the *anṣār* captured him' (meaning Mirdās b. Nuhayk). 'And when we drew our swords over him, he said, "I testify that *lā Ilāha illā Allāh*!" But we did not put down our swords and killed him. When we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related this to him, he asked, "Usāma who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified) that *lā Ilāhā illā Allāh* 'there is no god but God'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said it to avoid being killed." He repeated, "Usāma, who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified that) *lā Iāha illā allāh*?" And, I swear, he kept on repeating this to me until I wished I had not previously been a Muslim, that I had only become one that day and that I had not killed him. So I told him, "Messenger of God, I give my word that I will never kill any man who says, '*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*'." He then asked me, "And what about after me?" "And after you (your death) too," I replied.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym b. Bashīr related, quoting Ḥuṣayn, from Abū Ẓubyān, who said, "I heard Usāma b. Zayd relate as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out to al-Ḥurqa of Juhayna. We attacked them in the morning. One of their men fought extremely well against us, and when they retreated, it was he who defended their rear. I and an *anṣārī* overcame him and as we did so, he said, "*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*". The *anṣārī* stood back from him, but I killed him. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked, "Usāma, did you kill him after he said, '*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said that to avoid death." But he kept on asking me the same until I wished I had only become a Muslim that day.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ya'qūb b. 'Utba related to me, from Muslim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Juhanī, from Jundub b. Makīth al-Juhanī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī, Kalb of Layth, to Banū al-Mulawwaḥ at al-Kadīd with orders to attack them. I was with his expedition and we went out as far as al-Qudayd, where al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣā' al-Laythī met us and we took him prisoner. He said, "I came out only to accept Islam." Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh told him, "If you were on your way to accept Islam, then it won't hurt you to be tied up for a day and a night. And if you really had some other purpose, then we'll have you secured."

"'So he tied him up and left him under the charge of a young black man we had with us, whom he told, "Stay with him until we come back for you; if he gives you trouble, cut off his head!" So we went on to the al-Kadīd valley, where we made a halt in the early evening and my companions sent me on towards al-Kadīd. I made my way to a hill that would allow me to overlook the village. I stretched out on the ground. It was before sunset. One of their men came outside and saw me stretched out on the hill. He told his wife, "I can see something dark on this hill that I did not notice earlier in the day. Look and see whether the dogs have dragged out some of your utensils." She did look, then said, "I swear, I'm not missing anything." The man then said, "Hand me my bow and two arrows from my quiver." She did so and he shot an arrow at me that struck me in the side' (or he may have said, 'on my forehead'). 'I pulled it out and put it aside, without moving. He then shot the other arrow at me, piercing the top of my shoulder. I withdrew it too and put it aside without moving. The man then told his wife, "I'm sure my arrows would have hurt him; if he were a scout, he would have moved. In the morning, go out and retrieve my arrows; I don't want the dogs to chew them up."'"

He went on, "We left them alone until their herd had been milked and were lying down quietly and a part of the night had passed. We then launched an attack upon them. We killed some and drove off their herd, heading away with them. Their shouts soon aroused others of them nearby. We raced off, eventually passing by al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barqā' and his companion. We continued on, with him accompanying us, until we heard the shouts of our pursuers who were too numerous for us to tackle. Soon all that separated us from them was the Qudyd valley. Then God sent down a flood of water from wherever He wished; we had not previously seen any rain, nor conditions for it. It came down so hard tht no one could withstand it. I saw the enemy force standing there staring at us, unable to get at us, while we drove off their animals" – or "led them off" (al-Nufaylī was uncertain). "We hurried away with them until we reached the track; when we had proceeded down it, they were unable to retrieve what we had taken."

Abū Dā'ūd related it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; in his account the narrator's name is given as 'Abd Allāh b. Ghālib, whereas the correct name is Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh, as above.

Al-Wāqidī gave this story with a different line of authorities and in his version it was stated that he was accompanied by 130 men.

Al-Bayhaqī at this point narrated, through al-Wāqidi, the expedition of Bashīr b. Sa'd also in the vicinity of Khaybar. They encountered a large force of Arabs and seized much livestock. His dispatch on this expedition had been at the suggestion of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with both. With him there were 300 Muslims, along with their guide Ḥusayl b. Nawbara; it was he who had been the guide of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. Al-Wāqidī stated this.

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ ḤADRAD TO AL-GHĀBA.

Yūnus stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, "It was Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam who related to me the story of Abū Ḥadrad to al-Ghāba. He quoted Abū Ḥadrad as saying, 'I arranged marriage with a woman of my tribe, promising her a dowry of two hundred dirhams. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek his help in my wedding. He asked me, "How much dowry did you promise her?" "Two hundred dirhams," I told him. He exclaimed, "Goodness gracious, I swear by God, if you were just picking up the money from a valley floor, you couldn't have given more! I swear, I don't have enough to help you." A few days later a man from Jasham b. Mu'āwiya approached; his name was Rifā'a b. Qays – or Qays b. Rifā'a. He was accompanied by a large group of Jasham men, with whom he encamped at al-Ghāba, with the intention of combining with Qays to fight against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a man of fine birth and reputation among Jasham.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned myself and two other Muslims and said, "Go out and get some information about this man." He then gave us a decrepit old she-camel, mounting one of us on it. I swear, it was so weak it could only get up with him, when some men pushed it up from behind. It could scarcely stand up. He told us, "Make do with her."

"'So we left bearing arms consisting of swords and arrows. When we arrived at sunset close to the village, I hid on one side and told my companions to hide on another. I told them, "If you hear me crying *Allāhu Akbar*! and running to their camp, then you shout the same and follow me."

"'We remained waiting to attack them by surprise until night overcame us. The darkest part of the night passed. They had a shepherd who had gone out to graze their flock. He was late in returning and they were worried about him. Their leader, Rifā'a b. Qays eventually got up and took his sword, which he hung around his neck, saying, "By God, I'm going out to find out about our shepherd; something must have happened to him." Some of those with him said, "By God, don't you go; we'll do it for you." "No," he replied. "Only I will go. I don't want any of you to follow me."

"'He then came out and passed by me. When he was in my range, I shot an arrow at him, piercing him in the heart. I swear, he did not utter a sound!

I jumped out at him and cut off his head, then raced towards their camp, shouting *Allāhu Akbar*! My companions did the same. I swear, they fled in disorder, taking with them their women, children and those possessions they could. We drove off large numbers of their camels and livestock which we took back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I went to him carrying the man's head. He gave me 13 baggage camels from those we captured as my dowry. So I concluded my marriage.'"

THE EXPEDITION IN WHICH MUḤALLIM B. JUTHĀMA KILLED ʿĀMIR B. AL-AḌBAṬ.

Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qusayṭ related to me, from Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against Iḍam. Our group of Muslims included Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī and Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays. We went on until we were in the Iḍam valley. There ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Ashjaʿī passed us by; he was riding a young camel, carrying a few provisions and a vessel of yoghurt. He saluted us with the Muslim words of greeting and so we refrained from attacking him. But Muḥallim b. Jaththāma attacked and killed him because of some earlier unresolved problem and seized his camel and provisions. When we reached the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS) we told him our news and it was about us that the following verses of the Qurʾān were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect. Do not say to those who greet you in peace, "You're no Muslim!" and seek for worldly gain. With God there will be many rewards. That is the way you behaved previously, but God has now favoured you. Be aware that God has knowledge of what you do'" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.94).

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaʿqūb, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qusayṭ, from al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to me, saying, 'I heard Ziyād b. Ḍumīra b. Saʿd al-Ḍamrī narrating a *ḥadīth* from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from his father and from his grandfather, both of whom said – they had both been present at Ḥunayn – "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr*, noon prayer, then went under the shade of a tree where he sat. ʿUyayna b. Badr went over to him and demanded the blood of ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Ashjaʿī, chief of (Banū) ʿĀmir. 'Would you agree to now accept 50 camels and another fifty when we return to Medina?' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked. ʿUyayna b. Badr responded, 'By God, I'll not leave him alone till his women experience the same sorrow my women have.'

"'"A man from Banū Layth named Ibn Mukayl, a short man, arose. He said, 'Messenger of God, I find nothing comparable to this death since the beginnings of Islam. All I can compare it to is the rear sheep that flee when their leader out in front is shot. Keep to the traditional ways today and bring change tomorrow!'

"‘"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reiterated, ‘Will you agree to accept 50 camels now and 50 when we return to Medina?’ He kept on at them till they accepted the blood-wit. The family of Muḥallim b. Jaththāma now asked, ‘Bring him over so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may forgive him.’

"‘"They brought a tall, thin man dressed in a gown in which he was prepared to be executed, and he stood before the Prophet (ṢAAS), who then spoke, ‘O *God, do not pardon Muḥallim!*’ *He repeated this three times. Muḥallim arose,* wiping away his tears with the hem of his gown."’"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "His people claim that after that he did forgive him."

Abū Dāʾūd related this similarly through Ḥammād b. Salama from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Zayd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his uncle. His account contains part of the *ḥadīth.*

The correct version is as Ibn Isḥāq related, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ziyād b. Saʿd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his grandfather. Abū Dāʾūd related it similarly through Ibn Wahb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ziyād b. Saʿd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his grandfather approximately as above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Sālim Abū al-Naḍr related to me that the account states, ‘They did not accept the blood-wit until al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis addressed them privately, saying, "People of Qays, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to give up a dead man to make peace between people thereby, but you refused him this. Are you secure against the possibility that he will be angry at you, and that God will be angry at his anger? Or that he will curse you and that God will curse you because of his curse? Give him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or I will bring 50 men of Banū Tamīm who will all swear that the dead man was an unbeliever who never performed the prayer, and that therefore no compensation for his death should be sought." When he said this to them they accepted the blood-money.’"

This *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭiʿ*, "without a complete chain of transmission", and is *muʿḍil*, "problematic".

Ibn Isḥāq related from a reliable source, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that when Muḥallim sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the latter asked him, "Did you offer him security then murder him?" and that he then cursed him.

"Al-Ḥasan said, "And I swear Muḥallim lived only seven days more thereafter before he died. The earth spat him out. Then they buried him again, but the earth again spat him out. When this happened yet again, they covered him over with stones to hide him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, ‘The earth covers over worse than him, but God wishes to warn you of what conduct is impermissible, by showing you this.’"

Ibn Jarīr said, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Muḥallim

b. Juththāma on a mission. ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ encountered them and saluted them with the Muslim greeting. But there had been a dispute between them before the coming of Islam and Muḥallim shot an arrow at him and killed him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he spoke with ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ about it. Al-Aqraʿ said, "Messenger of God, keep to custom today and make changes tomorrow." ʿUyayna said to him, "No, by God, not until his women taste the same bereavement." Muḥallim approached, dressed in two outer garments, and sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking his forgiveness, but the latter told him, "May God not forgive you!" They related that to him and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, "The earth accepts those worse than your companion, but God wished to warn you of what is impermissible to you." They then threw him down and dumped him on a mountain side, covering him with stones. And there was revealed, "O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect."'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this from al-Zuhrī. Shuʿayb related it from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb from Qubaysa b. Dhuʾyib, his story being similar to this. However, his account does not name Muḥallim b. Juththāma, nor ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ. Al-Bayhaqī related it in a similar account from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. That account stated, "And it was about him that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect.'"

I note that I have sufficiently discussed the reasons for the revelation of this verse and its import in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUDHĀFA AL-SAHMĪ.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Aʿmash, from Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubalī, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave charge of an expedition to one of the *anṣār*, telling those men he sent with him to listen well and to obey him. For some reason they angered him, so he said, 'Get some firewood!' They did so. He then said, 'Light it!' They did so. He then said, 'Enter the fire!' The men looked at one another and said, 'But the only reason we fled to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was to avoid the fire!' His anger subsided and the fire was extinguished.

"When they came back to the Prophet (ṢAAS) they related this to him and he said, 'If they had entered it, they would never have come out of it, for obedience is only in that which is good.'"

This anecdote is also firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Yaʿlā b. Musallam, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. We have discussed this sufficiently in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE ʿUMRAT AL-QAḌĀ᾽, THE 'FULFILMENT PILGRIMAGE'.

It is (also) known as *al-qiṣāṣ*. Al-Suhaylī preferred this. It is otherwise called *ʿumrat al-qaḍīya*, "the decision pilgrimage". The first name relates to fulfilment of what was arranged at al-Ḥudaybiyya. The second name is taken from the words of the Almighty, *wa al-ḥurumātu qiṣāsun*, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.194). The third name comes from the decision he made with them based on his retiring from them that year provided that he would return the next, and that he would enter Mecca only with his sword still sheathed and that he not stay longer than three days.

This *ʿumra* is the one referred to in the words of the Almighty in the sacred *sūrat al-Fatḥ*: "God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God wills it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaved and cut, not fearing" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27). We have examined this verse sufficiently in our work, *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

It was this that was promised in the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Responding to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's question, "Did we not say that we would come to the house and would circumambulate it?" he replied, "Yes indeed; but did I tell you you would go there this year?" "No," ʿUmar replied. "Well," he reiterated, "you will go there and you will circumambulate it."

It was also referred to in the verses of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa when he entered Mecca before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā᾽*, saying,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will
fight you about its interpretation
Just as we already fought you about its revelation."

This refers to interpretation of the vision the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to see that came to pass like the break of day.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar to Medina, he remained there for Rabīʿ al-Awwal and Rabīʿ al-Thānī, Jumāda al-Uwlā, Jumāda al-Ākhira, Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. Meanwhile, he sent out his various expeditions.

"He then set forth on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā᾽*, in Dhū al-Qaʿda, that same month when the polytheists had previously blocked his path; this was in place of the *ʿumra* they had denied him."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed ʿUwayf b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duwalī in command of Medina. It is also called the *ʿumrat al-qiṣāṣ* because they blocked the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Dhū al-Qaʿda, the holy month of 6 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retaliated against them by entering Mecca in Dhū al-Qaʿda, the holy month when they had blocked him, in 7 AH. We have been informed that Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'It was concerning that that God Almighty revealed the words, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation."'"

Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān quoted his father as saying about the *maghāzī*, the military expeditions, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar, he remained in Medina, sending out his expeditions until Dhū al-Qaʿda arrived. He then called out to the people, 'Get ready for the *ʿumra*.' They gathered their baggage and left for Mecca."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslims whose way had been blocked went forth with him on that *ʿumra* of his, it being 7 AH. When the Meccans heard of this, they kept out of their way. Quraysh meanwhile told one another that Muḥammad was in great difficulty and distress.

"A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'They lined up at the assembly hall to look at him and those with him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside the mosque, he tossed the hem of his mantle over his left shoulder, exposing his right arm and said, "May God have mercy upon a man who today demonstrates his strength to them."

"'He then saluted the *al-rukn*, the "corner", and came outside again, jogging, as did his Companions with him. He continued on until the *kaʿba* concealed him from them; he saluted the *rukn al-yaman*, the "south" or "Yemen" corner. Then he walked on and saluted the *rukn al-aswad*, the "black stone" corner.[78] He then jogged three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'People used to think that this (procedure) was not incumbent upon them. They thought this on the grounds that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only did this because of that tribe of Quraysh and what he had heard of them, until the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage"; the *sunna*, the normative Muslim practice, continued it.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād – he being Ibn Zayd – from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, the polytheists said, 'Here comes a delegation of people whom the Yathrib fevers have weakened!' And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered them to jog for the three courses and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him telling them to jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "Ibn Salama – meaning Ḥammād b. Salama – added, from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the latter said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (to Mecca) that year when it was safe, he said, "Jog, so that the polytheists can see your strength. The polytheists will be positioned in front of Mt. Quʿayquʿān."'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. Al-Bayhaqī traced the *ḥadīth* through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, (who said) that he heard Ibn Abū Awfā say, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra*, we shielded him from the polytheist youngsters and from the polytheists themselves in case they might harm him."

78. A black spherical stone, thought to be a meteorite; it is still embedded in a corner of the *Kaʿba*.

There will come hereafter the rest of the commentary concerning that event.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform that pilgrimage, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa kept hold of his camel's halter and recited,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; clear out, for
all good is in His messenger.
O Lord, I am a believer in his words; I know God's
truth in accepting it
We fought you about its interpretation, just as we
fought you about its revelation,
With blows that remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The words, 'We fought you about its interpretation' to the end of the lines are verses of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir relating to a different occasion – meaning the battle of Ṣiffin." Al-Suhaylī stated this.

Ibn Hishām further stated, "The proof of this is that Ibn Rawāḥa was referring only to the polytheists, who never had accepted the (fact of) revelation. And only those who accept the revelation would do battle over the interpretation."

Ibn Hishām's statement is open to dispute. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, from a different line of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked in front of him; in one account he did so while he held his leather stirrup. As he walked, he spoke the lines,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path; the al-Raḥmān,
the Most Merciful, has given revelation in revealing
it;
That the best fight is in His cause; we have fought
you over its interpretation.'"

In another version, with precisely the same chain of transmission, the words are,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we fight you
over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend.
O Lord, I believe in what he says."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the year of *al-qaḍīya*, the *ʿumra* in question, and circumambulated the *kaʿba* mounted on his camel. He saluted the *al-rukn*, "the corner (with the Black Stone)", using his staff. Regarding this, Ibn Hishām said, "He did so not due to any illness, while the Muslims were crowding around him, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was reciting,

'In the name of Him besides whose religion there is none, in the name of Him whose messenger is Muḥammad,
Clear out of his path, unbelievers!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī as follows, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth the year following that of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the *ʿumra* pilgrimage, in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 7 AH. This was the same month that the polytheists blocked him from entry to the sacred mosque. When he reached Yaʾjij, he laid down all their weapons – leather shields, armour, spears and arrows. They then entered carrying the swords borne by mounted men. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib on ahead of himself to Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, the al-ʿĀmirī woman, and proposed marriage to her. She appointed al-ʿAbbās in charge of her affairs; his wife, Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was her sister. Al-ʿAbbās then agreed to her marriage to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he ordered his Companions, 'Uncover your shoulders, and be vigorous as you circumambulate.' This was so that the polytheists would see their skin, and their strength. He outwitted them all he could. The people of Mecca, men, women, and children, gathered around him, staring at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, as they circumambulated the *kaʿba*. Meanwhile, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked ahead of him, speaking verse and brandishing his sword, saying,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path; I am a witness that he is His messenger;
The al-Raḥmān, the Most Merciful, sent down about His revelation, in sheets that are recited to His messenger.
Today we will fight you over its interpretation, as we fought you over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert friend from friends.'

"Some polytheist chiefs remained away rather than look on with anger, resentment and envy towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They went off to Mt. al-Khandayna. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for three nights, at which point the period of safe access agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya ended.

"When morning of the 4th day came, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā arrived, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his Companions, conferring with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā shouted, 'We invoke God and the pact to you, because you have not left our land and the three nights are over!' Saʿd b. ʿUbāda replied, 'You lie, may you have no mother! It is not your land, nor that of your forefathers. By God, he will not

leave!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out to Suhayl and Ḥuwayṭib, saying, 'I have arranged marriage with one of your women. It will not harm you for me to stay until I consummate the marriage with her. We can prepare food and you can eat with us.' They replied, 'We will insist on invoking God and the pact unless you leave us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Abū Rāfi' and he announced the departure. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode off and halted in the valley of Saraf. The other Muslims had remained behind; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had entrusted Abū Rāfi' with bringing Maymūna. He stayed at Saraf until Maymūna arrived to him there. Maymūna had been caused great distress and been harmed by the foolish polytheists and their children. When she arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Saraf, he consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, at night, he travelled on and reached Medina.

"God decreed that Maymūna's death should occur at a later day at Saraf; she died where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had consummated marriage with her."

He then went on to relate the story of the daughter of Ḥamza and concluded by saying, "God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed concerning that *'umra*, the words, 'The holy month for the holy month, and the things forbidden are subject to retaliation.'" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the pilgrimage in that same holy month in which they had blocked his path.

Ibn Lahī'a related from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr approximately this same text, which is further substantiated by numerous witnesses in many *aḥādīth*.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, through Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to make the *'umra* pilgrimage, but the Quraysh unbelievers blocked his path to the *ka'ba*. He made sacrifice and shaved his head at al-Ḥudaybiyya and made a pact with them that they would make the *'umra* the following year; the only arms (the Muslims) would bear would be swords and he would remain only so long as they agreed.

He did perform the *'umra* the following year and entered it in accord with the pact he had made. After he had been there for three days, they told him to leave, and he did so.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Nāfi' related to me, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'This pilgrimage was not retaliatory but accorded with the conditions placed upon the Muslims; that in exchange they would perform the *'umra* in that same month that the polytheists had previously blocked them.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Al-Nufaylī related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from 'Amr b. Maymūn (who said), 'I heard Abū Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī relate that Maymūn b. Muhrān said, "I went out to make the

ʿumra pilgrimage the year the Syrians besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Men of my tribe sent some animals with me for sacrifice.

"'When we encountered the Syrians, they prevented us from going inside the sacred area. So I sacrificed the animals where I was, performed the other pilgrimage rites and then returned home. When I went out the following year to complete the *ʿumra*, I went to see Ibn ʿAbbās and I asked him and he replied, "You should change the animals for sacrifice; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to sacrifice different animals than they had in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*."'"

Abū Dāʾūd was alone in giving this, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥāḍir ʿUthmān b. Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim narrated to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "ʿAmr b. Maymūn related to me as follows, "My father used to ask often, 'Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change the animals he sacrificed when the polytheists blocked him from the *kaʿba*?' He never got any information on this until I heard him ask Abū Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī about that and he told him, 'You've found an expert! I went on the pilgrimage the first year Ibn al-Zubayr was engaged in the siege. I was given some animals to sacrifice, but they (the Syrians) came between us and the *kaʿba*. So I slaughtered them in the sacred area and returned to Yemen where I told people, "I have in the Messenger of God an example!" The following year I again went on the *ʿumra*; I encountered Ibn ʿAbbās and asked him whether or not I should change the animals for sacrifice. He replied, "Yes; do change. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions did change the sacrificial animals from those they slaughtered when the polytheists blocked their path to different ones on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*. They found camels expensive for them, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to sacrifice cattle."'""'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ghānim b. Abū Ghānim related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Nājiyya b. Jundab al-Aslamī in charge of the animals to be sacrificed. He would go on ahead searching for fodder among the trees, accompanied by four young men of Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took out 60 head on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*.'"

Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Mujammir related to me, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "I was with the man in charge of the sacrificial animals, driving them."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth reciting *Labbayka*! 'I am at Your service!' and the Muslims with him recited the same. Muḥammad b. Maslama went on with the cavalry to Marr al-Ẓahrān, where he encountered a few men of Quraysh. They asked Muḥammad b. Maslama some questions and he replied, 'This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he will arrive at this place tomorrow morning, if God wills it.' They (the Quraysh) noticed that

Bashīr b. Saʿd had many weapons with him and so they left in a hurry and went to Quraysh whom they informed of the weapons and cavalry they had seen. Quraysh were scared by this. They told one another that they had not stirred up any trouble and they were maintaining their pact of a truce, and they wondered why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men were attacking them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt at Marr al-Ẓahrān. He sent on the weapons to the Yaʾjij valley, from where they could see the stones marking the limits of the sacred territory. Quraysh sent out Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Aḥnaf with a party of Quraysh and they encountered him at the valley of Yaʾjij; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his men having met up with the animals to be slaughtered and the weapons. The Quraysh asked, 'Muḥammad, you've never been known to break your word for any excuse, whether the issue is major or minor; are you now entering the sacred territory with your men bearing arms, even though you agreed to enter only with weapons such as travellers carry, swords in sheaths?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will not bring in weapons against them.' Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ commented, 'This is what you are known for – piety and trustworthiness.' He then hurried back to Mecca with his Companions.

"When Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ brought the news of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Quraysh left Mecca for the mountain heights. As they left Mecca, they told one another that they would not look at him or his Companions.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ordered the animals for slaughter to be driven ahead and they were corralled at Dhū Ṭuwā. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on with his men; he was riding his camel at-Qaṣwāʾ and they kept their eyes on him, calling out *Labbayka*! 'At Your service, O Lord!' and brandishing their swords. When they arrived at Dhū Ṭuwā, he stood up on his mount al-Qaṣwāʾ, while Ibn Rawāḥa took its reins and spoke lines of impromptu poetry, saying,

> 'Unbelievers, clear out of his path.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās in which he stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men arrived in the morning of the 4th – meaning of Dhū al-Qaʿda, 7 AH – and the polytheists said, 'A delegation is approaching you who have been rendered weak by the fevers of Yathrib.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to jog for the three circuits and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him having them jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabāḥ related to us, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Zakariyyāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Ẓahrān on his *ʿumra*, his men learned that Quraysh were saying, 'They'll never recover from their emaciation.' His Companions told him, 'If we were to butcher our mounts and eat their meat and sip soup made from them, we'd gain

some strength for when we go out among people tomorrow.' He replied, 'No; don't do that; gather up all the provisions you have.' They did so, spread out the scraps of food and ate until satisfied; each of them stuffed the remainder in their bags.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went out and entered the mosque, while Quraysh squatted over towards the Black Stone. He gathered up the left sleeve of his gown, then said, 'Do not let the enemy see any insufficiency in you.' He saluted the *rukn*, the corner, ran until hidden behind the south corner, then walked to the *rukn al-aswad*, the corner with the Black Stone. Quraysh commented, 'They're not satisfied with walking; they race around like gazelles!' He did this for three circuits and it became *sunna*, orthodox practice."

Abū al-Ṭufayl went on, "Ibn ʿAbbās informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also did this on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* through this line.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsa related to him, quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salam – quoting Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ghanawī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I commented to Ibn ʿAbbās, 'So your people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *kaʿba*, and that that practice is *sunna*, "customary orthodox practice".' He replied, 'They both spoke the truth and lied.' 'What was true and what lies?' I asked. He replied, 'They did speak the truth when they said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran. They also lied; it is not *sunna*. At the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Quraysh said, "Let Muḥammad and his Companions alone until they die of worms!" Then they made a truce on the understanding that he would return the following year and stay in Mecca for three days. When he came, the polytheists went over towards Mt. Quʿayqiʿān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, "Run three times at the *kaʿba*. But that is not *sunna*."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd b. Abjar, all three of them quoting Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in much the same words.

The act of running while circumambulating is considered *sunna* by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did run during the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, and also at the *ʿumrat al-Jiʿrāna*, as Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Māja related, from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who so stated.

It is clearly established in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir given by Muslim and others, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage", as he made the circumambulations. This is why ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, "Why run, when God has made Islam long-lasting?" However, we should not abandon any practice performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is fully substantiated in my book *kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

It is very well known that Ibn ʿAbbās did not consider this practice *sunna*, as is substantiated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna,

from ῾Amr b. Dīnār, from ῾Aṭā᾿, from Ibn ῾Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only hurried at the *ka῾ba*, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists."

This is the terminology given by al-Bukhārī.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his duties at the *῾umrat al-qaḍā᾿*, he went inside the *ka῾ba*. He remained inside until Bilāl, from atop the *ka῾ba*'s roof, made the call to the *al-ẓuhr*, noon, prayer; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given him orders to do this. ῾Ikrima b. Abū Jahl commented, 'God honoured Abū al-Ḥakam[79] by not having him hear this slave say what he is saying!' Ṣafwān b. Umayya said, 'Praise be to God who took away my father before he saw this!' Khālid b. Usayd agreed, 'Praise be to God who took the life of my father so that he did not witness this day when Bilāl climbs on top of the *ka῾ba* and brays!' Suhayl b. ῾Umar and the men with him covered their faces when they heard this."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "God honoured most of them with Islam."

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated this through al-Wāqidī to the effect that this took place on the *῾umrat al-Qaḍā᾿*, even though it is well-known that this happened in the year of the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

The Story of the Marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "Abān b. Ṣāliḥ and ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from ῾Aṭā᾿ and Mujāhid, from Ibn ῾Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, on that journey of his when he was *ḥarām*, in a state of ritual purity. It was al-῾Abbās b. ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib who married him to her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "She had appointed her sister, Umm al-Faḍl, to represent her and she in turn entrusted the task to her husband al-῾Abbās. It was he who married her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave her from him a dowry of 400 dirhams."

Al-Suhaylī reported that when the proposal of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached her, she was mounted on a camel. She said, "Both the camel and what is on it belong to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

He also stated, "It was about her that the verse was revealed, '(We have made lawful to you) a believing woman! If she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet wished to marry her. This provision is only for you, apart from all the believers.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.50).

Al-Bukhārī related on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from ῾Ikrima, from Ibn ῾Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*, in a state of ritual conservation. When he consummated marriage with her, he was *ḥalāl*, free of the *iḥrām*. She died at Saraf. Al-Suhaylī stated and

79. That is, the speaker's father, Abū Jahl, killed at Badr.

al-Dārquṭnī related through Abū al-Aswad, the orphan of ʿUrwa, and through Maṭar al-Warrāq, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *ḥalāl*.

He said, "And they interpreted the first version of the account from Ibn ʿAbbās – that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *muḥrim*, 'in a ritual state', to mean that it was in the holy month. As a poet said,

> 'They killed Ibn ʿAffān, the Khalīfa, when he was
> *muḥrim* and prayed; and I never saw the like of him
> abandoned.'[80]

"That is, this occurred in the holy month."

I note that this interpretation is open to dispute, because the accounts from Ibn ʿAbbās contrary to that predominate, especially since he said, "He married her while he was *muḥrim* and consummated marriage with her when he was *ḥalāl*." This also occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda, another holy month.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, "Al-Thawrī said to me, 'No attention should be paid to the words of the people of Medina. ʿAmr informed me, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married while *muḥrim*.'"

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated that he told ʿAbd al-Razzāq, "Sufyān related both *aḥādīth* from ʿAmr, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Yes; regarding the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khaytham, he related it here' – meaning in al-Yaman. 'Regarding the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr, he related it there' – meaning in Mecca."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included this tradition, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, through al-Awzāʿī, it states, "ʿAṭā' related to us, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*." Saʿīd b. al-Mussayyib stated, "Ibn ʿAbbās made a mistake, even though she was his aunt; he did not marry her until after he had become *ḥalāl*."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "Baqiyya quoted Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib as having said, 'This ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *muḥrim*'. And he (Sa'īd) went on to relate what he had said. He (Sa'īd) continued, 'However, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to Mecca, both the *ḥill*[81], and the marriage were at the same time. Ibn ʿAbbās was confused about this.'"

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* related from lines of transmission from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī, from his aunt Muymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married me while we were both *ḥalāl*, at Saraf." However, al-Tirmidhī stated, "Several authorities related this *ḥadīth*

80. This refers to the assassination of ʿUthmān; his death is said to have come while he was in prayer.

81. The state of being *ḥalāl*.

regarding the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna, from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm *mursal*, 'with an incomplete chain of transmission'."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Aṣfahānī al-Zāhid, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Maṭar al-Warrāq, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Rāfiʿ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *ḥalāl* and he consummated the marriage when he was *ḥalāl*. I was the messenger between them."

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Yazīd. Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know of no other authority who gave its line from Ḥammād, from Maṭar." Mālik related it from Rabīʿa, from Sulaymān, but as *mursal*, incomplete in its chain".

And Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it from Rabīʿa, as *mursal*.

I note that her death came at Saraf in 63 AH, or, according to others, in 60 AH. May God be pleased with her.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca after the completion of his ʿumra pilgrimage.

It has been narrated above by Mūsā b. ʿUqba how Quraysh sent Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) four days later so that he would leave, as had been stipulated in the agreement. He offered to hold a feast for them in honour of his marriage to Maymūna, his only purpose having been to reconcile with them thereby. They refused him, telling him to leave. And he did. Ibn Isḥāq related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made the *ʿumra* pilgrimage in Dhū al-Qaʿda. The people of Mecca refused to invite him to enter Mecca until he compacted with them that he would stay there three days. When they drew up the document, they wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has agreed.' They (the Meccans) commented, 'We don't agree to this. If we knew you to be God's messenger, we would not have opposed you at all. You are, however, Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh.' He stated, 'I am the Messenger of God, and I am Muḥammad, the son of ʿAbd Allāh.' He then told ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, 'Erase the words "Messenger of God".' He replied, 'No, by God, I'll not erase you, ever!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took the document – he could not write well – and wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, has agreed to. No weapons will enter Mecca except swords in sheaths. And he will not take away any one of its people who wishes to follow him. Also, he will not prevent any of his men from staying if they wish to do so.'

"When he did enter and the period for the stay was over, they came to ʿAlī and said, 'Tell your master to leave us, since the time is over.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore went to leave, but he was followed by Ḥamza's daughter calling out, 'Uncle! Uncle!' ʿAlī took her by the hand and told Fāṭima, 'Take care of your cousin.' She carried her away. ʿAlī, Zayd and Jaʿfar then began quarrelling over her. ʿAlī said, 'I should take her; she is my uncle's daughter.' Jaʿfar said, 'She's the daughter of my uncle too, and her aunt is my wife.' Zayd said, 'She's my brother's daughter.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) decided that she should go with her aunt, saying, 'An aunt has the same standing as a mother.' He then said to ʿAlī, 'You are from me, and I am from you.' To Jaʿfar, he said, 'You resemble me in appearance and character.' To Zayd, he said, 'You are our brother and our companion.' ʿAlī then asked, 'Will you not marry Ḥamza's daughter?' He replied, 'She is the daughter of my foster-brother.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth* with this line of transmission.

Al-Wāqidī narrated the story of Ḥamza's daughter. He stated, "Ibn Umm Ḥabība related to me, from Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that ʿUmāra, daughter of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and her mother Salmā, daughter of ʿUmays, were at Mecca.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke with him, saying, 'How can we abandon the daughter of our uncle, an orphan, amidst the polytheists?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not forbid bringing her out, and he (ʿAlī) did so. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the *waṣī*, the executor, of Ḥamza, now spoke up; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made Zayd and Ḥamza brothers when he had established brotherly relationships between the emigrants (and the *anṣār*). Zayd said, 'I have the greater right to her; she is my brother's daughter.' When Jaʿfar heard that, he said, 'An aunt is (as) a mother. I have more right to her because her aunt, Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, is with me.' ʿAlī commented, 'Do I really see you fighting? She is my uncle's daughter and I brought her out from among the polytheists. You have no claim better than mine; I have more right to her than you do.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will judge between you. As for you, Zayd, you are the agent of God and of His messenger. You, Jaʿfar, are similar to me as my features and my disposition. You, Jaʿfar, have most right to her; your wife is her maternal aunt, and a woman cannot be wed along with her maternal or her paternal aunt.' And he judged that she should go to Jaʿfar."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When he awarded her to Jaʿfar, Jaʿfar arose and skipped around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked, 'What's this then, Jaʿfar?' He replied, 'Messenger of God, whenever the Negus was pleased with someone, he would get up and skip around him.' Then he said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'You marry her.' He replied, 'She's the daughter of my foster-brother.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married her to Salama b. Abū Salama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'Did I reward Abū Salama?'"

I note that al-Wāqidī and others report that it was because he had arranged the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to his mother, Umm Salama. This was because he was older than his brother ʿUmar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina in Dhū al-Ḥijja, and the polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage (that year)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was regarding that *ʿumra*, so Abū ʿUbayda related to me, that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God will it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaven or shorn, not fearing. He knew what you did not know and vouchsafed for you a victory close at hand'"[82] (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27).

DIVISION.

Al-Bayhaqī related here the expedition of Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ al-Sulamī to Banū Sulaym.

He then traced the line of transmission from al-Wāqidī, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim related to me, from al-Zuhrī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiya* in Dhū al-Hijja, 7, AH. He then sent forth Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ al-Sulamī along with 50 horsemen. But the scout sent out by that tribe warned them and gave them information. They gathered a large force and so when Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ came to them, they were well prepared. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw their force, they invited them to accept Islam. The enemy pelted them with arrows, refusing to listen to them, saying, "We don't need what you're offering." They shot at them for a while then called up reinforcements that overlooked them (the Muslims) from all sides. The (Muslim) force fought fiercely until most of them had been killed. Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ suffered numerous wounds. He withstood his pain and returned to Medina with his remaining men, arriving there on the 1st of Ṣafar, 8 AH.'"

DIVISION.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In the pilgrimage of that year – that is, 7 AH – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his daughter Zaynab to her husband Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ. We have made reference to this above. That same year Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa arrived from having been with al-Muqawqis; with him were Māriyya, and Sīrīn. They both accepted Islam *en route*, as did a eunuch."

Al-Wāqidī went on, "That same year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted as his *minbar* a seat above two steps." He went on, "However, what we are certain is that he did this in 8 AH."

82. This is in reference to the conquest of Khaybar.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MOST MERCIFUL, THE MOST COMPASSIONATE. O LORD, GIVE RELIEF AND HELP THROUGH YOUR POWER AND STRENGTH! THE YEAR 8 AH. THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY ʿAMR B. AL-ʿĀṢ, KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AND ʿUTHMĀN B. ṬALḤA B. ABŪ ṬĀLIB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH THEM ALL.

Their arrival occurred early in 8 AH, according to what follows.

Part of this has been referred to heretofore in the account given by Ibn Isḥāq following the execution of Abū Rāfiʿ, the Jew; this took place in 5 AH.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave this information here, following his account of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*. He narrated through al-Wāqidī, "ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar informed us, from his father (who said) that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ stated, 'I was stubbornly opposed to Islam. I was present at Badr with the polytheists and escaped. Then I was present at Uḥud and escaped. Finally I was present at al-khandaq and escaped.

"'I told myself, "What suffering! I swear by God, may Muḥammad prevail over Quraysh!" So I took my assets and moved to al-Rahṭ. And I diminished my contacts with people. When the al-Ḥudaybiyya pact was agreed and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in peace and Quraysh returned to Mecca, I began saying, "So Muḥammad is going to come to Mecca with his men; Mecca is no place to be in, nor is al-Ṭāʾif. The best thing to do is to leave." I was then still hostile to Islam. I think that if all Quraysh accepted Islam, I would not do so.

"'I went to Mecca and gathered together some men of my tribe who saw things as I did, repeated my views and sought my advice in matters concerning them. I asked them, "How am I in your view?" They replied, "As our adviser and our protector, a man of fine character and wise decision."'

"He went on, 'I then told them, "You well know, by God, that I consider this matter of Muḥammad as serious and reprehensible; I have reached a decision." "What is that?" they asked. "We should go and join the Negus", I told them, "and live with him. If Muḥammad prevails, we will be there with the Negus; and we would be far better off under his control than under that of Muḥammad. And if Quraysh prevail, they already know us well."

"'"This is the right decision (they responded)." I told them, "Then gather up presents for him." The gift he most appreciated from our land was leather. So we gathered much leather for him, then left and went to the Negus. While we were there, who should arrive but ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him with a document he had prepared marrying him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my companions, "That is ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. If I had gone in to the Negus and asked him for him, and he had given him to me and I had cut off his head, then Quraysh would have been delighted and I would have been rewarded for killing Muḥammad's emissary."

"'I did go in to the Negus and bowed down before him as I was accustomed to do. He said, "Welcome to my friend! Have you brought something as a gift

for me from your country?" "Yes, O king," I told him. "I have much better leather to give to you." I then presented it to him and he was delighted. Some of it he distributed to his generals and the rest he had stored away and had a record of it written and kept.

"'When I saw he was in a good mood, I asked, "Your majesty, I just noticed a man leaving your presence. He is the messenger from an enemy of ours. He has caused us much trouble and has killed some of our leaders and best men. Please hand him over to me, so that I may kill him." He became angry at this, raised his fist and brought it down so hard on my nose that I thought he had broken it. My nostril soon flowed with blood that dripped on to my clothing. I felt so humiliated I wished the earth would open up and swallow me.

"'I eventually said, "Your majesty, if I had known you would be upset at what I said, I would not have asked you."'

"He went on, 'He then became embarrassed and said, "ʿAmr, how could you ask me to hand over to you for execution the messenger of the man to whom the *al-nāmūs al-akbar*, the Archangel Gabriel, comes, just as he did to Moses and to Jesus?"'

"ʿAmr went on, 'God then changed my attitude from the way it had been, and I asked myself, "When the Arabs and non-Arabs alike recognize this truth, how can you oppose it?" I then said to the Negus, "Your majesty, do you really testify to that?" "I so testify to God, ʿAmr," he replied. "Obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right and that he will definitely prevail over those who oppose him, just as Moses prevailed over Pharoah and his armies."

"'I asked him, "Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?" "Yes," he replied. He then stretched forth his hands and accepted my allegiance. He called for someone to bring a wash basin and the blood was washed from me and he presented me with garments in which to dress. My own clothing was soaked in blood and I cast it aside. Then I went out to my companions and when they saw the garments from the Negus they were delighted. They asked, "Did you receive what you wanted from your friend?" I told them, "I was reluctant to talk about it with him on the first occasion; I told him I would come back." "We agree with that," they said.'

"ʿAmr went on, 'So I left them, as if I had something specific to do and made my way to where the boats were moored. I found one ship that was loaded and about to leave. I embarked with them and they sailed it away to al-Shuʿba, where I went ashore, carrying my money. I bought a camel and headed for Medina, passing by Marr al-Ẓahrān. I then went on until I reached al-Hadda, where I met two men who had preceded me there shortly before. They were looking for accommodation, one man entering a tent, while the other held their mounts. Then I saw that one of them was Khālid b. al-Walīd! I asked him, "Where are you headed?" "To Muḥammad," he replied. "The people are all joining Islam and there's no one left with any power. I swear by God, if I were to oppose, he'd have us by the neck, like a hyena's neck is caught in his cave."

"'"I swear by God," I told him, I too am headed for Muḥammad and am accepting Islam." Then ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa emerged and welcomed me. We all three lodged together.

"'We then reached an agreement and went to Medina. I'll never forget what a man said whom we met at the Abū ʿUtba well who shouted out, "*Yā rabāḥ*! *Yā rabāḥ*! *Yā rabāḥ*!"[83] We were much cheered by this and proceeded further. Then the man looked closely at us and I heard him say, "After (losing) these two, Mecca has given up the leadership!" I assumed he was referring to myself and to Khālid b. al-Walīd. He then turned and hurried off into the mosque; I assumed that he was going in to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of our arrival and it was as I thought.

"'We dismounted at al-Ḥarra and dressed in our best clothes. Then the call was made for the *ʿaṣr* prayer and we went off to see him. His face was exultant, and the Muslims around him were delighted at our acceptance of Islam. Khālid b. al-Walīd went forward and gave his allegiance. Then ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa advanced and gave his. I then went forward but, I swear by God, no sooner had I sat down before him than I could not raise my gaze towards him, I felt so ashamed. I then expressed my allegiance to him, provided that I be forgiven my prior sins and that he would not bring up the past. He said, "Islam cuts off what preceded it and the *hijra* cuts off what preceded it."

"'And I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to none of his Companions consideration equal to that he gave myself and Khālid b. al-Walīd after we had accepted Islam. We had the same status with Abū Bakr and I enjoyed the same with ʿUmar; ʿUmar was somewhat critical towards Khālid.'"

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, al-Wāqidī's *sheikh*, teacher, stated, "I narrated this *ḥadīth* to Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, and he said, 'Rāshid, the freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, quoted his master Ḥabīb as relating much the same from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.'"

I note that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related it similarly, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rāshid, from his freed-man Ḥabīb, who said, "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in person related to me." And he then narrated the above as occurring in 5 AH, after the killing of Abū Rāfiʿ. The text of al-Wāqidī is more simple and better.

Al-Wāqidi quoted his sheikh ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd as saying, "I asked Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, 'Did he say when ʿAmr and Khālid accepted Islam?' 'No', he replied, 'except that he did say it was before the conquest of Mecca.' I then said, 'My father told me that ʿAmr, Khālid and Ṭalḥa came forward at the beginning of Ṣafar in 8 AH.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is material testifying to the course of his acceptance of Islam, his fine companionship with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during his life, and how he died repenting his conduct during the period of his leadership after that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with a description of his death. May God be pleased with him.

83. A cry of surprise and delight.

THE PATH BY WHICH KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD ACCEPTED ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Yaḥyā b. al-Mughīra b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām related to me, "I heard my father quote Khālid b. al-Walīd as saying, 'When God wished for good for me, he instilled Islam into my heart and gave me good sense. I then told myself, "I have witnessed how all these lands are against Muḥammad (ṢAAS); yet whatever I witness in these places makes me want to leave them, feeling that I am out of place in them and that Muḥammad will prevail."

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ḥudaybiyya, I went forth with some of the polytheist cavalry and encountered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men at ῾Usfān. I positioned myself directly facing and opposing him. He and his men performed the *al-ẓuhr*, the noon prayer, before us and we thought we should attack him then, but could not make up our minds to do so; which was a very good thing! He saw what we were about to do and he and his men performed the *al-῾aṣr*, late afternoon prayer, as a *ṣalāt al-khawf*, "prayer in fear of attack".[84] This made an impression on us and I said, "The fellow is denied us!" We moved back and he avoided our horsemen by taking the route to the right.

"'When Quraysh made peace with him at al-Ḥudaybiyya and put him off till the following year, I asked myself, "What is left? Where can I go? To the Negus? He follows Muḥammad, whose men are safe with him. Shall I go to Heraclius and abandon my faith for Christianity or Judaism? Should I go and live with foreigners, or stay at home with those who remain?"

"'While I was in this quandary, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform the *῾umrat al-qaḍiyya*. I pretended to be absent and did not witness his entry. My brother, al-Walīd b. al-Walīd, had come in with the Prophet (ṢAAS) on the *῾umrat al-qaḍiyya* and he asked after me but could not locate me. He wrote me a letter in which he said, "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. I know of nothing more strange than your antipathy for Islam, being as intelligent as you are. Could anyone disregard something like Islam? The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has asked me about you. He said, 'Where is Khālid?' I replied, 'God will bring him.' He then asked, 'Could someone like him disregard Islam? If he were to put his energy and bravery to work with the Muslims it would be better for him. We would certainly give him precedence before others.' Take note, brother, of what good things you are missing."

"'When his letter reached me, I got ready to come out and experienced a strong desire for Islam. The question the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked about me pleased me greatly. I dreamt of being in a constrained and barren land and emerging into one that was spacious and fertile. I told myself that this was a vision. And when I went to Medina, I decided to relate it to Abū Bakr. He said, "Your exiting to which God led you was to Islam. The constrained land where you had been was polytheism."

84. See above, pp.

"'And so when I made up my mind to come out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I wondered in whose company I would go to him. Then I met up with Ṣafwān b. Umayya and asked him, "Abū Wahb, don't you see what we are doing? We're (as useless) as molars! Muḥammad may defeat the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike. If we joined and followed Muḥammad, then honour gained by him would be honour for us all." But Safwān rejected this vigorously, saying, "If I were the very last, I'd never follow him!"

"'We parted and I told myself that this was someone whose brother and father had been killed at Badr. Then I met ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl to whom I said the same as I had to Ṣafwān b. Umayya. He responded just as Ṣafwān had done. I asked him to keep confidential what I had said, and he agreed.

"'I went off home, had my camel readied and left on it. On the way I met ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa; knowing him to be a friend, I thought I would tell him my plan. I then recalled the names of some of his elders who had been killed and I thus became reluctant to mention this to him. But I said to myself, "What does it matter to me now that I'm about to leave?" So I told him what had transpired and said, "We're like a fox in a hole that would be sure to come up if doused with buckets of water." I said to him what I had earlier told my other two friends and he responded positively at once. I told him, "I got up this morning ready to proceed forth; over there at the road, kneeling down, is my mount." We then agreed to meet at Ya'jij. If he got there first, he would wait; if I arrived there before him, I would wait there.

"'We set off at night, before dawn, and we met at Ya'jij. We proceeded on together to al-Hadda, where we found ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. He welcomed us warmly, as we did him. He asked us where we were headed and we asked him why he had left. He wanted to know our purpose in leaving, and we replied, "To enter Islam and follow Muḥammad (ṢAAS)." He said that that was his purpose too.

"'So we travelled on together into Medina and dismounted at the back of al-Ḥarra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of our arrival, and he was delighted with us. I dressed in my best clothes and headed for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). My brother met me and said, "Hurry along; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been told about you, is delighted at your arrival and is awaiting you."

"'We stepped up our pace and when I looked at him I saw him smiling all the time until we stopped before him. I addressed him as "Prophet" and he returned a greeting, his face beaming. I said, "I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God." He then said, "Come here." And then he said, "Praise be to God who guided you. I considered you to have intelligence that I hoped would only lead you to good." I replied, "Messenger of God, I used to agree with those others I have seen to be stubbornly opposed to the truth; please pray to God that He will forgive me this." He replied, "Islam cuts off what preceded it." I asked, "Messenger of God, and so hence ..." He then said, "O God, forgive every action Khālid b. al-Walīd took to block God's cause."'

"Khālid went on, 'ʿUthmān and ʿAmr then came up and expressed their allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Our arrival was in Ṣafar of 8 AH. And, I swear by God, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave precedence to none of his Companions over myself.'"

THE EXPEDITION OF SHUJĀʿ B. WAHB AL-ASADĪ TO SOME MEN OF HAWĀZIN.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from ʿUmar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Shujāʿ b. Wahb with 24 men out against a group of Hawāzin with orders to attack them. He left, travelling by night and remaining hidden by day. When he came to them, they were taken by surprise. He, Shujāʿ, had told his men not to pursue them vigorously. They seized many camels and goats. They drove them off to Medina, where each man received 15 camels as booty."

Others maintain that they also took many captives and that the leader (Shujāʿ) chose from them one modest girl and that their people then accepted Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) advised their leader to return the women to them, and he agreed. He gave a choice to the girl he had with him, and she chose to stay.

This expedition may be the one to which al-Shāfiʿī referred, quoting Mālik, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition towards Najd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar being among them. The latter said, "We captured many camels and our share of the booty was 12 camels apiece, which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded us camel by camel."

This is included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* from Mālik. Muslim also related it in a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, and from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allah. All of these quoted Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, in similar words.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Hanād related to him, quoting ʿAbda, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition out to Najd and I took part in it. We captured many camels and our leader divided them up to each of us, camel by camel. Then we went on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he divided up our booty between us, so that each of us acquired 12 camels, after the *khumus* (the one-fifth for the *bayt al-māl*, the treasury) had been set aside. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not include in our counts the camels our leader had given us, nor did he criticize him for what he had done. Each one of us received 13 camels, after he had made his distribution."

THE EXPEDITION OF KAʿB B. ʿUMAYR TO BANŪ QUḌĀʿA, IN SYRIA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Kaʿb b. ʿUmayr al-Ghifārī with 15 men out as far as Dhāt Aṭlāḥ, in Syria. There they found a very large body of

men. The Muslims invited them to accept Islam, but they did not agree and showered them with arrows. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, they fought the enemy fiercely until they (the Muslims) were killed. One of their men was wounded badly and lay among the dead. In the cool of the night he managed to make his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was about to send out an expedition against them when news reached him that they had gone elsewhere."

THE EXPEDITION TO MUʾTA.

This is the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥāritha with approximately 3,000 men to al-Balqāʾ territory in Syria.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, following his account of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for the duration of Dhū al-Ḥijjā – the polytheists having controlled that pilgrimage – throughout al-Muḥarram, Ṣafar and both Rabīʿ al-Awwal and al-Thānī. In Jumāda al-Uwlā he sent out into Syria those who were afflicted at Muʾta.

"Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out his expedition to Muʾta in Jumāda al-Uwlā, 8 AH. He appointed as their leader Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, "If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib will take command. If he should fall, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will lead."'

"The army, consisting of 3,000 men, then prepared to leave."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to him, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥakam, from his father, who said, "Al-Nuʿmān b. Fanḥaṣ, the Jew, came and stood with the men looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha will be commander and if Zayd should be killed, then it will be Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. If Jaʿfar is killed, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will be commander. If he should be killed, then the Muslims should choose one from among themselves to appoint over them.'

"Al-Nuʿmān then said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, if you are a prophet and were to so name them, few or many in number, they would all be killed. When the prophets of Banū Isrāʾīl named a commander and then went on to name his successor if he should be killed, then they would all be killed, even if they named 100.' He told Zayd, 'Attend to your affairs. For you will never return, if Muḥammad is a prophet.'

"Zayd replied, 'I do testify that he is a prophet, a man of truth and piety; may God's peace and blessings be upon him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When time came for their departure, the men said farewell to the commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said goodbye with the rest, he wept. When people asked him why, he

replied, 'I swear by God, it's not because of my love for this life or my affection for you; I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reciting a verse from God's Book which mentions hell-fire and says, "All of you will go to it; this is determined and decreed by your Lord" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). And I don't know how I'll be able to escape from it after I've gone into it!'

"The Muslims then said to him, 'May God accompany you, protect you and return you all to us in safety.'

"῾Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines,

'But I ask the All-Merciful for forgiveness, and a
large wound that bleeds profusely
Or a spear from a warrior armed with one that goes
through my intestines and my liver.
So that it will be said when people pass by my grave,
"God gave him guidance as a warrior, and he behaved
well."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The men then were about to leave when ῾Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa came over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said farewell to him and recited the following verses,

'May God affirm the good He presented you, as he gave
affirmation to Moses, and a victory like they won.
I sensed the goodness in you to be a gift; and God
knows me to have fine sight.
You are the Messenger and whoever is deprived of your
gifts and sight of you has been diminished by fate.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The army then set forth and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out with them to bid them farewell. When he had said goodbye to them and turned away, ῾Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verse,

'May peace persist for a man to whom I have said
farewell amidst the palm trees, the best friend and
escort.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ῾Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakm, from Miqsam, from Ibn ῾Abbās (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched a mission out to Mu᾽ta, appointing Zayd as its leader. If Zayd were killed, then Ja῾far was to take charge and if he were killed Ibn Rawāḥa would be in command. Ibn Rawāḥa stayed back and went into the mosque with the Prophet (ṢAAS), who saw him and asked, 'What keeps you back?' 'I wanted to attend the prayer with you,' Ibn Rawāḥa replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'To go forth (to battle) in the morning or the evening is better than the world and all in it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa on an expedition, and that day coincided with a Friday. His companions went on ahead, while ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said, 'I'll stay back and perform the Friday prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then rejoin them.' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer, he saw ʿAbd Allāh and asked him, 'What prevented you leaving with your comrades?' He replied, 'I wanted to perform the Friday prayer with you, then catch them up.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Were you to spend all there is on earth you would not attain their departure.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it similarly, from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from Abū Muʾāwiya. He then added, "We know of this tradition only from this line."

Shuʿba observed, "Al-Ḥakam only heard five *aḥādīth* from Miqsam." He enumerated them and concluded, "And this *ḥadīth* is not one of them."

I observe that the al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt in his account is controversial. But God knows best.

The purpose of giving this *ḥadīth* is that it establishes that the leaders left for Muʾta on a Friday. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They then proceeded and encamped at Maʿan in Syria. There news reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʾāb, in al-Balqāʾ territory, with a force of 100,000 *rūm*, 'Byzantines'. To them were joined another 100,000 men of Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qayn, Bahrāʾ and Balī, commanded by a man from Balī tribe and the Irāsha clan named Mālik b. Zāfila."

In an account of Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, it is stated, "News reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʾāb with 100,000 Byzantines and 100,000 *mustʿriba*[85] Arabs."

It is also stated that the Byzantines numbered 200,000, along with 50,000 others. The smallest figure given is that the Byzantines numbered 100,000, while there were also 50,000 Arabs (allied to them). Al-Suhaylī related this.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on) "When this news reached the Muslims, they remained at Maʿān for two nights to discuss the matter. Some said, 'We should send a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him of the size of our enemy force. He will then either reinforce us or give us some order we can carry out.' But ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa encouraged the troops, saying, 'Men, what you dislike is what you have come forth to seek – martyrdom! We are not fighting by means of our numbers or strength; we are combating them only with this religion with which God has honoured us. Go forth; it will only result in one of two good outcomes – either victory or martyrdom!'

"The others said, 'By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right.' And so the army went forth.

85. The word implies persons of Arabic language but mixed ancestry. The tribes named in the passage were quasi-Christian.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines regarding this interruption of theirs,

'We brought our horses forward from Mt. Ajaʾ and Mt. Farʿ, their bellies distended with grass.
The shoes with which we shod them were of stones as smooth as leather.
They remained for two nights at Maʿān and after their period of rest they were fully restored.
When we went ahead our horses had free rein, the veins in their nostrils pulsing hard.
I swear by my father, we will go on to Maʾāb, even though both Byzantines and Arabs are there.
We gripped their reins and they galloped ahead vigorously, their dust swirling up,
Their noise loud and the points of their helmets glinting like stars.
Many a contented woman our spears rendered divorced, women who can remarry or stay widowed.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, 'I was an orphan living in the care of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He took me forth on that journey, riding behind him on his saddle bag. I swear that by night I heard him recite the following lines,

"Since you (my mount) have brought me near and borne my baggage for four nights' distance from the marshes,
Then you deserve pleasure and freedom from blame; and I will not return hereafter to my people.
The Muslims having come will leave me in Syria where I long to stay
And those with whom I am joined in relationship to the Most Merciful, though not my brothers, will take you back.
There I will not worry about plants sprouting, nor about palm trees whose roots need water."

"'When I heard these words from him I cried and he tapped me with his whip and said, "Why be sad, silly boy, if God grants me martyrdom and you ride home on a saddle?"'

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa also spoke the following line of verse on one of his journeys,

'Zayd, Zayd of the lean, fast camels, you have been led forward throughout a long night, so dismount now.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The army then advanced to the outskirts of al-Balqā'. There they were met by the Roman and Arab troops of Heraclius, at one of the villages of al-Balqā' called Mashārif. The enemy advanced and the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces clashed. The Muslims arranged their forces to meet the enemy, putting a man of Banū ʿUdhra named Quṭba b. Qatāda in command of the right flank and an *anṣārī* named ʿUbāya b. Mālik in charge of the left flank."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to me, from al-Maqburī, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, 'I was present at the Battle of Mu'ta. When the polytheists approached, we saw such equipment, weapons, horses, brocade, silk and gold as no one ever before witnessed! I was dazzled. Thābit b. Arqam said to me, "Abū Hurayra, don't you think that's a huge force?" "Yes," I replied. "But you weren't present at Badr with us. Superiority in numbers won't defeat us."'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The forces then engaged and battle commenced. Zayd b. Ḥāritha fought, bearing the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he perished amidst the enemy spears. Jaʿfar then picked it up and fought on until he was killed. Jaʿfar was the first Muslim to hamstring his mount in battle."

He continued, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ʿAbbād as saying, 'My foster-father, of Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, who was present at the Battle of Mu'ta, related to me, "I swear I can see Jaʿfar jumping off his sorrell mare, hamstringing her and fighting on until he was killed, reciting the lines,

> 'Hail to paradise approaching, its waters fine and cool
> The punishment of the Byzantines is near, unbelievers
> of doubtful descent.
> It's up to me to strike them when we clash.'"'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq, but he did not quote the poetry.

Those who permit the slaughter of animals if there is concern that the enemy may make use of them make reference to this *ḥadīth*. Similarly, Abū Ḥanīfa states, concerning *al-aghnām*, sheep or goats, that if they cannot keep up with the pace and it is feared that the enemy will capture and use them, they may be slaughtered and burned to prevent this. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "No one criticizes Jaʿfar for this. This action is permissible unless (the animals) are safe from seizure by the enemy. This has nothing to do with the prohibition of killing animals for amusement."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source, a scholar, related to me that Jaʿfar took the banner in his right hand which was cut off. He then took it in his left hand, and it was cut off. He then hugged it to himself with his upper arms until he was killed. He was 33 years of age. God rewarded him for his valour by giving him two wings in heaven with which he could fly wherever he wished.

It is said that one of the Byzantines gave him a blow that day that cut him in two."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ʿAbbād, as follows, 'My foster-father, a man of Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, related to me, saying, "When Jaʿfar was killed, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and advanced with it, on his horse. Then he began to waver and to hesitate somewhat and so he spoke the following verses,

> 'I swear, my soul, that you will indeed do battle or be forced to do battle
> Even though the men are shouting and screaming; why is it I see you hating paradise?
> For long you have been at ease; are you anything but a drop of liquid inside a skin bag?'

"'"He also said,

> 'My soul, even if you're not killed you'll die any way; this is the fate of death you are exposed to.
> What you hoped for has been given to you; if you do what they both did, you will have been well directed.'

"'"The reference here is to his two companions, Zayd and Jaʿfar. Then he dismounted. When he did so a cousin of his came up carrying a meat bone and said, 'Take strength from this; you have suffered much recently.' He took it from his hand and took a bite out of it. Then he heard a great commotion among the men. He said (to himself), 'And are you still alive!' He threw away the bone, took up his sword and advanced, fighting until he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

"'"Thābit b. Aqram, brother of Banū alʿAjlan, then took the banner. He said, 'Muslims, form around one of you!' 'Let it be around you,' they shouted. 'No, I will not do it,' he replied. So they formed around Khālid b. al-Walīd. When he (Khālid) took the banner he defended his men, keeping them safe, then withdrew and the enemy distanced from him so that he could leave with the men."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the army suffered great loss, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – so I have been told – said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha took the banner and fought with it until he was martyred. Jaʿfar then took it and fought, bearing it until he was martyred.' After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became silent and the faces of the *anṣār* changed as they wondered whether there was something terrible about ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he said, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa has taken it now and fought with it until martyred.'

"He then said, 'They have been raised up to heaven – I saw in a vision – upon couches of gold. I noticed that the couch of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was slanting away from those of his comrades and I asked, "Why is this?" I was told, "They

went straight ahead, whereas ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa hesitated somewhat before proceeding.'"'

This is related thus by Ibn Isḥāq *munqaṭiʿ*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Wāqid related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people the deaths of Zayd, Jaʿfar and Ibn Rawāḥa before they received the news. He said, "Zayd took the banner, then was struck down. Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Ibn Rawāḥā took it and was struck down." His eyes then brimmed with tears. He went on, 'And then one of the Lord's swords" (Khālid b. al-Walīd, that is) "took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this. He also related it elsewhere saying that he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) was on the *minbar* when he said, "And it would not please them to be with us."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, not al-Ḥazāmī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd , from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of the expedition to al-Muʾta. He also said, 'If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar (will take over); if Jaʿfar is killed, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.' ʿAbd Allāh said, 'I was among those at Muʾta. We searched for (the body of) Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and found him among those slain. On his body we found some 90 sword wounds or arrow holes.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone also in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Aḥmad related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, from ʿAmr, from Ibn Abū Hilāl, he being Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl al-Laythī, who said, 'Nāfiʿ informed me that Ibn ʿUmar informed him that he stood over Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib on that day, he having been killed, (and that Ibn ʿUmar said), "I counted 50 wounds made by spears or swords, and none were in his back."'"

This too is a *ḥadīth* only given by al-Bukhārī.

This account may be reconciled with the previous one; Ibn ʿUmar saw that number of wounds, whereas others saw more than that. Or that those he saw on his front were inflicted before his death and that when he fell to the ground, they also gave him blows in his back. Ibn ʿUmar counted those in his front suffered while he faced the enemy, before he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

The testimony quoted by Ibn Hishām, regarding his right arm being severed while it held the banner and then the same happening to his left, is upheld by what al-Bukhārī related: "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from ʿĀmir, who said, 'When Ibn ʿUmar greeted Ibn Jaʿfar, he would say, "Peace be upon you, O Son of him who has two wings!"'"

He related it also in *al-Manāqib* (*Virtues*). Al-Nasāʾī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ismā'īl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "I heard Khālid b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Mu'ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword.'"

He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yaḥyā, from Ismā'īl, who quoted Qays as having said, "I heard Khālid b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Mu'ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; a Yemeni broad-sword was left in my hand.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū 'Amr Maṭar, quoting Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥabāb al-Jumaḥī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Aswad b. Shaybān, from Khālid b. Samīr, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī came to us; the *anṣār* themselves would ask him for legal opinions. The people swamped him; I was among them as they did so. He said, 'Abū Qatāda, the horseman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent out the *jaysh al-'umarā'*, the "army of the commanders", saying, "Zayd b. Ḥāritha will command. If he should be struck down, then Ja'far will command. If Ja'far is struck down, then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will command." Ja'far jumped up and said, "Messenger of God, I didn't want you to appoint Zayd over me!" He replied, "Go forth; you do not know which would be better."

"'They did leave, staying only for as long as God wished. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (later) mounted the *minbar*, gave an order and the summons was announced, "A full prayer assembly!" People gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he then said, "I will give you news of this army of yours. They have gone forth and encountered the enemy. Zayd has been martyred." He then prayed for forgiveness for Zayd. He went on, "Then Ja'far took the banner and he charged the enemy and was eventually martyred." He then bore witness that Ja'far had attained martyrdom and sought forgiveness for him. He went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and planted his feet firmly until he was martyred." He prayed for forgiveness for 'Abd Allah. He went on, "Then Khālid b. al-Walīd took the banner; he was not one of the (appointed) commanders, but took command himself." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "O God, he is truly one of Your swords; may You help him." And from that day on Khālid was known as "God's sword".'"

Al-Nasā'ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from al-Aswad b. Shaybān. His account is similar, but has a nice addition: "*Bābu khayrin! Bābu khayrin!* A good beginning!" He then went on to relate the *ḥadīth* as above.

Al-Wāqidī stated that 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Amāra b. Ghaziyya related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who said, "When the army joined in battle at Mu'ta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat on the *minbar* and God revealed to him what lay between him and Syria so that he could observe their conflict. He said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha took the banner and Satan came to him

and made life seem good to him and death hateful, making life on earth attractive to him. He (Zayd) said, "Now that the faith is firmly planted in the hearts of the believers, would you make life on earth seem good to me?" He then advanced until he was martyred.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then performed the prayer for him and said, 'Ask forgiveness for him; he has entered paradise as a martyr.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Zayd was killed, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner. Satan then came to him and made life seem good to him, death hateful, and he made life attractive to him. But Jaʿfar said, 'Now, when faith has become firm in the hearts of the believers, would you have me wish for life?' He then advanced until he was martyred. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke the prayer for him. He said, 'Seek forgiveness for your brother; he is a martyr and has entered paradise. He is flying in heaven with wings of sapphire, going wherever he wishes there.'"

He went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and was martyred. He then entered heaven *muʿtariḍ*, 'indirectly'. This upset the *anṣār* and someone asked, 'Messenger of God, why "indirectly"?' He replied, 'When he suffered wounds, he drew back. But he criticized himself, regained his courage, was martyred and entered paradise.'

"His people were much relieved by this."

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl quoted his father as saying, "When Khālid b. al-Walīd took up the banner, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now the fighting is fierce.'"

Al-Wāqidī also stated, "Al-ʿIṭāf b. Khālid related to me as follows, 'Ibn Rawāḥa having been killed in the evening, Khālid b. al-Walīd spent that night (without engaging the enemy). Next morning, he attacked, having placed his vanguard at the rear and exchanged the forces of the left and right flanks. The enemy were no longer familiar with their banners and disposition and, believing them to have been reinforced, were frightened and retreated in disarray. And so they suffered a defeat as no enemy had inflicted upon them before.'"

This accords with the account given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, may God be pleased with him, in his work on the military campaigns. He stated, after recounting the *ʿumrat al-Ḥudaybiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Medina and remained there for six months. He then despatched an army to Muʾta, appointing Zayd b. Ḥāritha as their commander. He ordered, 'If he is struck down, then command is to go to Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. If Jaʿfar is struck down, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa is to be their commander.' They travelled on until they encountered Ibn Abū Sabra al-Ghassānī at Muʾta, where there was a large force of Christian Arabs and Byzantines, including men of Tanūkh and Bahrāʾ. Ibn Abū Sabra closed the gate of the fortress against the Muslims for three days. The armies then clashed on a red field, where the fighting was intense. Zayd b. Ḥāritha took

the banner and was killed; Jaʿfar then took it and he was killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it next and was killed. Then the Muslims chose Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī to succeed those three commanders chosen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then defeated the enemy and gave victory to the Muslims.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them forth in Jumādā al-Uwlā, of 8 AH that is."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "And they claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Jaʿfar passed me by amidst the angels, flying as they did, and he had two wings.'"

He went on, "They also claim – but God knows best – that Yaʿlā b. Umayya came with news of the men at Muʾta to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, 'If you wish, you can tell me or, if you prefer, I will tell you.' 'You tell me, Messenger of God,' he asked. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them all the news of them and described it all to them. He (Yaʿlā) then commented, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, you have not left out a word – what happened to them is exactly as you stated!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God raised the earth up before me so that I could see their battlefield.'"

This text has many nice details that are absent from the account of Ibn Isḥāq. It contradicts somewhat the latter's account, which suggests that Khālid only disengaged the enemy to escape from the Byzantines and the Christian Arabs.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Wāqidī stated clearly that they defeated the Byzantines and the Arabs with them, which is evident from the *ḥadīth* given above from Anas directly quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, "And then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī related this. This account is preferable and is the one to which the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī referred after recounting both the statements to such effect as we have stated.

I note that it is possible to reconcile between the account given by Ibn Ishāq and that given by the others. This would be as follows: when Khālid took the banner he drew away the Muslims until he had removed them from the reach of the Roman and quasi-Arab unbelievers. Next morning he switched the rearguard and vanguard and both flanks, as al-Wāqidī related, and so the Byzantines thought these to be reinforcements that had arrived for the Muslims. And when Khālid attacked them, he defeated them, with God's permission. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to me, from ʿUrwa, who said, 'When those who had fought at Muʾta approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims met them. The boys rushed out to meet them while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on his mount with the other people. He said, 'Take the boys away and give me Jaʿfar's son.' ʿAbd Allāh was brought to him and he picked him up and carried him. The people then began tossing dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways! You fled from God's path!' The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'They are not runaways but men who will fight again, if God, Almighty and Glorious is He, wills it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete with this line of transmission, and is somewhat strange.

It is my opinion that Ibn Isḥāq is using his imagination in this text by thinking of these men as being the army, whereas they were men who had fled when the armies clashed. The remainder did not flee, but were awarded victory, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them while on the *minbar* when he said, "Then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory." The Muslims would never have called them runaways after that, but would have met them with honour and respect. Rebuking and throwing dirt would only have been done to those who had fled and abandoned them there. Among them was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, "I took part in one of the expeditions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and some of the men fled, myself among them. We wondered what we should do, having fled and caused anger. We thought we might be killed if we returned to Medina. Then we decided we should present ourselves before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which case we would either be forgiven or we would leave. We went to him before the pre-dawn prayer. He came out and asked, 'Who are you?' 'We are the runaways,' we replied. 'No', he replied, 'you're the ones who will fight again. I'm one of you, and I'm one of the believers.' We then went forward and kissed his hand."

He then went on to relate it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "We were on a military expedition, but fled. We wondered whether we should go overseas. Then we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, we are the runaways.' He replied, 'No; you're the ones who will fight again.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it, as did al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know it only from his *ḥadīth*."

Aḥmad stated, "Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā and Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to us as follows, 'Shurayk related to us, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on a military expedition. When we encountered the enemy we fled in the first clash and went back to Medina by night, as a group, and went into hiding. Then we wondered if we should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and apologize to him.

"'"We did go to him, and when he met us we told him, 'We are the runaways, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'No; you are those who will fight again, and I'm of your party.'"'"

Al-Aswad said (that the words used were) "I am of the party of every Muslim."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ῾Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from ῾Āmir b. ῾Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked the wife of Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, 'Why don't I see Salama attend the prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims?'

"She replied, 'He can't go outside. Whenever he does, people cry out, "Runaway! You ran away from God's path!" So he sits at home and never goes out; he was present at the battle of Mu᾿ta.'"

I comment that it is possible that some of them fled when they saw the great size of the Byzantine force, who were many times larger in number; the Muslims numbered 3,000, while the enemy, so they say, was 200,000 strong. Such circumstances do permit flight, as is well established. When this group fled, the rest remained firm and God gave them victory, and released them from the clutches of the enemy, many of whom they killed, as al-Wāqidī and Mūsā b. ῾Uqba before him recorded.

This is further affirmed and substantiated by what Imām Aḥmad related: "Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting Safwān b. ῾Amr, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr, from his father, from ῾Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja῾ī, who said, 'I was among those who accompanied Zayd b. Ḥāritha and the other Muslims to the battle of Mu᾿ta. I went with a *madadī*, an "auxiliary", from Yemen whose only equipment was his sword. One of the Muslims slaughtered a camel and the auxiliary asked him for a piece of its leather. He gave it to him and the *madadī* used it as a shield.

"'We advanced and encountered a force of the Byzantines, among whom was a man riding a sorrel equipped with a gilded saddle and a gilded sword. The Roman began attacking the Muslims, and the auxiliary crouched down behind a rock. When the Roman went by, the *madadī* hamstrung his horse and when its rider fell, he jumped on him and killed him. And so he seized his horse and weapon. When God gave victory to the Muslims, Khālid b. al-Walīd sent to him and took the booty.'

"῾Awf went on, 'So I went to Khālid and said, "Khālid, haven't you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has decreed that the spoils (from a dead enemy) belong to the person who killed him?" "Yes", he replied, "but I thought this excessive." I told him, "If you don't give it back to him, then I will report you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." But he refused to return it.'

"῾Awf continued, 'When we had a meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I related to him the story of the *madadī* and what Khālid had done. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Khālid, return to him what you took." I then said, "So there, Khālid! Didn't I tell you I would!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What's all this?" So I related it to him and he got angry. He said, "Khālid, don't give it back to him! Would you disobey one of my commanders? You expect only what in their commands is trouble-free, while assigning them the troublesome!"'" Al-Walīd stated, "I asked Thawr about this

ḥadīth. And he related it to me from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from Jubayr b. Nufayr, from ʿAwf, in similar form."

Muslim and Ibn ʿAwf related it from a *ḥadīth* of Jubayr b. Nufayr, from ʿAwf b. Mālik in similar words. This story substantiates that they took booty from them, and despoiled and killed some of their officers.

It is related above from al-Bukhārī that Khālid, may God be pleased with him, said, "At the battle of Muʾta nine swords were broken in my hand and only a Yemeni broad-sword remained."

This requires that they engaged them in heavy combat; if this had not been the case, they would not have been able to disengage from them. This by itself is an independent proof. But God knows best. This *ḥadīth* was chosen by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Wāqidī and al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn Hishām related it from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The authorities on the military expeditions differ over their having fled or withdrawn. Some maintain that this was so, while others claim that the Muslims prevailed over the polytheists, and that the latter were defeated."

He went on, "The *ḥadīth* of Anas b. Mālik that quotes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having stated, 'Then Khālid took it (the banner) and God gave him victory,' indicates their victory over the enemy. But God knows best."

I note that Ibn Isḥāq related that Quṭba b. Qatāda al-ʿUdhrī, who commanded the Muslim right flank, attacked Mālik b. Zāfila (whom Ibn Hishām names "Rāfila"), the commander of the Christian Arabs there, and killed him. Boasting of that, he spoke the following verses,

> "I stabbed Ibn Zāfila b. al-Arāsh with a spear that
> passed through him then broke.
> I gave him a blow on his neck that made it bend like a
> mimosa branch.
> We led away his tribe's women at Raquqayn like sheep."

This substantiates our view. Because it usually happens that when an army commander is killed his men flee. Moreover, Quṭba states clearly in his verses that they took their women prisoner. And this is plain in what we have related. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq adopts the view that what happened was disengagement and withdrawal from the Byzantines, and he calls this a success and a victory, in view of the superiority in numbers of the enemy and their having the Muslims surrounded. This would normally have meant that they would have been totally decimated; and so when they disengaged and withdrew, this constituted the most that could be hoped for in such circumstances.

This is quite likely; however, it does contradict the clear statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that "God gave them victory over them."

Ibn Isḥāq did give evidence for his view. He stated, "Regarding the discussion about Khālid b. al-Walīd and his protecting and withdrawing his men, the verses

of Qays b. al-Muḥsir[86] al-Ya'murī are relevant. He said, apologizing for his actions and those of the others that day,

'I swear by God, my soul criticizes me persistently for
stopping when the horses were excited, staring ahead.
I stopped then, neither moving aside nor advancing, and
not defending those for whom death was near.
However, I modelled myself on Khālid; is it not true
that there is none like Khālid among our men?
I grieved much for Ja'far at Mu'ta, when arrows were of
no use to archers.
He joined up to us both our flanks, men who were
muhājirīn, not polytheists, men not defenceless.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Qays clarified in his poetry what had been the subject of disagreement among people; this is, that the army avoided conflict and were unwilling to die and, moreover, that Khālid did disengage with his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Al-Zuhrī stated, as we have been informed, 'The Muslims appointed Khālid b. al-Walīd as their commander, and God gave them victory. He remained their leader until he returned to Medina.'"

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Umm 'Īsā al-Khuzā'iyya, from Umm Ja'far, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, from their grandmother Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, who said, 'When Ja'far and his men had suffered casualties, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me just after I had tanned 40 *mannā* weight of skins, kneaded my dough and washed, oiled and cleaned off my children. He said to me, "Bring Ja'far's sons to me." I brought them to him, he smelt them and his eyes welled with tears. I asked, "Messenger of God, by my father and my mother, do tell me what makes you cry! Do you have news of Ja'far and his men?" "Yes", he replied, "they have been struck down today." I arose screaming, and the women gathered around me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to his people and said, "Don't neglect Ja'far's family; make food for them. They are preoccupied by the fate of their master."'"

Imām Aḥmad told it thus from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq who related it through 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Umm 'Īsā, from Umm 'Awn, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Asmā'. He made reference to preparing the food. What is correct is that it referred to Umm Ja'far and Umm 'Awn.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Ja'far b. Khālid from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said, "When the news came of the death of Ja'far, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare food for Ja'far's

86. Guillaume gives this name as Musahhar al-Ya'murī. *op. cit.* p.536.

family. A matter has come to them that preoccupies them.'" Or the words were, "something that occupies them has come".

This is similarly related by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Jaʿfar b. Khālid b. Sārat al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, "good".

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When news of the death of Jaʿfar arrived, we could see the sadness in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"She commented, 'A man went in to him and said, "Messenger of God, the women are distressing and annoying us." He told him, "Go back in to them and quieten them down."'

"She said, 'He left, then he came back and said the same to him. And (as the saying goes) "Persistence often harms", that is, those who engage in it. He then told the man, "Go off and quieten them; and if they keep it up, then toss dirt in their mouths!" I said to myself, "May God remove you, fellow! You neither relieved yourself, nor will you be able to obey the Messenger of God!" I well knew he could not toss dirt in their mouths.'"

Ibn Isḥāq is alone in giving it from this chain; it is not in any of the compendia.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (who said), "I heard Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd say, 'ʿAmra told me the following: "I heard ʿĀ'isha say, 'When Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa were killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting with sorrow evident on his face. I was peeping at him through a chink in the door. Then a man came in and said, "Messenger of God, I'm afraid Jaʿfar's women ..." And he went on to tell of their weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to forbid them from doing so. So the man left but returned and said, "I swear, they were too much for me." I then heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Go and toss dirt in their mouths!"'

"'"ʿĀ'isha, may God be pleased with her, went on, 'May God smack you in the nose! By God, you'll not do that nor will you relieve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his cares!'"'"

Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī related this from various lines, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, who quoted her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, "I heard Muḥammad b. Abū Yaʿqūb relate from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an army under the command of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, "If Zayd should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be Jaʿfar; if he should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa." When they clashed with the enemy, Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Jaʿfar took the banner and fought until he was killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥā then took the banner and

fought until he was killed. Khālid b. al-Walīd then took the banner and God gave him victory. When their news reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he went out to the people and gave thanks and praise to God. He then said, "Your brothers have met the enemy. Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. After him, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then one of God's swords, Khālid b. al-Walīd, took the banner, and God gave him victory." He then gave Jaʿfar's family a respite of three days before going to them. Then he went to them and said, "Do not grieve for my brother after today. Summon to me all my brother's family." We were then brought there as if we were a flock of birds. He said, "Summon the barber to me." The barber was brought and he shaved our heads. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Muḥammad is just like our uncle Abū Ṭālib. As for ʿAbd Allāh, he is just like myself in character and appearance." He then took my hand and raised it, saying, "O God, let Jaʿfar live on in his family; and bless ʿAbd Allāh in his affairs." He said this three times. Then our mother came and spoke of those of us who were orphaned and began arousing his sympathy. Then he said, "How can you worry about your family when I am their protector in this world and the next?"'"

Abū Dāʾūd related this in part; al-Nasāʾī gave it in its entirety in his biography, from a *ḥadīth* of Wahb b. Jarīr.

This *ḥadīth* determines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to mourn for three days and that thereafter he forbad them from mourning. This perhaps indicates the meaning of the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad from that of al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmāʾ who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her, when Jaʿfar was killed, "Wear mourning for three days, then do as you wish."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

It is probable that he gave her permission to mourn – by which is meant extreme behaviour in weeping and tearing at clothes – because of the severity of the pain at the loss of Jaʿfar, the father of her children. It may also be that this constituted an instruction to her to engage in *al-tasallub*, "mourning", this word implying extreme mourning, for three days, and thereafter to mourn as she wished in the ways usual for widows. But God knows best. The phrase is also read with the spelling *tasallabā* (instead of *taṣallabī*) for three days, this word meaning "act with restraint". This interpretation contradicts the other reading. God knows best.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad to the effect that Yazīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Talḥa, quoting al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to us on the third day following the death of Jaʿfar and said, 'Do not mourn further after today.'" This *ḥadith* is another of those unique to Aḥmad; its chain of authorities is fairly acceptable. However, it is problematic

if interpreted for its obvious meaning. Because it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is not appropriate for a woman who believes in God and the Judgement Day to mourn for her dead longer than three days, except in the loss of her husband, whom she may mourn for four months and ten days."

If what Imām Aḥmad related was accurate, then it should be considered applicable specifically to that (case) and otherwise the statement given above relating to extreme mourning for three days would apply. But God knows best.

I note that Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, eulogized her husband in an ode in which she stated,

> "I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
> and my skin will always wear dust.
> No one ever saw the like of him, a hero who persisted
> so valiantly in the fray."

Eventually her *ʿidda*, waiting period, ended and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, became engaged to her. He then married her and gave a feast to which people came. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was one of those attending and when the others had gone he asked permission of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to speak with Asmāʾ through the curtain. He gave him leave to do so. When ʿAlī approached the curtain, the scent of her perfume reached him and he asked her – in general terms – who was the person speaking in the above verse,

> "I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
> and my skin will always wear dust."

She replied, "Away with you, Abū al-Ḥasan, you're always joking!"

She bore Muḥammad to Abū Bakr, giving birth at a tree between Mecca and Medina, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on his way to the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage". He told her to wash herself and recite prayers; this will be discussed in its appropriate place. When later Abū Bakr died, ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr married her and she bore him children. May God be pleased with him, her and them.

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr quoted to me ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr as saying, 'When they drew near Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the people came out to meet them. The boys were racing around, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forward on a mule. He said, "Take away the children; carry them off and bring me Jaʿfar's son." ʿAbd Allāh, Jaʿfar's son was brought and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) carried him in his hands. The crowd began tossing dirt at the army, shouting, "You runaways! You ran away from God's path!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was calling out, "They're not runaways! They'll fight again, if God wills it!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muᵓāwiya related to him, quoting ᶜĀṣim, from Muᵓriq al-ᶜIjlī, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jaᶜfar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back home from a journey, he would meet the boys from his family household. On his return from one trip, I was led out to him and he mounted me before him. He then said, 'Bring me one of Fāṭima's sons' – it was either Ḥasan or Ḥusayn. He mounted him behind him and we went on into Medina, three on a mule."

This was given by Muslim, Abū Dāᵓūd, al-Nasāᵓī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of ᶜĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from Muᵓriq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Khālid b. Sāra, that his father related to him that ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jaᶜfar said, "You should have seen myself and Qutham and ᶜUbayd Allāh, the two sons of al-ᶜAbbās, all three of us boys playing, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by us on his mule. He said, 'Lift up this one to me.' He lifted me up in front of him. He then said, referring to Qatham, 'Lift up this one to me.' He then placed him behind himself. ᶜUbayd Allāh was more favoured by ᶜAbbās than Qatham, and he was not pleased at his uncle carrying Qatham rather than himself. He then touched Jaᶜfar's head three times and said, each time he did so, 'O God, let Jaᶜfar live on in his son.'"

He (Sāra) went on, "I asked ᶜAbd Allāh, 'What eventually happened to Qatham?' 'Was he martyred?' he replied. I said, 'God and His messenger know best what is good.' 'Yes,' he said."

Al-Nasāᵓī related it in his work *Al-yawm wa al-layla*, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

This was after the conquest (of Mecca). Al-ᶜAbbās only arrived in Medina after the conquest. The *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad is as follows, "Ismāᶜīl related to us, quoting Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abū Malīka, who said, "ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jaᶜfar asked Ibn al-Zubayr, "Do you remember when we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), me, you and the son of ᶜAbbās?" "Yes," he replied. "He carried us and left you."''"

It is this text that al-Bukhārī and Muslim give, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd. It is considered one of the *al-ajwibat al-muskita*, "a silencing response".

It relates also that it was ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbbās who answered Ibn al-Zubayr in this way. This anecdote is another one that came after the conquest, as explained above. But God knows best.

Section: On the virtues of those three commanders, Zayd, Jaᶜfar and ᶜAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with them.

The genealogy of Zayd b. Ḥāritha is as follows: son of Shurāḥīl b. Kaᶜb b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜUzzā b. Imr al-Qays b. ᶜĀmir b. al-Nuᶜmān b. ᶜĀmir b. ᶜAbd Wadd b. ᶜAwf b. Kināna b. Bakr b. ᶜAwf b. ᶜUdhra b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Barra b. Thaᶜlab b. Hilwān b. ᶜImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāᶜa al-Kalbī al-Quḍāᶜī. He

was the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This came about because Zayd's mother went to visit her family and they were attacked by horsemen who took him away. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām purchased him for his aunt Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid; it is also said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased him for her. She in turn presented him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), before he received the Prophethood. His father discovered his whereabouts, but he chose to stay with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who manumitted him and brought him up. He was known as Zayd b. Muḥammad; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) loved him greatly.

He was the first of the freed-men to accept Islam. Verses of the Qurʾān were revealed about him. These include: "And He has not made to be your sons those you merely claim to be your sons" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.4). "Affirm their relationship to their fathers; that is more just in God's view" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.5). "Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.40). "And when you said to him whom both God and you had favoured, 'Retain your wife and fear God,' you concealed in yourself what God was about to reveal. And you feared men, but God has greater right to be feared. (But) when Zayd had finished his union with her, We married her to you" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.37).

There is a consensus that these verses were revealed about him. The words *anʿama Allāhu ʿalayhi* "him God had favoured" refer to his accepting Islam. And the words, *anʿamta ʿalayhi*, "you had favoured" refers to his having manumitted him. We have discussed these verses in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

The point is that God Almighty named in the Qurʾān no other Companion (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)) except him. He led him to Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) freed him and married him to his freed-woman Umm Ayman, whose name was Baraka, and she bore him Usāma, son of Zayd. He used to be known as *al-ḥibb ibn al-ḥibbi*, "the dearest of all". He then married him to his maternal aunt's daughter, Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. He established him as a brother to his uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and gave him precedence as commander over his nephew Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Muʾta, as we related above.

Imām Aḥmad and the Imām and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybā – whose words these are – stated, "Muḥammmad b. ʿUbayd related to us, from Wāʾil b. Dāʾūd, 'I heard al-Bahī relate that ʿĀʾisha used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd as commander of every expedition, without exception, to which he dispatched him; and if he were still alive, he would have left him in command."'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Aḥmad b. Salmān, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṭanāfusī.

This chain of authorities is excellent and firm and consistent with the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. This *ḥadīth* was regarded as *gharīb*, "anomalous". God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, quoting Ibn Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, that the latter sent

out an expedition in command of which he placed Usāma b. Zayd, but some people complained about his appointment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, "You complain about his being made commander; you used to complain earlier about his father being made commander, even though, by God, he was certainly qualified to be commander, and moreover was extremely dear to me. Well, this man too is extremely dear to me."

This *ḥadīth* is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Qutayba, from Ismāʿīl – he being the son of Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr al-Madanī – from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar. Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, from his father. Al-Bazzār related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, and pronounced the chain of transmission as being *gharīb*, "anomalous".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUmar b. Ismāʿīl related to him, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When Zayd b. Ḥāritha was killed and Usāma, Zayd's son, was brought to him and placed before him, the eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he put off the meeting. Next day, when Usāma was brought back before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'You make me feel today just as you did yesterday.'"

There are strange aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

It has been related above how it is recorded in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when, upon the *minbar*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke of their deaths, he said, "Zayd took the banner and was struck down; then Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it and was struck down. Then one of God's swords took it and God gave him victory."

And it stated, "His eyes welled with tears." Then he said, "They would not be pleased with us." In another *ḥadīth* it is said that he bore witness that they had been martyred and were assured of paradise.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ibn Rawāḥa,

"O eyes, weep generously, to your last tear, and recall,
in your ease, those in the grave.
Remember Muʾta and what happened there, that day they
went off to defeat in battle.
When they left, abandoning Zayd there, in a resting
place fit for the destitute or powerless.
That dear friend of the very best of mankind, that lord
of men, beloved by all.
That Aḥmad who knows no equal, that man who has both my
pleasure and my pain.
The status Zayd had among us was not that of a man
who tells lies and is conceited.
And weep tears generously, eyes, for the Khazrajī (ʿAbd
Alla b. Rawāḥa); a lord who was not niggardly there.

> We have suffered much by their deaths; we pass our
> night in sorrow, not pleasure."

The genealogy of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib is as follows. He was the son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), being older than his brother ʿAlī by ten years. (Another brother) ʿĀqil was also ten years older than Jaʿfar; another, Ṭālib, was ten years older than ʿĀqil.

Jaʿfar was early in accepting Islam. He emigrated to Abyssinia and performed many famous and praiseworthy actions and functions there, and gave fine reponses to questions. We have dealt with all these previously, in the section on the emigration to Abyssinia; and to God be all praise.

At the battle of Khaybar he arrived back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said to him then, "I don't know what pleases me more – Jaʿfar's arrival or the conquest of Khaybar!" He went up to Jaʿfar, embraced him and kissed him on the forehead. And the day they went forth to the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*, he said to him, "You, Jaʿfar, resemble me in both appearance and character." It is said that he was embarrassed and delighted to hear this, as was related in the correct sequence above. And to God be all praise and credit.

When he dispatched him to Muʾta, he appointed him as deputy commander to Zayd b. Ḥāritha. When the latter was killed, they discovered 90 wounds upon him, some from swords, others from spears and arrows. All of these were on his front, not his back. His right arm was severed, then his left and he held the banner. When he lost both, he held it to himself, until he was killed, still hugging it. It is said that a Roman split him into two with his sword. May God be pleased with Jaʿfar and curse his killer!

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told of him that he was a martyr and one of those destined for heaven. There are *aḥādīth* in which he referred to him as having two wings.

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) greeted Jaʿfar's son ʿAbd Allāh, he would say, "Peace be upon you, son of him with the two wings!"

Some authorities quote this from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself, but the authentic tradition comes from Ibn ʿUmar.

They say that it is as compensation for his two arms that God awarded him wings in paradise. Some material relating to this was given above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī stated that ʿAlī b. Ḥijr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from his father, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I saw Jaʿfar flying in paradise with the angels.'"

It is related above in a *ḥadīth* that he was killed at the age of 33. Ibn al-Athīr stated in *al-Ghāba* (*The Forest*), "His age when he was killed was 41. Though some state otherwise."

I note that regarding his being said to have been 10 years senior to ʿAlī would require his age to have been 39 at his death. This is because ʿAlī accepted Islam

when he was 8 years old, as is well known, and remained in Mecca for 13 years thereafter. When he emigrated he was 21. The battle of *Mu᾿a* took place in 8 AH. But God knows best.

Ja῾far was referred to after his death as *al-ṭayyār*, "the flyer", for the reason given above. He was a man who was noble, generous and much praised. For his charity he was known as *abū al-masākīn*, "father of the poor", because of his generosity to them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ῾Affān b. Waḥīb related to him, quoting Khālid, from ῾Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "No one wore shoes or sandals, rode his mount or wore his clothes, apart from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), more impressively than did Ja῾far b. Abū Ṭālib."

This *ḥadīth* has a fine chain of transmission back to Abū Hurayra. It seems that he finds him superior only in his noble qualities. Regarding superiority in his religious qualities, it is well known that Abū Bakr, ῾Umar and ῾Uthmān were better than him. As for his brother ῾Alī and himself, may God be pleased with both, it is clear that they were equal or that ῾Alī was superior to him. Abū Hurayra only wished to establish his superiority in noble qualities. This is proven by what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, "Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār Abū ῾Abd Allāh al-Juhanī, from Ibn Abū Dhi᾿b, from Sa῾īd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that, 'The people used to say, "Abū Hurayra does too much."[87] I used to keep close to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), content to fill my stomach with (unleavened) bread. I never ate leavened bread, never wore silk and never had men or women serve me. I would press my belly against the pebbles in my hunger. I would teach people about a verse of the Qur'ān I already knew to get him to take me home to feed me. The person who was best to the poor was Ja῾far, son of Abū Ṭālib. He would take us home and feed us whatever he had there. He would even bring out to us an empty leather butter vessel we would split open and lick out its contents.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Ja῾far,

"I wept, for the death of Ja῾far, the dear friend of
the Prophet, was hard on all mankind.
I was very upset, and when your death was told me, I
called out, 'Who is for fighting in the shade of the
eagle (banner)?'
With swords which, when drawn from their sheaths
striking and spears continually piercing,
After Fāṭima's blessed son, Ja῾far, the best of men,
the worst
To lose; the most noble of all in lineage, the most
active when wronged and most submissive

87. In his zeal to collect traditions, that is.

To the right when it occurs, unaffected by falsehood, most generous and least
Immoderate, most open-handed when appropriate, most evident in
Generosity, except for Muḥammad, the like of whom does not exist in all mankind."

Ibn Rawāḥa's genealogy is as follows. His full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Thaʿlaba b. Imru al-Qays b. ʿAmr b. Imru al-Qays al-Akbar b. Mālik b. al-Agharr b. Thaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, Abū Muḥammad, known as Abū Rawāḥa and as Abū ʿAmr, al-Anṣārī, al-Khazrajī. He was the maternal uncle of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, and his sister was ʿAmra, daughter of Rawāḥā.

He was early in accepting Islam and was present at al-ʿAqaba. That evening he was one of the leaders of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-khandaq, al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) would send him out to negotiate these, as is told above. He was present on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'* pilgrimage and on that occasion went in holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some say it was its leather stirrup he held. As he did so, he called out,

"Clear the unbelievers from his path."

The rest of his verses are reported above.

He was one of the commanders martyred at the battle of Mu'ta, as told above. He urged on the Muslims to battle the Byzantines when they discussed that issue. He also encouraged himself and dismounted (to take the banner) after his two comrades were killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) testified to his martyrdom and he was one of those promised entry to paradise.

He is also related to have addressed the Prophet (ṢAAS) in verse when he said farewell to him, as follows,

"May God affirm the good He presents you, as he gave affirmation to Moses, and a victory they won."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "May God keep you firm." Hishām b. ʿUrwa commented, "And God did keep him firm so that he was martyred and entered paradise."

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Thābit, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was making an address and heard him tell everyone to sit down. So he did sit down, right where he was, outside the mosque, until people had finished listening to his address. Word of ʿAbd Allāh's action reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, "May God increase your zeal in obedience to God and to His messenger!"

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, "Muʿādh (b. Jabal) said, 'Let's sit down and pray for a while.'"

There is a *ḥadīth* similar to that having a complete chain of transmission going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, from ʿAmāra, from Zīyād al-Naḥwī, from Anas, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to say when he met one of his comrades, 'Come, let's sit and express faith to our Lord *sāʿatan*,[88] "for a while".' One day he said this to a man who got angry and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, don't you know about Ibn Rawāḥā? He's encouraging people to abandon your faith for that of *sāʿatan*!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'May God have mercy on Ibn Rawāḥa; he loves those sessions when the angels try to outdo one another.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim related to him, quoting Abū Bakr, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnus, quoting a sheikh of Medina, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from ʿAṭā᾿ b. Yasār, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said to a comrade of his, "Come; let's express faith for *sāʿatan*." He replied, "But aren't we believers?" "Why yes", he replied, "but by mentioning God we increase our faith."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Lukkī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from Shurayḥ b. ʿUbayd, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to take one of his comrades by the hand and say, "Let's go and express faith for a while; we'll sit in a *dhikr*[89] session."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking a complete chain, from both authorities. We have examined this extensively in our commentary on the work of al-Bukhārī. And to God be all praise and credit.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, Abū al-Dardā᾿ is quoted as saying, "We were out on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on a very hot day. The only ones of us fasting were the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with him."

He was one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was well known for his poetry. His verses on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), quoted by al-Bukhārī, include the lines,

> "With us there is the Messenger of God; we recite his
> document, when it emerges clear and shining from the
> dawn.

88. Presumably the misunderstandings related in this and following *aḥādīth* stem from the similarity in the sound of the word *shayṭan*, "Satan" or "a devil", to the word *sāʿatan*, "for a while".

89. This word, meaning "to make mention of", connotes repetition of the name of God. It is used specifically by Muslim Ṣūfī groups who achieve a mystical unity with God by repetition, *dhikr*, of God's name, "Allah". It is interesting to see the word used in this apparent context in this presumably early *ḥadīth*.

He spends the night keeping his body outside his bed,
when the polytheists lie heavily upon theirs.
He brought us guidance after blindness, and our hearts
are certain that what he spoke is true."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿImrān b. Maysara related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Ḥusayn, from ʿĀmir b. al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa once fainted, and his sister ʿAmra began crying and wailing and lamenting him. When he came to, he said, 'Whenever you said something (about me) I was asked, 'Are you really like that?'"'

"Qutayba related to us, quoting Khaythama, from Ḥusayn, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa fainted once' as above. But when he died she did not weep for him."

We have given above the lament spoken by Ḥassān b. Thābit about him and others.

A Muslim poet who returned with others from Muʾtā – may God be pleased with them all – spoke the following verses,

"Sad enough it is that I returned, while Jaʿfar, Zayd
and ʿAbd Allāh are buried in graves.
Their end came as they passed away on their path,
leaving me to misery and with all that changes."

Hereafter, if God so wills it, will be given more of the verses composed about these three commanders by Ḥassān b. Thābit and by Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with them both.

THOSE MUSLIMS MARTYRED AT MUʾTA.

From among the *muhājirīn* there were Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī, Masʿūd b. al-Aswad b. Ḥāritha b. Naḍla al-ʿAdawī and Wahb b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ; these total four.

From among the *anṣār* there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and ʿAbbād b. Qays, both of Khazraj, al-Ḥārith b. al-Nuʿmān b. Isāf b. Naḍla al-Najjārī, and Surāqa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭiya b. Khansāʾ al-Māzinī; these numbered four.

The total of Muslims killed that day was these eight men, according to the account of Ibn Isḥāq. However, Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, those killed at Muʾta included Abū Kulayb and Jābir, both sons of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl, both of Māzin, both full brothers, along with ʿAmr and ʿĀmir, sons of Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbbād b. Saʿd b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Afṣā." These four were also *anṣār* and so according to these two authorities the total killed should be twelve men.

That two armies of opposing faiths, one consisting of those fighting for God's cause and numbering three thousand men, and the other of disbelievers totalling two hundred thousand, one hundred thousand Byzantines and one hundred

thousand Christian Arabs, could battle together with the resulting deaths of only twelve Muslims is truly wonderful! And a large number of unbelievers were killed.

Khālid alone stated, "Nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword." How many must he have killed with all those swords, not to mention all the other brave bearers of the Qur'ān like him, who sentenced to death those crucifix worshippers, upon whom be the curses of the Most Merciful at that time and for ever!

This relates to the words of the Almighty, "There was a sign for you in the two sides that clashed. One side fought for God's cause, while the others were unbelievers whom they saw to be twice as numerous as themselves. Yet God assists with victory whomever He pleases. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; XIII, v.12).

A ḤADĪTH THAT ACCORDS GREAT MERIT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THIS EXPEDITION.

These were Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all!

The *imām*, scholar and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Zur'a 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, may God make his visage glow, stated in his fine book *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* as follows, "Both Ṣafwān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jarīr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd and 'Amr, that is, Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, related to him that Ibn Jarīr stated that he heard Salīm b. 'Āmir al-Khabā'irī say, 'Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī informed me, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'While I was sleeping two men came to me, gripped me by the arm and took me to a desolate mountain. They told me, "Climb!" "I can't," I replied. "We'll make it easy for you," they said. I then climbed on up until I was at its centre and there I heard loud noises. "What are those noises?" I asked. "That is the groaning of those in hell," they replied. Then they took me on to where there were people suspended by their tendons, their mouths split open and streaming blood. "Who are these?" I asked. "These", they replied, "are those who eat before their fast has ended." Then he said, "The Jews and Christians will fail."'"'

Salīm (b. 'Āmir) asked, "Did he hear it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or was this his opinion?"[90]

"'The two men then took me on to where there were people exceedingly distended and exuding a foul odour like that of a toilet. "Who are these?" I asked. They replied, "These are unbelievers who have been killed." They then took me further where there were others even more distended and even more foul in smell, their odour also toilet-like. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are men and women who engage in prostitution," they replied. They then took me further

90. This comment or question intrudes into the text without explanation.

and I saw women whose nipples were being bitten by snakes. "What did these people do?" I asked. They replied, "They are women who denied milk to their children." They then took me further off to where there were children playing between two lakes. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are the children of believers," they told me.

"'Then they took me up to a high place where there were three men drinking wine. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa," they replied. Then they took me to yet another high point where I found myself with three other men. The two men said, "These are Abraham, Moses and Jesus, upon all of whom be peace. They await you."'"

Section: On the Poetry Verses spoken about the Expedition to Muʾta.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The following verses of Ḥassān (b. Thābit) are among those spoken in mourning for those killed at Muʾta,

'A difficult night I had in Yathrib, worry that kept me
sleepless while others slept deep.
Remembering a friend, my tears flowed copiously, and
memory often causes weeping.
Indeed, the loss of a friend is a tragedy, and what a
lot of noble men suffer yet persist!
I saw the finest Muslims go off in groups, while others
behind them delayed.
May God not keep distant those dead men who followed on
at Muʾta, including Jaʿfar who has wings
And Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh, all of whom followed on, when
the ropes of death swung.
That morning they went forth with the believers,
led on to death by that happy man of splendid
character,
Fine as the light of the moon, of Hāshim's line, proud
before injustice, valiant.
He thrust on until he lay down without a cushion on a
battlefield, a broken spear in him.
His reward is with that of the martyrs – a paradise of
gardens, under a canopy of green.
In Jaʿfar we saw someone faithful to Muḥammad, a man of
decision when he gives orders.
May there never cease to be in Islam men of Hāshim's
line, perpetual pillars of glory and the source of
pride.
They are Islam's mountain, and those around them are
large rocks rising up to splendid, towering heights.
Fine leaders, who include Jaʿfar and his brother ʿAlī,
as well as Aḥmad, the one chosen.

Ḥamza and al-ʿAbbās are of them too, as is ʿAqīl, the
sap of the tree from which he was pressed.
Through them all hardships are alleviated at every
dismal and difficult time when people suffer.
They are God's friends to whom He revealed his wisdom,
including that of absolute purity.'

"Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

'While others slept, your eyes shed like water dripping
from the seam of a waterskin.
That night when cares overwhelmed me so that sometimes
I moaned, at others tossed and turned,
Sorrow kept returning, and I spent the night as though
guardian of Ursa and Pisces.
It felt as though a flame burned inside me, between my
ribs and intestines
In pain for those who followed one another at Muʾta and
lay piled high, unremoved.
May God bless them, heroes all, and may fine rain water
their bones.
They endured at Muʾta for God's sake, ignoring death
and fearful of cowardice.
They went on ahead of the Muslims, as though they were
young stallions accoutred with full armour,
Being led ahead by Jaʿfar and his banner; he was first
and how fine a leader!
Until the lines were breached and Jaʿfar lay stretched
out where the ranks had clashed.
The light-giving moon was changed then, and the sun was
obscured and almost set.
A leader of mighty stature, of Hāshim's line, most
honourable in his power, unmovable.
Men by whom God protected his servants, to whom the
revealed Book came down.
They were superior to other tribes in their honour and
dignity, their fine qualities overwhelming the
ignorant.
They would not expend their efforts on trivial matters,
and their spokesman would be seen to decide with
justice.
Noble of visage, their hands would be open and flow
with generosity, even when bad times excused them.
For their leadership, God was pleased at His creation,
and because of their bravery the God-sent Prophet was
made victorious.'"

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIFUL AND BENEFICENT.

THE BOOK ON THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF MISSIONS TO RULERS ABROAD AND HIS DOCUMENTS TO THEM INVITING THEM TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, AND TO ENTER THE FAITH OF ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidī related that this happened at the end of year 6 AH, in Dhū al-Ḥijja, after the *ʿumra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya. Al-Bayhaqī gave this section in this position, following his account of the expedition to Muʾta. But God knows best.

There is no dispute among scholars that this activity began before the conquest of Mecca, and following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This accords with Abū Sufyān's response to Heraclius. When asked by him, "Would he betray?" Abū Sufyān replied, "No; we are into a period of time with him during which we do not know what he will do."

In al-Bukhārī's phrase, "That was the period in which Abū Sufyān had agreed to a truce with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "(This activity) took place in the period between al-Ḥudaybiyya and the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

We note here that comment, even though the statement of al-Wāqidī is preferable. But God knows best.

Muslim related, from Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maʿnī, from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote, before the battle of Muʾta, to Chosroe, to Caesar and to the Negus and to every tyrant, inviting them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He; this does not apply to the Negus, for whom he had prayed.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as having said, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'Abū Sufyān related to me personally as follows, "We were a mercantile people. The warfare had so blocked us in that our merchandise was spoiled. When the truce came – that of al-Ḥudaybiyyā – between us and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we were still not sure that we were safe. I went away to Syria on a trading expedition with a group of Quraysh. I swear, I didn't

know anyone in Mecca, man or woman, who did not consign goods to me. Our objective upon leaving Syria was to proceed to Gaza in Palestine.

"'"We left and reached there. That was at the time when Caesar, commander of the Byzantines, defeated the Persians in his country and expelled them, retrieving his great cross that they had stolen from him. News of this reached him when he was in his palace at Ḥims, in Syria. He left there on a march of thanks to Jerusalem, to pray there. Carpets were laid out to welcome him, and these were spread with aromatic plants. Eventually he reached Aelia (Jerusalem) and prayed there.

"'"One morning he got up depressed and turned his sight up to the sky. His patriarchs asked him, 'O King, are you worried this morning?' He replied, 'Yes, I am.' 'Why is that?' they enquired. He asked them, 'Did you notice that last night the *mulk al-khitan*,[91] the "king of the circumcised" was ascendant?' They swore in response that the only nation they knew who practiced circumcision was that of the Jews. They pointed out that they were under his power and sovereignty and that if this vision had come to him about them, then he should send throughout his kingdom and kill all the Jews and so relieve himself of this concern.

"'"While they were discussing this a messenger arrived from the governor of Buṣrā bringing in an Arab whom they had captured. The messenger told Caesar, 'Your majesty, this is an Arab, one of those people of sheep and camels. He will tell you about an event in his land if you would care to question him.' When the man was before him, Caesar told his interpreter, 'Ask him for news of what is going on in his country.' He did ask him and the man told him that there was news of an Arab of Quraysh who had come forth claiming to be a prophet and that some groups were supporting, others opposing him. He said that battle had occurred in several places and that all this had been in progress when he had left home.

"'"When he had related this, Caesar said, 'Strip him!' And he was found to be circumcised! Caesar commented, 'I swear by God, it was this I saw, not what you said. Give him back his clothes.' The Arab then left, free.

"'"Caesar then summoned his chief of police and told him, 'Turn Syria upside down until you bring me someone from that man's tribe I can question about him.'"'"

Abū Sufyān went on, "I and my companions were there in Gaza when he burst in on us demanding which tribe we were from. We told him and he took us all in to him.

91. The account in Ibn Isḥāq's text as translated by Guillaume omits the reference to the *mulk al-khitān* but includes information that Caesar had a vision in which it was revealed to him that "the kingdom of a circumcised man" would overwhelm his own empire. The *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhari's compendium quoted hereafter pp.358 et seq makes it clear that there has been an omission from Ibn Isḥāq's text as quoted here.

"Eventually there we were before him. And I swear I never saw a man more astute than him," – he was referring to Heraclius.

He went on, "Caesar asked us, 'Which of you is most closely related to that man?' I told him that I was and he asked me to approach closer. He then seated me before him and told my companions also to sit behind me. He told them, 'If he lies, then refute him.' I knew that they would not refute me even if I did lie, but I was a man of dignity and honour and would have been ashamed to lie. I also knew that if I did it was likely that they would report what I had said to others and that people would talk about me in Mecca. So I did not lie to him.

"Caesar asked, 'Tell me about this man who has come forth among you.' I responded by telling him a little about him, minimizing his importance. He was not impressed by this and told me to answer his questions about him. I said I would.

"He then asked, 'How do you view his lineage amongst you?'

"'To be pure and of our finest lineage,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he asked, 'has any other member of his family made claims similar to his and is he imitating that person?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he went on, 'is there any property involved that you have taken from him which might make him say these things so that you will return them to him?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me about his followers,' he asked. 'Who are they?'

"'They are the young, the powerless and the poor; his followers include no chiefs of high birth.'

"'Tell me about his companions; do they love and honour him, or (do they come to) despise and abandon him?'

"'No man who has accompanied him has ever abandoned him,' I replied.

"'Tell me about the warfare between yourselves and him,' he asked.

"'Well', I replied, 'it varies; sometimes it goes in our favour, sometimes in theirs.'

"'Tell me, would he betray?' This was the only thing he had asked that I could deceive him about, so I said, 'No; we now have a truce with him, yet we don't feel secure against some treachery by him.' But, I swear, Caesar took no account of this remark of mine.

"'He went on to talk further. He commented, 'You say he is of your purest lineage. God selects prophets that way; He only takes men from the purest lines in their people. I asked you whether any others of his family members were saying similar things that he is imitating; you said no. I asked whether he had some property you might have seized and suggested he might be saying what he is to get you to return it to him. But you said no. I asked you about his followers

and you maintain that they are young, powerless and poor. That's how the followers of prophets are in every age. I asked you whether those who follow him like and respect him or despise and abandon him. You claim that only rarely does someone follow him then abandon him. In such circumstances the sweetness of faith does not enter a person's heart then leave again.

"'I asked you about the warfare between you. You replied that sometimes it favours you, sometimes him. That is how warfare is for prophets, yet they win in the end. I asked you if he betrayed, and you said he did not.

"'If what you have said is the truth, then he will conquer the land beneath these feet of mine. I wish I were with him so I could wash his feet!'

"He then told me to go on about my business. So I arose, clapping my hands together and commented, 'This affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha has got to the point where the kings of those of pale skin fear him within their own domain!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that al-Zuhrī related to him that a Christian bishop who lived at that time told him, "Diḥya b. Khalīfa took a message to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that said, 'In the name of the Most Merciful and Beneficent: From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Great Heraclius of Byzantium. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance. Accept Islam and be safe; God will then give you reward twice over. If you refuse, then the sin of *al-akkārīn*, "the cultivators"[92] will be upon you.'

"When the letter reached him he read it and placed it between his thigh and his waist. He then wrote to one of the Byzantines who read Hebrew asking what he had read that was relevant to what had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He wrote back, 'He is the prophet who is awaited; there is no doubt about this, so follow him.'

"Caesar then summoned the Byzantine leaders and they were assembled for him in his capital chamber and he ordered that they be locked inside. He then looked down from an upper room at them, since he was afraid of them and said, 'Fellow Romans, I have received a message from Aḥmad! He is, I swear by God, the prophet we were awaiting and about whom there is information in our book. We recognize him by his qualities and time. Accept him and follow him and you will be safe both on earth and in the hereafter.' They snorted in disbelief, as one man, and rushed to the doors of the chamber, which they found locked against them.

"Caesar feared them and ordered, 'Bring them back!' He then said, 'Romans, I spoke to you these words only to test your commitment to your faith. I have been delighted by what I saw.' They all then fell in obeisance to him, he had the doors unlocked and they left."

Al-Bukhārī related the story of Abū Sufyān's contact with Heraclius with certain additions. I would like to give his account verbatim from his *ṣaḥīḥ*

92. Perhaps a reference to the parable of the evil grape-growers given in Matthew, XXI, v.33–46.

collection so that the disparity between that he gives and that of Ibn Isḥāq may be ascertained, along with the former's useful additions.

Al-Bukhārī stated, prior to the section of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that deals with faith, as follows, "Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam b. Nāfiʿ related to us, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī, (who said), 'ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿUtba b. Masʿūd informed me, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās informed him that Abū Sufyān informed him that Heraclius sent for him while he was with a group of companions of Quraysh. They were merchants and in Syria and it was during the period in which he, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had made a truce with Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh unbelievers. They (Caesar's men) went to them in Aelia (Jerusalem) and he (Caesar) invited them to a meeting with him. Around him were the Byzantine dignitaries. He invited them (the Quraysh merchants) to come forward and summoned his translator. Caesar then asked, "Which of you is closest in relationship to this man claiming to be a prophet?"

"'Abū Sufyān went on, 'I am closest in relationship to him.'

"'Caesar said, "Bring him close to me and move his companions forward to sit at his back."

"'He then told his interpreter, "Tell them I want to ask him about this man. If he lies to me, then they should contradict him." And I swear by God, were it not for my embarrassment at having them attribute lies to me, I would have lied about him!

"'The first thing he asked was, "How do you regard his lineage among yourselves?" I replied, "He is of good lineage." He next asked, "Has any one of your people made such claims as he makes prior to him?" "No," I replied. He then enquired, "Was any of his forebears king?" "No," I replied.

"'"Is it your chiefs who are his followers, or your powerless?" "It is our powerless." "Are they increasing in number or decreasing?" he asked. "They are increasing," I told him. "Do any of his followers apostatize in anger at his faith after adopting it?" "No," I replied.

"'"Did you accuse him of telling lies prior to his making his claim?" "No," I replied. "Does he betray?" he enquired. "No," I told him. "We are in a truce and we don't know what he is doing now." This comment was the only one in which I could offer inference of anything (negative).

"'"Have you battled with him?' he asked. "Yes," I answered. "And how did the fighting between you turn out?" "The warfare between us has sometimes favoured him, sometimes us," I replied. "What is it that he commands you to do?" he asked. "He says", I responded, "as follows: 'Worship God alone. Do not associate anything with Him. And abandon what your forefathers used to say.' He orders us to pray, to be truthful, chaste, and to maintain our family ties."

"'He then told the translator, "Tell him, 'I asked you about his lineage, and you claimed that he is of high lineage. Messengers are sent among their people's nobility.'"

"'He went on, "I asked you whether any one else among you made such claims before him. You said not. If anyone had said the same before him, I would have said he was imitating him.

"' "I asked you whether any of his forebears was king. You said not; if one had ruled, I would have said, 'He is a man seeking his father's kingdom.'

"' "I asked you whether you accused him of lying before he made his claims. You said not. I then knew that he was not someone who would tell lies to people or lie about God.

"' "I asked you whether it is his people's leaders or the powerless who follow him. You said it was the powerless; they are the ones who do follow prophets.

"' "I asked you whether his supporters were increasing or decreasing. You said they were increasing. That is the way it is with a faith until it comes to fruition.

"' "I asked you whether any of his supporters later renege after becoming displeased with his religion. You said not. That is how it is with a faith, when joy with it pervades the people's hearts.

"' "I asked you whether he betrays. You said not. Similarly, prophets do not betray.

"' "I asked you what he orders you to do. You replied that it was to worship God, to associate no others with Him, not to worship idols, to pray, to be truthful and to be chaste.

"' "If what you say is true, then he will have dominion over the land beneath my feet. I knew he was going to come, but I did not think he would be one of you. If I knew I could reach him, I would rush to meet him. If I were with him, I would wash his feet." ' "

He then called for the letter dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with Diḥya to the governor of Buṣrā which the latter had sent on to Heraclius. Its contents were as follows, "In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the most Merciful. From Muḥammad, the servant of God and His messenger to Heraclius, the leader of the Byzantines. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. I invite you to Islam; accept it and you will be safe and God will give you double reward. If you turn away, then yours will be the sin of the *al-arīsiyyīn*,[93] the peasants. Moreover, O people of the scriptures, agree to a joint statement with us: that we will worship only God and will associate nothing with Him. That some of us will not take others as masters besides God. And if they turn away, say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims'" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*; III, v.64).

Abū Sufyān stated, "When he had said this and had finished reading the letter, there was an uproar in the court. Voices were raised and we were expelled.

93. See last footnote, above, p.357.

After we had left, I told my companions, 'This Ibn Abū Kabsha affair has got to the point where he even scares the king of those of pale skin!' Thereafter I was convinced that he would prevail; and eventually God drew me into Islam."

Al-Bukhārī continued, "Ibn Nāṭūr, governor of Aelia when Heraclius had been appointed leader of the Christians of Syria, would relate that after Heraclius had arrived in Aelia, he awoke one morning in a bad mood. Some of his patriarchs asked him why and expressed concern. Heraclius, Ibn Nāṭūr related, was a soothsayer who interpreted the stars. When they asked him about his mood, he replied, 'When I looked up at the stars, I saw that the "kingdom of the circumcised" was ascendant. Who is it of this nation who are circumcised?' They replied, 'Only the Jews practise circumcision; and you should definitely not fear them. Issue orders to your provincial town to kill all the Jews there.'

"While they were discussing this, in came to Heraclius a man sent by the king of Ghassān and he told them of the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Heraclius questioned him further and gave orders for them to go and discover whether or not he (the messenger from Ghassān) was circumcised. They went and looked and reported that he was. Heraclius then asked whether or not the Arabs practised circumcision and was told that they did. Thereupon he said, 'The kingdom of this nation is ascendant!' He wrote to a colleague in Rome who was as knowledgeable as himself.

"Then Heraclius went to Ḥimṣ, where he had scarcely arrived before a letter came from his colleague agreeing with his own conclusion that the prophet who had emerged was indeed genuine. Heraclius had his dignitaries taken into a chamber in Ḥimṣ, the doors of which were locked. Looking down at them, he said, 'Byzantines! Is it your desire for success and right guidance and to have stability in your country? If so, then you will give allegiance to this prophet.'

"The dignitaries raced for the doors like wild onagers, but found them locked. When Heraclius saw their negative reaction, he despaired of them (accepting) the faith and ordered for them to be reassembled before him. He told them, 'I only spoke as I did before to test the strength of your allegiance to your faith. Now I have seen.'

"They bowed low before him and expressed their satisfaction with him. And this brought the (involvement) of Heraclius to an end."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, Yūnus and Maʿmar related this from al-Zuhrī."

Al-Bukhārī related this story in many places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, with idiomatic variants it would take long to examine. All the other scholars, except for Ibn Mājah, gave it in various lines of transmission back to al-Zuhrī.

We have discussed this *ḥadīth* at length and sufficiently early in our (*Tafsīr*) (*Exegesis*) of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, along with reference to its distinctive linguistic and contextual qualities.

Ibn Lahī'a stated, from al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, "Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb left on a mercantile expedition to Syria, accompanied by some colleagues. News of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Heraclius and he wished to ascertain what was known about him. So he sent word to the leader of the Arab community in Syria within his domain and ordered him to dispatch to him some Arabs so that he could question them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore sent to Heraclius 30 Arabs, including Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. They went in to him in the church in the centre of Aelia. Heraclius said, 'I sent for you to give me information about the activities of this man of Mecca.' They replied, 'He is a magician and a liar and no prophet.'

"Heraclius asked them, 'Then tell me, which of you knows him best and is closest to him in relationship?' They replied that that would be Abū Sufyān, his uncle, and that he had fought against him.

"When they told him that, he had them removed. Then he seated Abū Sufyān and questioned him. He asked, 'Now tell me, Abū Sufyān.' He replied, 'He is a magician and a liar.'

"Heraclius went on, 'I don't just want you to slander him; tell me about his lineage among you.' 'He is of the house of Quraysh,' he replied.

"'How is his intelligence, his reasoning?' 'We never found fault with his views.'

"'Was he deceitful, lying and wont to swear oaths in his business dealings?' 'No, I swear by God; he was not like that.'

"'Perhaps he is seeking some kingship or high honour that had previously been held by a forebear of his?' 'No,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"'Do any of those (who follow him) come back to you?' 'No,' he replied.

"'And did he renege after making an agreement?' Heraclius asked. 'No', he replied, 'except that he might renege on this truce,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"'And what are your fears about this truce?' 'My people and their allies have given a truce to him and his allies.' Heraclius commented, 'If you begin (the fighting) then it is you who will be the ones betraying.'

"Abū Sufyān became angry at this and said, 'He only ever beat us once, and I was absent that day! That was at Badr. Then I attacked him twice while they were in their homes, slitting open stomachs, cutting off their ears and private parts!'

"'And do you consider him a liar, or truthful?' Heraclius enquired. 'Oh, he's a liar,' he replied.

"'Well, if there is a prophet among you, you should not kill him. The Jews are the ones best at doing that!' Heraclius commented.

"Abū Sufyān then returned home."

There are strange aspects to this text, as well as some good points absent from the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bukhārī.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related in his work on the military expeditions an account similar to that of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. But God knows best.

Ibn Jarīr stated in his work on history as follows, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, quoting Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from a certain scholar, who said, 'Heraclius said to Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, when the latter brought him the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "I swear by God, I know well that your leader is a prophet sent by God and that he is the one whom we have been awaiting and whom we find mentioned in our scripture. But I fear for myself from the Byzantines; if I did not, I would follow him. Go and see Bishop Ṣaghāṭir, and tell him about your leader. The Byzantines actually consider him more highly and more persuasive than myself. See what he tells you."

"'Diḥya went and told him what he had brought to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and informed him of what was the latter's message. Ṣaghāṭir responded, "I swear by God, your leader is a prophet; we know him from his qualities and we find him with his own name in our scriptures."

"'He then went and exchanged black clothing he had been wearing for white. He took his staff and went out to address the Byzantines in the church. He said, "Byzantines, a letter has reached us from Aḥmad inviting us to God. I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that Aḥmad is His servant and messenger." They attacked him immediately in unison, hitting him until they had killed him.

"'When Diḥya returned and informed Heraclius what had happened, the latter commented, "I told you! We fear for ourselves from them. And Ṣaghāṭir was more respected and effective in speaking with them than myself."'"

Al-Ṭabrānī related, through Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Diḥya al-Kalbī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me with a letter to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines."

(The account continues) "Caesar was informed that there was a man at his gate claiming to be an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Caesar was disturbed at this and ordered that the man be brought in. This was done; he had his bishops present with him."

(Diḥya continued) "I gave him the letter which stated, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines.' A nephew of Caesar's, tall, red-haired and blue-eyed, snorted in anger at this and said, 'Don't read out this letter today! He began it with himself and then wrote, "leader of the Byzantines" instead of "king of the Byzantines".'

"The letter was read to its end and Caesar ordered everyone out and sent for me. I went in and he asked me questions to which I answered. He then sent for his bishop, their most prominent figure, a man whose opinion and statements were influential, and when he read the letter, he said, 'By God, he is the prophet Moses and Caesar foresaw and whom we have awaited!' 'What do you advise me?' Caesar asked. The bishop replied, 'As for myself, I believe and follow him.' 'I too know', Caesar commented, 'that he is genuine, but I can do nothing. If I did, my kingdom would be lost and the Byzantines would kill me.'"

On this subject, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq quoted Khālid b. Yasār as relating that a Syrian elder said, "From what news he had heard of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and having decided to leave Syria for Constantinople, Heraclius assembled the Byzantines and addressed them as follows, 'Byzantines, I have certain issues I wish to present to you. Tell me what are your wishes regarding them.'

"They asked what they were and he went on, 'You will know, by God, that this man certainly is a prophet who has been sent. We find him to have those qualities by which he has been described to us (before); let us proceed and follow him and thus find peace in this world and the next.'

"They replied, 'But then we would be under the control of the Arabs; and we are more numerous, powerful and have a more extensive domain than they do!'

"He continued, 'Let us pay him the *jizya*, the poll-tax, every year. That will relieve pressure on me from him and by what I give him I will be spared possible warfare.'

"They responded, 'Why should we give to the despised and powerless Arabs tax money they would take from us, when we are the more numerous, have a more powerful nation and a larger domain? No, by God, we'll absolutely never do that!'

"'Well then,' Caesar suggested, 'let's make peace with him by my giving him Sūriyya, while he leaves me the land of al-Shām.' He explained that Sūriyya consisted of Palestine, Jordan, Damascus and Ḥimṣ, up to *al-darb*,[94] while the lands beyond *al-darb* constituted al-Shām.

"They objected, 'Why should we give him Syria when you know well that it is the very navel of al-Shām! We'll never do that!'

"When they refused, he asked them, 'Do you think, by God, that you'll have defeated him if you defend yourselves from him in your towns?'

"He then rode away on his mule, eventually looking down upon *al-darb* and approaching the land of al-Shām. He then said, 'Peace be upon you, land of Sūriyya; this is my farewell greeting.' He then hurriedly returned to Constantinople. But God knows best."

An Account of the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of a message to the King of the Christian Arabs in Syria.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Shujāʿ b. Wahb, brother of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma to al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shimr al-Ghassānī, the governor of Damascus."

94. Lane, in his *Lexicon* states, "The Arabic name of the ancient *Derbe*, near the Cilician Gates, which were the chief mountain pass, from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs, into the territory of the Greek (*sic*) Empire." Derbe lay some 100 miles due east of Tarsus, some 120 miles north of Cyprus, well inside the boundaries of present-day Turkey. c.f. Guillaume (*op. cit.* p.657).

Al-Wāqidī stated, "He wrote a letter to take with him that said, 'Peace be upon him who follows the true path and believes in Him. I invite you to believe in God alone, and without associate who will preserve your kingdom for you.'

"When Shujāʿ b. Wahb arrived, he read it (to the king) who responded, 'Who is it who would take my kingdom away from me? I will go to him.'"

An Account of the delegation the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to Chosroe, King of the Persians.

Al-Bukhārī related, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his message with an envoy to Chosroe with orders that he deliver it to the governor of al-Baḥrayn. The governor forwarded it to Chosroe who tore it into shreds after he had read it.

"And I[95] believe that Ibn al-Musayyab said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cursed them, saying, 'May they be completely torn into shreds!'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb quoted al-Zuhrī, from Yūnus, as saying, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qārī related to me, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed the *minbar* one day to make an address and gave praise and thanks to God, spoke the *shahāda*, then said, 'I wish to send some of you forth to foreign kings; do not dispute among yourselves about me as Banū Isrāʾīl did about Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The *muhājirīn* said, 'O Messenger of God, we would never disagree about you over anything; order us to go forth.'

"He then dispatched Shujāʿ b. Wahb to Chosroe who had his palace decorated and assembled the dignitaries of Persia. He then brought in Shujāʿ b. Wahb. When he entered, Chosroe ordered that the letter be taken from him, but Shujāʿ b. Wahb told him, 'No; I will hand it only to you, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me.' Chosroe had him brought forward and Shujāʿ then gave him the letter.

"Chosroe called for one of his scribes, a man from al-Ḥīra, who read it to him. It said, 'From Muḥammad, servant and Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia.' It angered Chosroe that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had begun the letter with a reference to himself, and he shouted in anger and tore up the letter before he learned what it said. He then had Shujāʿ b. Wahb taken outside.

"Having seen what he had, Shujāʿ mounted his camel and left, saying, 'Well, I swear, I don't care which of the two routes I am on, since I did deliver the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"When the force of his anger had abated, Chosroe sent for Shujāʿ to go in to him. They searched but he could not be found. He was sought for as far as al-Ḥīra, but he had gone on ahead.

95. Presumably it is ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba who is quoted here.

"When Shujāʿ went in to tell how Chosroe had behaved and how he had torn up the letter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'May Chosroe tear up his kingdom!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq narrated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Abū Salama, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa with his message to Chosroe. When he read it, he tore it into shreds. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "May he tear up his kingdom!"

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥamīd related to him, quoting Salama, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, who said, "He dispatched ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿīd b. Sahm to Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, the king of Persia with a message saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance, believe in God and His messenger and bear witness that there is no god but God who is unique and without associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call upon you with God's invitation. I am God's messenger to all people, to warn all who live that the word (of God) bears witness against all unbelievers. If you accept Islam, you will be secure; if you refuse, then the sin of Magūs[96] will be upon you.'

"When he had read this, Chosroe ripped it up, saying, 'How dare he write this to me when he is my slave!'

"Chosroe then wrote to Bādhām, his governor over Yemen, saying, 'Dispatch two strong men of yours to this man in Ḥijāz to bring him to me.'

"Bādhām then sent off Qahramān, a scribe adept in Persian writing, along with a Persian named Kharkhara, carrying a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordering him to accompany them to Chosroe. And he told Abādhaway, 'Go into this man's country, talk to him and bring me news of him.'

"The two men left and when they reached Ṭāʾif, they found there a man of Quraysh whom they questioned about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told them, 'He is in Medina.' The people of Ṭāʾif – and Quraysh too – welcomed the two men joyfully. They told one another, 'Rejoice! Chosroe, the King of Kings, is going after him! We'll be rid of him!'

"They left and when they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abādhaway told him, 'The *Shāhinshāh* and King of Kings Chosroe wrote to King Bādhām ordering him to send to you those who would conduct you to him. He has sent me to you for you to leave with me. If you do so, a message will be sent on your behalf to the King of Kings that will be to your advantage and will protect you from him. If you refuse, then you know his reputation. He will destroy you and your people and lay waste to your country.'

"The two men then entered to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had shaved off their beards but left their moustaches intact. He hated the sight of them

96. "Al-Magūs" applies to the followers of Zoroaster, a Persian self-styled prophet who lived in the last millennium before Christ.

and asked, 'Poor fellows! Who told you to do that?' They replied, 'It was our Lord' – meaning Chosroe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Well, my Lord ordered me to spare my beard but cut off my moustache!' He then told them, 'Leave now and come back to me tomorrow.'

"Then news came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from heaven that God had empowered Chosroe's son Shīrawayh to kill his father. And on such-and-such a night of such-and-such a month Shīrawayh did attack and kill his father.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called in the two men and told them of this. They responded, 'Do you know what you are saying? We don't hate you so much as that! Shall we write to King Bādhām about you regarding this?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Do tell him this from me. Say to him, "My faith and my power will attain that reached by Chosroe and will ultimately encompass all creatures." Tell him, "If you accept Islam, I will award you the land beneath your feet and make you and your sons kings over your people."'

"He then presented to Kharkhara a belt decorated with gold and silver that a king had given to him. The men left, returned to Bādhām and told him their news. He told them, 'I swear by God, those are not the words of a king; I see the man to be a prophet as he claims. Let it be as he said, for if it turns out as he predicted, he is indeed a prophet sent by God. Otherwise we will reconsider what to do.'

"Soon thereafter, a letter arrived from Shīrawayh which said, in part, 'I have killed Chosroe. I did so because of the anger in Persia at his killings of his nobility and having them stabbed in their mouths. When this letter reaches you, require those under your charge to give obedience to me. And ensure immediately that no attack is made against that man about whom Chosroe wrote to you, until you receive my order about him.'

"When this letter from Shīrawayh reached Bādhām, he said, 'This man certainly is a Messenger of God.' He then accepted Islam, as did all other Persians in Yemen.

"Bādhawayh said to Bādhām, 'I never spoke to anyone I found more awe-inspiring.' Bādhām asked him, 'Did he have armed guards with him?' 'No,' he replied."

Al-Wāqidī, may God have mercy on him, stated, "The assassination of Chosroe by his son Shīrawayh took place during the night of the 13th of Jumādā al-Ākhira, 7 AH at 6 o'clock."

I note that there is poetry saying that his death occurred in a *ḥarām*, a sacrosanct, month, as follows,

> "They killed Chosroe during the night of the sacrosanct
> month; he passed away and was accorded no shroud."

And an Arab poet[97] spoke the verses,

97. These verses are ascribed in Vol. 1 p.33 above to Khālid b. Ḥiqq al-Shaybānī.

"And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with
swords as if he were meat.
On one day fate brought him to term; is not there a
term for every pregnant mother?"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥamīd, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Bakra, that a Persian came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that the latter told him, "This night my Lord has killed your lord."

(*The narrator continued*) "And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told that Chosroe's daughter had been appointed to succeed him, he commented, 'No people governed by a woman will prosper.'"

Al-Bayhaqī also said, "It is related in a *ḥadīth* from Diḥya b. Khalīfa that when *he returned from visiting Caesar, he found emissaries from Chosroe* meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This was because Chosroe had sent a threatening message to the governor of Ṣanʿāʾ asking him, 'Can't you rid me of this man who has appeared in your land and has asked me to accept his religion? Take care of him, or I *will of you!*'

"And so the governor sent envoys to him who received the response from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Notify him that my Lord has killed his lord tonight.' They found it to be as he said.

"And Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind related much the same, *from* ʿĀ*mir* al-Shaʿbī."

Then al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Saʿd went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'I see some news from Saʿd's face!' Saʿd then said, 'Messenger of God, Chosroe is dead!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) commented, 'God curse Chosroe! The first people destroyed will be the Persians, and then the Arabs!'"

I note that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first told this to the two envoys of Chosroe who had come to him on behalf of the governor of Yemen, Bādhān. Then the news came of the accuracy of the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Saʿd being the first to hear it. And so he then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of this accuracy. Al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him, thus gave this account.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through more than one line, from al-Zuhrī, as follows, "Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed me that it had reached him that while Chosroe was in his palace reception chamber a petitioner was brought – or sent – to him, seeking his rights and to his great surprise a man walked up bearing a staff, saying, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' Chosroe answered, 'Yes; don't break it!' The man turned and left. When he had gone, Chosroe sent to his chamberlain and asked, 'Who permitted this man access to me?' The replied, 'But no one went in to see you.' 'You lie!' he insisted. He was angry and threatened them, then left them.

"When the new year came, the man returned, carrying the staff. He said, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?'

"'Yes; don't break it,' he agreed.

"When the man had left, he called for his chamberlain and questioned him as he had the first time.

"Next year back came that man carrying the staff. He asked Chosroe, 'Will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' 'Don't break it! Don't break it!' Chosroe asked. But the man did break it. And thereupon God destroyed Chosroe."

Imām al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibn ʿUyayna informed him, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him. And, I swear by him who holds my soul in His hands, their treasures will be spent in God's cause."

Muslim gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUyayna, and both of these quoted it as a *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "(It is said that) When the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to Chosroe, he tore it up and the former commented, 'May his kingdom be torn up!' But we maintain that Chosroe honoured the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and placed it in musk[98] and that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said was, 'May his kingdom be preserved!'"

Al-Shāfiʿī and other scholars say that when Arabs, some of whom having accepted Islam, went out on merchant ventures to Syria and Iraq, they would complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their fear of the kings of those two countries. And he would respond, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him."

He (al-Shāfiʿī) stated, "And the kingdom of the Chosroes did indeed die out completely, and that of Caesar and Syria also ended completely, even though in general their reign persisted. This was grace to the prayer spoken for them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when they honoured his letter. But God knows best."

I note that in this there is a fine announcement that the rule of the Romans will never return to Syria.

The Arabs used to use the term *Qayṣar*, "Caesar", to denote the Roman who ruled Syria, along with the (Arabian) peninsula. The term *Kisrā*, "Chosroe", was applied to whomever ruled the Persians, *al-Najāshī*, "the Negus", to the ruler of Abyssinia, *al-Muqawqis* for the ruler of Alexandria, *Farʿūn*, "Pharoah" for whomever ruled Egypt as an unbeliever, and *Baṭlaymūs* (Ptolemy), for the ruler of India. They also accorded other generic titles; we have mentioned these elsewhere.[99] But God knows best.

98. Presumably to perfume and preserve it.

99. Vol. II, above, p.26.

Muslim related, from Qutayba and others, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A group of Muslims will discover the treasures of Chosroe in the white fortress.'"

Asbāṭ narrated, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samara, a *ḥadīth* similar to that and added, "I and my father were among them, and we acquired 1,000 dirhams from that."

THE EMBASSY OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO AL-MUQAWQIS, RULER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA; HIS NAME WAS JURAYJ B. MĪNĀ THE COPT.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qārī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa to the Muqawqis, ruler of Alexandria. When Ḥāṭib delivered to him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he kissed it, honoured Ḥāṭib and entertained him well. He then sent him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatching to him with Ḥāṭib a ceremonial gown, a mule and saddle and two slave girls, one of whom became Ibrāhīm's[100] mother. The other girl was presented by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Muḥammad b. Qays al-ʿAbdī."

Al-Bayhaqī related this also.

He then narrated through ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, from his father (who said) "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria. I took him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he gave me accommodation in his home and there I stayed with him. He then sent for me, having assembled his patriarchs. He said, "I have questions for you and would like you to help me reach understanding." I replied, "Please ask." He said, "Tell me about your master; is he not a prophet?" "He is indeed," I replied. "He is the Messenger of God." "Then why", he asked, "if he is so, why did he not curse his people, since they evicted him from his country to another?" I replied, "Take Jesus, son of Mary; do you not bear witness that he was the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed I do," he replied. "Well", I asked, "what about when his people took him and wanted to crucify him; could he not have cursed them and had God destroy them when God raised him up to the earthly heaven?" He replied, "You are a wise man who has come from a wise man. These are presents I am dispatching with you to Muḥammad. And I am sending with you a guard who will conduct you to your safe haven."

"'He presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three slave girls, including one who was the mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the latter. One girl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to Ḥassān b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*. He also sent some of his treasures to him.'"

100. *The son of the Prophet (ṢAAS).*

Ibn Isḥāq recounted that he presented four girls to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), one of whom was Mārīya, Ibrāhīm's mother. Another was Sīrīn, whom he gave to Ḥassān b. Thābit; to him she bore ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.

I note that among these presents was a black eunuch named Maʾbūr, a pair of plain black slippers, and a white female mule named al-Daldal.

This Maʾbūr was a eunuch. At first no one knew this, so when he began going in to Mārīya, as had been his habit in Egypt, people gossiped. They did not know the truth of the matter, that he was a eunuch. Eventually someone noted that he was the one the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to kill, but he let him go when he found him to be a eunuch. The *ḥadīth* relating this is contained in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, with a line of transmission through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Salīṭ b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd, brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, to Hawdha b. ʿAlī, leader of al-Yamāma. He sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to Jayfar b. al-Jalandī and ʿAmmār b. al-Jalandī, both of Azd, rulers of ʿUmān."

THE EXPEDITION TO DHŪ AL-SALĀSIL

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it here, before the account of the conquest (of Mecca). His line of transmission leads through Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, both of whom said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Dhū al-Salāsil in the Syrian uplands, in territory of Balī and ʿAbd Allāh and those of Quḍāʿa allied to them."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "Banū Balī were uncles of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil. When he travelled there, he was afraid at the large numbers of the enemy. So he sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asking for reinforcements. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned the first *muhājirīn*; Abū Bakr and ʿUmar volunteered, along with a group of *muhājirīn* leaders, may God be pleased with them all. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ as their leader."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When they reached ʿAmr, he told them, 'I am your leader; it was I who sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek reinforcements.' The *muhājirīn* replied, 'No; you are leader of your men, while Abū ʿUbayda is in command of the *muhājirīn*.' ʿAmr insisted, 'No; you're just reinforcements provided to me.'

"When Abū ʿUbayda, who was a man of fine disposition and easy-going nature, said, 'You know, ʿAmr, that the last instruction he gave me was to say, 'When you reach your comrade, obey him.' If you disobey me, then I will obey you.' Abū ʿUbayda gave the leadership over to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī related to me, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to bring the Arabs into Islam.[101] This was because the mother of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil was from Banū Balī. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to them, for he would therefore be at ease with them. When he arrived at a well in Judhām territory known as al-Salāsil – this expedition being known by that name – he became concerned. And so he sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for reinforcements. The latter sent him Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ along with the first *muhājirīn*, among whom were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. When he dispatched Abū ʿUbayda, he told him, "Do not quarrel."

"'Abū ʿUbayda then set forth and when he arrived, ʿAmr said to him, "You have merely come to reinforce me." Abū ʿUbayda said, "No; but I will do my duty, as you will."

"'Abū ʿUbayda was a mild and easy-going man. ʿAmr told him, "I insist; you are my reinforcements." Abū ʿUbayda replied, "ʿAmr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'Do not quarrel.' So even if you disobey me, I will obey you." ʿAmr told him, "Well, I am your commander, and you are my reinforcement." "So be it," he replied.

"'And ʿAmr went and led the prayers with the men.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to him, from Yazīd b. Rūmān, that when Abū ʿUbayda reached ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ they totalled 500 men and travelled on day and night into Balī territory, overrunning it as they went. Whenever they arrived at some settlement, they were told that those who had been there had dispersed on hearing of their approach. Eventually they reached the furthest part of the territory of Balī, ʿUdhra and Balqīn. There they finally encountered a small force with which they briefly fought, engaging in exchanges of arrows. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa suffered a wound in his arm. The Muslims attacked and defeated the enemy, who dispersed and fled. ʿAmr plundered the area for a few days, hearing nothing of any enemy force being gathered, and receiving no information where they had gone. He sent out his cavalry to bring in sheep and camels which they slaughtered, but they captured nothing more; there were no spoils to be distributed.

Abū Dāʾūd said that Ibn al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, (who said), "I heard Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb relate from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'I involuntarily discharged semen on a very cold night during the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil. I was afraid that if I were to wash, I would perish. So I performed the ablutions with sand, then performed the morning prayers with my men. They later reported that to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God asked, "ʿAmr, did you really pray with your men while in a state of *junub*, ritual impurity?" I then told him what had prevented me from washing myself

101. The Arabic printed text notes that Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn Isḥāq substitutes "into Syria" for "into Islam".

and said, "I heard God say, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you'" (*sūrat al-Nisā*ʾ; IV, v.29). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and said no more.'"

Muḥammad b. Salama related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿImrān b. Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, from Abū Qays, the freed-man of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs. – who had been on an expedition, and related the *ḥadīth* similarly. He said, "He washed under his thighs, performed the ablutions for prayer and prayed with the rest." He then related approximately the same as above, but he did not refer to having cleaned himself with sand.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "This anecdote is related from al-Awzāʿī, from Ḥassān b. ʿAṭiyya, who said in it that he cleaned himself with sand."

Al-Wāqidī stated, Aflaḥ b. Saʿīd related to me, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Raqīsh, from Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, who said, "While away on an expedition, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ involuntarily discharged semen during a night of exceeding cold. He asked his men, 'What do you think? I had a discharge, but if I wash, I'll die!' He had water brought and did perform the ablutions, washing his private parts and cleaning himself with sand. He then went on and performed the prayer with the rest. ʿAwf b. Mālik was sent on ahead to report. He said, 'I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the pre-dawn, while he was praying in his home. I greeted him and he said, "You're ʿAwf b. Mālik?" I said I was and he said, "The one who slaughters camels?" I said yes, and he added nothing more. He then asked, "Well, tell me the news." I made a report to him on our expedition and of the disagreement between Abū ʿUbayda and ʿAmr, and how Abū ʿUbayda had submitted to ʿAmr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "May God be pleased with Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ!"

"'I then told him that ʿAmr had prayed with the men while he was in a state of *junub*, and that even though he had water, he had only washed his private parts in performing the ablutions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

"'When ʿAmr returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about his performance of the prayer and he related it to him, commenting, "I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, that if I had washed completely, I would have died; I never experienced cold like that. And the Almighty had said, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you.'"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed; and we have not heard that he made any comment.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb quoted ʿAwf b. Mālik al-Ashjaʿī as saying, 'I was present on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. I went in the company of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. We passed by some people who had slaughtered some camels but did not know how to cut them up properly. I was a proficient butcher, so I told them, "If you will give me a tenth share, I'll divide it up between you." They agreed

and so I took a sharp knife and cut it up, right then and there. I took a portion for myself and carried it off to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar then asked, "Where did you get this meat, ʿAwf?" I told them and they said, "By God, you did not do well to feed us this!" Then they arose and brought back up the food from their stomachs.

"'When we set off for home from that trip, I was the first to reach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was praying in his house. I greeted him, *al-salāmu ʿalayka*, "'peace be upon you', Messenger of God!" He responded, "You're ʿAwf b. Mālik?" "Yes, indeed I am, I swear." "The one who did the butchering?" he asked, but made no further comment.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related it thus, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿAwf b. Mālik, and the *ḥadīth* is missing links in its chain of transmission and is, moreover, *muʿḍal*, "enigmatic".

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Lahīʿa and Saʿīd b. Abū Ayyūb related this from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rabīʿa b. Laqīṭ, from Mālik b. Zuhdum from ʿAwf b. Mālik. I believe he (ʿAwf) related it as above except for his using the words, 'I offered it to ʿUmar; he asked me about it, and I told him. He then said, "You have accelerated your reward!" and he did not eat it.'"

He then narrated it similarly from Abū ʿUbayda and in that version made no mention of Abū Bakr. It ends approximately as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him as follows, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (who said), 'I heard ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me forth in command of the army sent to Dhū al-Salāsil. Among us were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. I told myself that he would only have given me command over Abū Bakr and ʿUmar because of some very high regard he had for me. So once I went to him, sat down before him and asked, 'Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?' 'ʿĀ'isha,' he replied. 'I wasn't asking you about your family,' I told him. 'Then it would be her father,' he replied. 'Who after that,' I enquired. 'ʿUmar,' he replied. I went on asking until he had mentioned a number of men. Then I told myself that I had better stop asking!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Khālid b. Mahrān al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, his name being ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mul. (The latter said), "'ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out in command of the army to Dhū al-Salāsil. (ʿAmr said), 'I went to him and asked, "Which person do you like best?" "ʿĀ'isha," he replied. "And from the men?" I enquired. "Her father," he said. "Who then?" I asked. "Then ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ," he answered. He went on to enumerate various other men.'"

This is the text given by al-Bukhārī. In one account ʿAmr is quoted as saying, "I fell silent, fearing that he would place me last!"

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ ʿUBAYDA TO THE SEA COAST.

Imām Mālik quoted Wahb b. Kaysān as stating that Jābir said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an expedition towards the coast; in command he appointed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. The force consisted of 300 men. And I was one of them.

"Having travelled part of the way, our food supply became depleted. Abū ʿUbayda ordered all the remaining food to be gathered together. The food consisted of dates. He would distribute a very little of it to us each day until eventually all we received was one date per day. I asked him, 'What good is one date?' He replied, 'You'll find out when it has run out!'

"At last we arrived at the sea where we found a whale as big as a hillock. The army ate from it for 18 days; then Abū ʿUbayda ordered that two of its ribs be set up. He then had his mount saddled and he passed beneath them without touching them."

This anecdote is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik in similar form.

It is also included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out with a force of 300 mounted men, our commander being Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. We were to look for caravans belonging to Quraysh. We were overcome by intense hunger, so that we were forced to eat *al-khabaṭ*, 'tree leaves'. The army therefore became known as the *khabaṭ* army. Then a man slaughtered 3 camels then 3 more and yet 3 more. Ultimately Abū ʿUbayda forbade him from doing this. Then the sea cast up a creature called an *ʿanbar*, a sperm whale. We ate of it for half a month and we grew fat and our bodies became healthy."

He then went on to relate about the ribs. The reference here to looking for caravans belonging to Quraysh indicates that this expedition occurred before the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. But God knows best. The man in the anecdote who butchered the camels was Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿIbāda, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq narrated to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Qutayba, quoting Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, quoting Abū Khaythamā – he being Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya – from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on an expedition under the command of Abū ʿUbayda to seek caravans belonging to Quraysh. He provisioned us with leather bags full of dates; that was all we had. Abū ʿUbayda would ration them out one by one.

"I (Abū al-Zubayr) asked Jābir, 'What did you do with them?' He replied, 'We would chew on them like the children do, then we would drink water with them, and that would last us all day until the night. We also would knock down leaves with our sticks, pour water over them and eat them.

"'We went to the sea coast and there on the beach something as big as a sand dune was cast up. When we approached it, we found it to be a creature called an *ʿanbar*, a sperm whale. Abū ʿUbayda first said that it was dead.[102] But he then said, "No; after all, we are messengers on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pursuing God's cause. You are forced to do so; eat it." So we ate off it for a month, all 300 of us, and put on weight again. We would ladle the fat out of its eye sockets with leather bottles and cut meat off it the size of a bull. Abū ʿUbayda took 13 of us and sat them in its eye. He also took one of its ribs, stood it upright, saddled the biggest of his camels and passed under it. We provisioned ourselves with strips of its meat dried, and when we returned to Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him this, he said, "It was bounty that God brought forth for you; do you have any of its meat you could give us to eat?" And we did send some to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ate it.'"

Muslim related this from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, and Aḥmad b. Yūnus and Dāʾūd related it from al-Nufaylī, all three of them deriving it from Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya al-Jaʿfī al-Kūfī, from Abū al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Makkī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh the *anṣārī*.

Most of these texts require this expedition to have preceded the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. However, we have given it here following the example of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him. He positioned it following Muʾta and before the conquest. But God knows best.

After examining the Muʾta expedition, Al-Bukhārī related that of Usāma b. Zayd to al-Ḥaraqāt of (Banū) Juhayna. He stated that ʿAmr b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub, quoting Abū Ẓubyān, who said, "I heard Usāma b. Zayd say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against al-Ḥaraqa; we attacked them in the morning and defeated them. I and an *anṣārī* chased after one of their men and when we caught up with him, he said *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*, "there is no god but God". At this the *anṣārī* stopped, but I stabbed at him with my spear until I had killed him. When we returned home, this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he asked me, "Usāma, did you really kill him after he had said, *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*?" "He was only trying to save himself," I replied. But he kept on asking me the same question until I wished I had not accepted Islam before that incident.'"

We have quoted and discussed this *ḥadīth* heretofore.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, "I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought also in nine others on which he sent us. On one we were commanded by Abū Bakr, and on another by Usāma b. Zayd, may God be pleased with both."

102. Muslims are prohibited from eating the flesh of an animal that has not been slaughtered in accord with Islamic practice and after the invocation of God's name over it.

At this point the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted the death of the Negus, the ruler of Abyssinia, in a state of being Muslim, the announcement of his death to the Muslims being made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the latter's prayer for him.

It was narrated through Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the death of the Negus on the day he died, led the people to the mosque where he lined them up and that he then pronounced *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is Most Great", four times.

Both these authorities derive their accounts from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and also from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra in similar terms.

They both also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Today a fine man died; pray for Aṣḥama.'"

These accounts have also been quoted and discussed heretofore; and all praise be to God!

I note that it seems that the death of the Negus occurred a substantial time before the conquest (of Mecca). In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is said that when he wrote to the foreign rulers, he also wrote to the Negus and that he was not a Muslim. Others, like al-Wāqidī, claim that he was. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from his father, from Umm Kulthūm, (who said), "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, he told her, 'I have sent to the Negus some ounces of musk and a copper pot as presents, but I believe that he has died. I expect the presents to be returned to me. If that happens' – I believe he said this – 'then I will divide them between you.' Or he may have said, 'and they will be yours'.

"And it was as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. The Negus did die and the presents were returned. He then gave an ounce (of the perfume) to one of his wives and all the rest to Umm Salama."

THE GREAT CONQUEST OF MECCA. IT OCCURRED IN RAMAḌĀN, 8 AH.

God, Almighty is He, made reference to it in several places in the Qurʾān. He stated, "Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest, and did battle; these are higher in rank than those who spent and fought thereafter. But to all (of these) God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10).

He also stated, "When God's help comes and the conquest and you see people entering God's religion in droves, then celebrate with praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness. He is indeed forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1–3).

The cause of the conquest, following the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, was as Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated. He said, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said that al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam both

told him as follows, 'It was stipulated in the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya that whoever wished to enter into an alliance with Muḥammad could do so, and that those wishing to ally with Quraysh could also do that. Thereafter Khuzā'a stated that they wished to be allied with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while Banū Bakr joined with Quraysh.

"'The truce remained in effect for some 17 or 18 months. But then Banū Bakr attacked Khuzā'a at night at a well called al-Watīr, close to Mecca. Quraysh, thinking that because it was night and that they would not be observed, assisted Banū Bakr by providing horses and weapons, and they fought along with them in order to express their hatred for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When the conflict between Khuzā'a and Banū Bakr became intense, 'Amr b. Sālim rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to tell him the news. He had composed some verses on the subject and spoke these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he arrived,

> "O Lord, I address Muḥammad and invoke his father's
> pact with our ancient forebears.
> You were as children and we as parents and then we
> accepted Islam and never held back.
> So Help the Messenger of God with a final victory, and
> call for God's servants to come up as reinforcements
> Including the Messenger of God, accoutred for war;
> when angry, his face becomes stern.
> With an army broad as the sea and foaming; Quraysh
> have broken their pacts.
> They have destroyed their clear treaty with you and
> sent guards for me up on Mt. Kadā.
> They claim that I will not inspire (to help) yet they
> are more lowly and fewer in number.
> They attacked us at night while we slept at al-Watīr,
> and killed us as we bowed in prayer."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "You have been helped, 'Amr b. Sālim!"

"'Soon a cloud passed overhead in the sky and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This cloud is bringing aid to Banū Ka'b."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told his men to prepare for battle, but he hid from them his destination. He asked God to blind Quraysh to news of him so that he could surprise them in their own territory.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The reason for the trouble was that a man named Mālik b. 'Abbād, of Banū al-Ḥaḍramī, allied to al-Aswad b. Rizn, went out on a trading trip. When he was deep in Khuzā'a territory, they attacked him, killed him and robbed him. Banū Bakr then attacked a man of Banū Khuzā'a and killed him. Khuzā'a, just before accepting Islam, had attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Rizn

al-Dīlī, Salmā, Kulthūm and Dhu'ayb, leaders who were the pride of Banū Kināna, and killed them at ʿArafa at the boundary rocks marking the sacred area.

"A man of al-Dīl related to me that Banū al-Aswad b. Rizn, due to their high prestige, were paid double blood-wit in the pre-Islamic period, while Banū al-Dīl received single blood-wit.

"While Banū Bakr and Khuzāʿa were engaged in this conflict, Islam came between them. When the agreement at al-Ḥudaybiyya was made, Banū Bakr made a pact with Quraysh, as did Khuzāʿa with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then the truce went into effect. But Banū al-Dīl, (a clan) of Banū Bakr, used it to gain revenge from Khuzāʿa for the men killed. Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī went out at the command of their men; not all of Banū Bakr followed him, however. He attacked Khuzāʿa, killing one of their men, at al-Watīr, a well of theirs. The sides then disengaged, then battled on. Quraysh supplied Banū Bakr with weapons and some of them participated in the fighting, using the dark of night to conceal their identity, until eventually they forced Khuzāʿa inside the sacred territory. Once inside it, Banū Bakr pointed out to Nawfal, 'We have entered the sacred territory! (Think of) your God! Your God!' He (Nawfal) then said an awful thing, 'There is no God today! Banū Bakr, gain your revenge! I swear by my life that you steal within the sacred area, so can you not also gain your revenge?'

"Khuzāʿa took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā' in Mecca and in that of a freed-man of theirs named Rāfiʿ. Al-Akhzar b. Luʿṭ al-Dīlī spoke the following verses on this subject,

'Have the people of furthest Abyssinia learned that we
defeated Banū Kaʿb with our arrow heads?
We imprisoned them in the home of the slave Rāfiʿ, and
also with Budayl we kept them, inactive.
In the home of a base and passive man, once we had
satisfied our anger by the use of our swords,
we confined them to their great distress, having
descended upon them like a rain torrent from a mountain
gully
Slaughtering them like goats, as if we were lions,
slashing our swords into them.
They had wronged us and acted aggressively and were the
first to murder at the sacred boundary,
So scared when attacked that they were like ostrich
chicks, their flight blocked by Mt. Thawr.'

"Budayl b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Ajabb, known as Budayl b. Umm Aṣram, answered him back with the following verses:

'A boastful people made a pact, but we have left them
only Nāfil as their chief to assemble them.
Was it fear of the prime people, whom you disdain, that
you went beyond al-Watīr, panicking, not to return?

Every day we favour those we protect by paying the
blood-wit, but no one needs to favour us.
We attacked your homes at al-Talā'a with our swords
that forestalled any complainer's blame.
We defended against the tribe's attack from all the way
from between Bayḍ and 'Atūd to the slopes of Mt. Raḍwā.
At the battle at al-Ghamīm 'Ubays retreated in haste;
we terrified him by our brave chief.
Perhaps it was because the mother of one of you had
diarrhoea that you fled and we did not fight?
By God's house, you lie! You did not do battle; but
we left your affairs in confusion.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You can expect to see Abū Sufyān come to you to re-establish the pact and extend its duration."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then Budayl b. Warqā' went with a group of Khuzā'a to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told how they had been attacked and how Quraysh had joined with Banū Bakr against them. They then left and on their way back, at 'Usfān, encountered Abū Sufyān. Quraysh had dispatched him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to reaffirm and extend the pact, since they were now worried by what they had done.

"When Abū Sufyān met Budayl he asked him whence he had come, thinking that he had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Budayl replied that he had been travelling in that valley and along the coast with Banū Khuzā'a. Abū Sufyān thereafter went to where Budayl's camel had knelt and examined its droppings; he found it to contain date stones. He said, 'I swear, Budayl has been to Muḥammad!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to Medina to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), where he went in to see his own daughter, Umm Ḥabība. When he was about to sit on the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she rolled it up. He then commented to her, 'I wonder whether you consider this rug undesirable for me or me for it!' She replied, 'It is the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a dirty polytheist! I won't have you sit on his rug!' He responded, 'Well, daughter, you've certainly turned out badly since you left me!'

"He then went to see Abū Bakr whom he asked to speak on his behalf with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he refused. He next visited 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke with him, but 'Umar replied, 'Me intercede for you with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! I swear, if ants were all I had to fight you with, I'd do it!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to (the home of) 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, where he also found Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was sitting playing with her son Ḥasan. Abū Sufyān said, "'Alī, you are the man closest in relationship to me. I have come with a request and I don't want to leave disappointed. Please intercede with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on my behalf.'

He replied, 'I sympathize, Abū Sufyān, but once the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has determined something, we just can't talk to him about it.' Abū Sufyān then turned to Fāṭima and said, 'Muḥammad's daughter, won't you have this son of yours bring protection between our men so that he may then become the lord of all the Arabs till the end of time?' She replied, 'My son is not old enough to bring such protection, and no one could provide protection against the Prophet (ṢAAS).'

"Abū Sufyān then addressed ʿAlī, 'I'm really in desperate circumstances; what advice can you give me?' ʿAlī replied, 'I swear, I don't know what would help you. But you are chief of Banū Kināna. Why don't you arise in public, guarantee protection against them, then return home?' 'You think that might well do me some good?' he asked. ʿAlī replied, 'Well, I really don't, but that's all I think you can do.'

"So Abū Sufyān stood up in the mosque and said, 'I guarantee protection between our men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off. When he reached Quraysh, they asked what he had accomplished. He reported how he had gone and visited Muḥammad and spoken with him but had received no response, gone on to Ibn Abū Quḥāfa[103] without avail, and then to ʿUmar whom he had found very antagonistic. He commented that he had found ʿAlī the most sympathetic and reported that he had given him advice which he had followed, though without any expectation that it would prove useful. They asked what he had advised. Abū Sufyān reported how ʿAlī had advised offering protection, which he had done. They enquired whether the Prophet (ṢAAS) had approved that, and Abū Sufyān said no. They commented that ʿAlī had been toying with him and that Abū Sufyān had gained nothing. He replied that he had not known what else to do."

Al-Suhaylī makes a useful addition to this account. He commented on Fāṭima's words in this *ḥadīth*, "No one gives protection against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)". This contradicts what is in the *ḥadīth*, "Their least powerful will give protection for all Muslims". He stated that he reconciled both versions by saying that the *ḥadīth* refers to one who will grant protection to an individual or a few people only. As for Fāṭima's words, they refer to the giving of protection to a large number of people upon whom the *Imām* has declared war; in such a case no one can offer protection. He (al-Suhaylī) went on, "Saḥnūn and Ibn al-Mājishawn both say, 'The protection that a woman grants is dependent upon the permission given by the *Imām*, because of his (the Prophet's) words to Umm Hāniʾ, "We give protection to those you protect, Umm Hāniʾ." This is also related from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid b. al-Walīd. Abū Ḥanīfa said, 'The protection granted by a slave is not valid.' Yet his statement, 'their least powerful will give protection' requires inclusion of women and slaves. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Banū Kaʿb spoke the following,

103. A name by which Abū Bakr was known.

'O God, I appeal to Muḥammad by the pact between his
father and our forebears.
Give much help, may God give you guidance, and call for
God's servants to come in reinforcement.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said with regard to the conquest of Mecca, "Then Banū Nufātha, of Banū al-Dīl, attacked Banū Kaʿb during the truce between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Quraysh. Banū Kaʿb were at peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Banū Nufātha were at peace with Quraysh. Banū Bakr gave aid to Banū Nufātha whom Quraysh were aiding with weapons and men. Banū Mudlij kept withdrawn from them and honoured the pact they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In Banū al-Dīl there were two men who were their chiefs, Salmā b. al-Aswad and Kulthūm b. al-Aswad. It is said that those who helped them were Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Shayba b. ʿUthmān and Suhayl b. ʿAmr.

"Banū al-Dīl made a raid against Banū ʿAmr and their dependants, including their women, children and the weak. They fought them and forced them to seek refuge, ultimately making them withdraw to the home of Budayl b. Warqāʾ in Mecca.

"Riders from Banū Kaʿb then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what they had suffered and the part that Quraysh had played in it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to go back home and then to disperse into the land.

"Abū Sufyān then left Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), worried at what had happened. He said, 'Muḥammad, strengthen the pact and extend it for us.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'That is why you have come? Has something bad happened?' 'God forbid! We are keeping to our pact and to the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya; we are not changing anything.'

"He then left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and went to Abū Bakr, to whom he said, 'Review the pact and extend it for us.' Abū Bakr replied, 'My protection is with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, if all I had was ants to fight you with, I'd take their help against you!'

"He then went to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. ʿUmar replied, 'Nothing new ever happened without God having created it and nothing was ever firmly set that God could not destroy, and nothing was ever cut asunder that God could not join together.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'May you be punished badly by a close relative!'

"He then went to see ʿUthmān and when he had spoken to him, ʿUthmān told him, 'My protection rests with that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' Abū Sufyān then pursued Quraysh nobles and spoke with them, but all said that their pact was made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When he despaired of their help, he went in to see Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and spoke with her. She replied, 'I'm just a woman. That is up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He told her, 'Then give orders to one of your sons.' She replied, 'But they are just children; they couldn't

grant protection.' 'Then speak to ʿAlī,' he asked her. She replied, 'You talk to him.'

"He did speak to ʿAlī, who said to him, 'Abū Sufyān, none of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ever act contrary to his wishes by granting protection. You are the leader of Quraysh, their most important and powerful figure. Give protection on behalf of your tribe.' 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān replied. 'You speak the truth; I am as you say.' He then left and called out, 'I grant protection. And, by God, I do not believe that anyone will betray me.'

"He then went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Muḥammad, I have declared protection between the people and I don't think anyone will betray me by revoking my protection.' 'As ever you say, Abū Ḥanẓala,' he told him, and at that Abū Sufyān left.

"They claim, but God knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when Abū Sufyān had left, 'O God, close over their hearing and their seeing so that they only see us suddenly and only hear us too late!'

"Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and there Quraysh asked him, 'What happened? Did you bring some letter or pact from Muḥammad?' 'No, by God,' he replied. 'He refused me that. I watched his men closely and I never saw any people more obedient to a king who ruled them than they were to him. However, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib told me to grant them protection without claiming it for myself or my people. He told me I could do this without having it revoked by anyone because of my high status and leadership. I got up and made the announcement, then went in to tell Muḥammad that I had done so; I told him that I did not think it would be revoked. He merely said it was I who was saying so.' Quraysh responded, 'You have no reason to be pleased. You return with nothing of any use to you or us. ʿAlī was merely toying with you! Your offer of protection was invalid and useless.'

"He then went in to see his wife and she told him the same. She exclaimed, 'What a terrible envoy you are! You gained nothing at all.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw a cloud and commented, 'These clouds are gently raining down victory for Banū Kaʿb!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for that period that God wished after the departure of Abū Sufyān. He began equipping for battle. He told ʿĀʾisha that she should prepare his food, and to hide that fact.

"He then went out to the mosque, or for some other purpose, and Abū Bakr came in to see ʿĀʾisha. He found her busy pounding and sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her why she was preparing the food but she made no reply. 'Is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preparing for battle?' he asked. She was still silent. He then asked, 'Is he going to attack the "yellow skins",' meaning the Byzantines. She said nothing. He then said, 'Perhaps he is heading for Najd?' She was silent. 'Maybe he is heading for Quraysh then?' She said nothing.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, Abū Bakr asked him, 'Messenger of God, are you leaving on a campaign?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Are you

perhaps heading for the "yellow skins"?' 'No,' he replied. 'Then to Najd?' 'No,' he answered. 'So maybe you are going after Quraysh?' he suggested. 'Yes,' he replied. Abū Bakr then said, 'But, Messenger of God, don't you have a valid truce with them?' 'Haven't you heard what they did to Banū Ka'b?' he asked.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to everyone that there was to be a campaign. At that Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a wrote a message to Quraysh, but God made His messenger (ṢAAS) aware of the letter."

He proceeded to relate the account that follows.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said that Abū Bakr came in to see her while she was sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her, "What's this? Has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to prepare supplies for a campaign?" "Yes", she replied, "to prepare for a campaign." "Where to?" he asked. "He did not tell us anything, except to make preparations."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an announcement to the people that he was going to Mecca. He ordered them to act seriously and to make preparations. He said, "O God, take away sight and information from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land." And so the people made their preparations.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on) "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses to arouse the people and to refer to the men killed by Khuzā'a,

'It hurt me greatly, even though I did not witness, as
men of Banū Ka'b were having their heads cut off in the
Mecca valley
By men who did not unsheathe their swords; and there
were many men killed who were unburied.
How I wish that my (poetry's) help, with its heat and
hurt could harm Suhayl b. 'Amr!
And Ṣafwān, an old fellow who grunts from his arse;
this is the time when war had been saddled for battle.
Do not feel secure, Ibn Umm Mujālid[104] when war is fully
prepared for and about to break out.
But don't worry about it, for our swords will have
their impact and death's door will open wide!'"

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING ḤĀṬIB B. ABŪ BALTA'A.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others, from various of our scholars, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had decided to attack Mecca, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a wrote to Quraysh informing them of how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to move against them. He gave the letter to a woman; Muḥammad b. Ja'far

104. A reference to 'Ikrima, Abū Jahl's son.

claimed her to have been of Muzayna, while others maintained that she was Sāra, a freed-woman of someone from Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He paid her to take it to Quraysh and she placed it on her head, tied it up in her hair and left with it."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "News came from heaven to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of what Ḥāṭib had done and he sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām in pursuit, telling them, 'Seize a woman with whom Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa has sent a letter to Quraysh warning them of what we have decided to do about them.'

"The two men caught up with her at al-Ḥalīfa of Banū Abū Aḥmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. ʿAlī then told her, 'I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has not been misinformed, nor has he lied to us. Either you produce this letter for us, or we will search you for it!' When she saw how serious he was, she told him to turn away and untied her hair, took out the letter and gave it to him. He took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned Ḥāṭib and asked him, 'Ḥāṭib, what made you do this?' He replied, 'I really am, I swear, a true believer in God and in His messenger. I have not changed at all. But I'm not a man with any claims to nobility or tribal influence and there, living among Quraysh, I have my son and family and I wanted to protect them.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'Messenger of God, let me cut off his head! The man has turned hypocrite!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What makes you so sure, ʿUmar? Perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, "Do as you wish; I forgive you!"'

"It was about Ḥāṭib that God revealed, 'O you who believe: do not consider My enemies and yours to be allies to whom you give friendship'" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

Ibn Isḥāq related this story as being *mursal*, with an incomplete line of authorities. Al-Suhaylī narrated that in Ḥāṭib's letter it said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may well send forth an army against you that will descend upon you like nightfall. And I swear by God, that even if he were to attack you alone, then God would give him victory over you. He fulfils what He promised him."

Al-Suhaylī went on, "And in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of Ibn Sallām it is stated that Ḥāṭib wrote, 'Muḥammad has assembled an army for war; he is either heading for you or for others. You should beware!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Quraysh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad told him that he heard ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfiʿ say that he heard ʿAlī relate, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me, al-Zubayr and al-Miqdād saying, 'Go to the well at Khākh. There you will find a woman in a *howdah* who has a letter. Take it from her.' So we left, our horses racing us along, and we arrived at the well, where we found the woman in the *howdah*. We told her to produce the letter, but she denied

having it. We then told her that if she did not produce it, we would strip her clothes off her.

"She then brought it forth from her hair wrappings and we took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The letter said, 'From Ḥāṭib b. Baltaʿa to the polytheists of Mecca, informing them of some of the actions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) asked Ḥāṭib about this and he replied, 'Messenger of God, don't act harshly with me! I was just associated with Quraysh, allied with them but not of them. Some of your *muhājirīn* have relatives among Quraysh who can look after their families and possessions. What I wanted was to find someone among them who would protect my relatives. I did not do this to apostatize from my faith, nor to express my acceptance of disbelief after Islam.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Well, he has spoken the truth to you.' ʿUmar asked, 'Messenger of God, let me strike off the head of this hypocrite!' (He replied) 'But he fought at Badr. And what makes you so sure; perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, "Do as you wish; I forgive you."'

"God then sent down, 'O you who believe, do not consider My enemies' up to the words, 'has strayed from the right path.'" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

The other compilers of the tradition also gave it, except for Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad said that it was related to him by Ḥujayn and Yūnus, both of whom said that Layth b. Saʿd related to him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa wrote to the people of Mecca telling them that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to attack them. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was provided information about the woman who had the letter and so he sent after her and retrieved the letter from her head. He then asked Ḥāṭib whether he really did this and he confessed. He explained, "I did not do it to betray the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nor am I a hypocrite. I knew that God would make His messenger prevail and allow him to complete his mission. However, I've always been a stranger amidst them (Quraysh) and my mother is there with them. And I wanted to have some favour with them." ʿUmar asked, "Should I cut off this fellow's head?" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Would you really kill someone who fought at Badr? What makes you sure; perhaps God looked down at those who fought at Badr and said, 'Do as you wish.'"

Only Imām Aḥmad gives this tradition from this line of transmission; its chain of authorities meets the criteria of Muslim. And all praise be to God!

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on his journey, having appointed

Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿUtba b. Khalaf al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He departed on the 10th of Ramaḍān and fasted, as did those with him. Having arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUsfān and Amaj, he broke his fast and thereafter travelled on to Marr al-Ẓahrān, where he and 10,000 Muslims made camp."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "He had 12,000 men with him." Al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said the same. Sulaym totalled over 700 men; some say they were over 1,000 strong. Muzayna were over 1,000 strong, and each tribe was represented in both force and faith in Islam. The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) *en masse*, none of them remaining behind.

Al-Bukhārī narrated a similar account from Maḥmūd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAlī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī (who said), "ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on the expedition that led to the conquest in Ramaḍān."

Al-Zuhrī went on, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab make a similar statement, that he did not know whether he started out with some days left of Shaʿbān and that then Ramaḍān arrived, or whether he left in Ramaḍān, after it had begun. However, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me that Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, the well between Qudayd and ʿUsfān, where he broke the fast. And he continued to eat regularly (without fasting) throughout the month.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth. He, however, did not mention the confusion between Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out in Ramaḍān, fasting until he reached ʿUsfān. Then he called for a vessel and drank from it, allowing the people to see this. He continued to eat normally until he reached Mecca."

He went on, "Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both fasted and ate normally while travelling. Those who wished, fasted; those who wished, ate normally.'"

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh as stating that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth on the conquest of Mecca, he placed Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, fasting, as did those accompanying him. When he arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUsfān and Amaj, he broke his fast. When he entered Mecca, he was eating normally and people saw that this was his latter practice, having abrogated his former, his fasting."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "His statement, 'he left on the 10th of Ramaḍān' is interpolated in the *ḥadīth*, as is his reference to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Idrīs, quoting Ibn Isḥāq."

He then related through Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from Jābir, from Yaḥyā, from Ṣadaqa, that Ibn Isḥāq said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, 8 AH."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥafṣa, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The conquest occurred 13 days into Ramaḍān." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "This dating is fanciful; it relies only on al-Zuhrī's statement."

He went on to narrate through Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out from Medina in Ramaḍān on the campaign for the conquest – the conquest of Mecca. He was accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. This coincided with the beginning of 8 and one-half years following his arrival at Medina. Mecca was conquered with 13 days remaining of Ramaḍān."

Al-Bayhaqī also narrated through 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in Ramaḍān, accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. He fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, then he broke his fast.

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Only the most recent being acceptable, then that would be what follows." He said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mecca on the morning of the 13th of Ramaḍān." He then recounted the conquest in accord with both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through 'Abd Al-Razzāq. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī, from 'Aṭiyya b. Qays, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advised us to break the fast, being pleased with both those who continued fasting and those who did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

Imām Aḥmad related it from Abū al-Mughīra, from Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (who said) that 'Aṭiyya b. Qays related to him, from someone who had told it to him, who quoted Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to break the fast. Thereafter some continued fasting, while others did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

I note from al-Zuhrī's account that the conquest was on the 13th of Ramaḍān, and from that of Abū Sa'īd that they left Medina on the 2nd of Ramaḍān; their trip between Mecca and Medina must therefore have taken 11 days.

However, al-Bayhaqī related, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī', from Ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,

and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others, all said that the conquest of Mecca took place with 10 days remaining of Ramaḍān in 8 AH.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Wahīb related to him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of the conquest and was fasting until he reached Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm. Some of the men accompanying him were on foot, while others rode; this journey was during Ramaḍān. He was told, 'Messenger of God, the men are suffering from fasting, but are watching to see what you will do.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for a vessel of water and drank, while the men watched. Some of the men then broke the fast, while others continued it. When he was told that some men were still fasting, he commented, 'They're disobedient.'"

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thaqafī and al-Darāwardī, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Bashīr b. Yasār related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in the year of the conquest in Ramaḍān. He fasted, as did the Muslims with him, until he reached al-Kadīd. There he called for water in a wooden cup, while he was mounted. He drank while the men looked on. This was to inform them that he had broken his fast. The Muslims then broke their fast."

Aḥmad was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Section: On the Acceptance of Islam by the following relatives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These were al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīrat al-Makhzūmī, the brother of (his wife) Umm Salama, "mother of the believers". They went out to meet him while he was on his way to the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while the latter was *en route*. Ibn Hishām stated that he met him at al-Juḥfa, having emigrated with his family. Previously he had been living in Mecca engaged in his function of providing water for the pilgrims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, satisfied (at that).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Nīq al-ʿUqāb, a place between Mecca and Medina. There they sought to meet with him and Umm Salama spoke to him about them. She said, "Messenger of God, it is your two cousins, your maternal uncle's son and your maternal aunt's son, along with your brother-in-law." He replied, "I don't need to see the two of them; my maternal uncle's son offended my honour, while my maternal aunt's son slandered me in Mecca."

Ibn Isḥaq continued, "When news of this response reached them, Abū Sufyān, who had a young son with him, said, 'By God, if he does not see me, I'll take this young son of mine by the hand and we'll go off somewhere and die of thirst and hunger!' When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard this, he took pity on them and allowed them both to come in and they did so and accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān then recited to him the verses that concerned his acceptance of Islam and apologized for his former behaviour:

> 'By your life, I swear that day I carried a banner so
> that al-Lāt's cavalry would overcome those of Muḥammad,
> I was like a traveller lost in a dark night, but now is
> a time when I am led aright and lead others well.
> A guide other than myself gave me guidance and there
> gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously
> opposed.
> I kept myself and others actively away from Muḥammad
> and was called his relative, though I claimed no such
> ties.
> They (Muslims) are as they are; those who do not agree
> with them – even men of wisdom – are blamed and rejected.
> I wished to please them, but could not agree with them
> so long as I was not guided.
> Tell Thaqīf that I do not want to battle them, and
> tell Thaqīf, "Threaten others!"
> I was not in the army that struck 'Āmir, nor had I any
> part in it, by hand or voice.
> Tribes came from far away lands, strangers out of Sahām
> and Surdad.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They claim that when Abū Sufyān recited to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the line, 'and there gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously opposed,' the latter struck the former in the chest and commented, 'Yes, you did oppose me vigorously, all right!'"

DIVISION.

Having dismounted at Marr al-Ẓahrān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp and stayed there. As al-Bukhārī related it, from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth and Muslim, from Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb, both of the latter quoting from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We were at Marr al-Ẓahrān with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gathering *kibāth*, the fruit of the *arāk* thorn tree. He told us, 'Look out for the black ones; they are the best.' The men asked him, 'Messenger of God, were you ever a shepherd?' 'Yes, I was; was there ever a prophet who was not?'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Sinān b. Ismā'īl, from Abū al-Walīd

Saʿīd b. Mīnā, who said, "When the Meccans had finished and left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men to proceed to Mecca. Having reached Marr al-Ẓahrān, he made camp at al-ʿAqaba and sent out the pickers to gather *al-kibāth*. Sinān asked (Abū al-Walīd) Saʿīd what this word meant and he said it was the fruit of the thorny *arāk* tree."

Saʿīd went on, "Ibn Masʿūd was one of those who was picking. As they found a nice fruit, they would promptly eat it. They were laughing as they observed the thinness of Ibn Masʿūd's legs as he climbed up a tree and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Are you amused at his thin legs? By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh heavier in the scales (of righteousness) than Mt. Uḥud!'

"The choicest fruits Ibn Masʿūd picked he would offer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And on this subject he, Ibn Masʿūd, spoke the following line,

> 'This is the finest I have picked (for you), while the
> hand of every picker goes to his mouth.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Anas is quoted as saying, "We disturbed a rabbit while we were at Marr al-Ẓahrān and the men took it to Abū Ṭalḥa who slaughtered it. He sent its thighs and legs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted them."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Ẓahrān, having kept any news from reaching Quraysh; they had no information at all about what he was doing. During those nights, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqāʾ came out to gather any news from what they might see or hear."

Ibn Lahīʿa recounted from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent out horsemen as scouts to catch any spies. Khuzāʿa were not allowing anyone to pass by them, and so when Abū Sufyān and his companions came they were seized by the Muslim horsemen. ʿUmar went up to him, (Abū Sufyān) intending to stab him in the neck, but al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib gave him protection; he was a friend of Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted al-ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Marr al-Ẓahrān, he, al-ʿAbbās, said, "Woe upon Quraysh! If the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) enters Mecca by force before they come out and seek peace, it will mean their destruction forever!

"So I mounted the white mule belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and rode out on it to al-Arāk, hoping to encounter some logger, milkman or someone else who could go to Mecca to tell them where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, so that they could come out and seek peace with him before he conquered it and them by force.

"I was engaged in this when, to my surprise, I heard the voices of Abū Sufyān and Budayl b. Warqāʾ engaged in discussion. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I swear, I've never seen so many fires or such a camp as tonight!' Budayl replied, 'I swear,

this must be Khuzāʿa fired up by war!' Abū Sufyān answered, 'But Khuzāʿa are too weak and few in number for these to be their fires and encampment.'

"Having recognized his voice, I called out, 'Is that you, Abū Ḥanẓala?' He knew my voice and replied, 'Is that Abū al-Faḍl?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Well what are you up to, may my father and mother be your ransom!' he exclaimed.

"I told him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his forces!' 'Then woe on Quraysh, by God,' he burst out. 'What should we do?' I replied, 'If he conquers you, he'll cut off your head! Ride (with me) on the back of this mule, so that I can take you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I'll ask him to guarantee your safety.'

"He rode behind me and his two companions returned home."

ʿUrwa said this was not so, and that the other two men had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam and he had asked them for news about the people in Mecca.

Al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said that they went with al-ʿAbbās to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "So I set off with him. And whenever we passed by one of the fires of the Muslims, they asked, 'Who is that?' When they noticed the mule of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they said, 'Oh, it's the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mule.' Eventually I passed by the fire of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and he asked who I was and came over to me. When he saw Abū Sufyān on the rear of the mule, he exclaimed, 'It's Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has handed you over without any pact or agreement!'"

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr claims that ʿUmar stabbed Abū Sufyān in the neck, intending to kill him, but al-ʿAbbās prevented him.

Similarly, Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī that the scouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the bridles of their camels and asked who they were. They replied that they were a delegation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-ʿAbbās met them and took them in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who talked with them in the course of the night and then invited them to witness that there is no god but God. They did so and he then asked them to bear witness that "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Ḥakīm and Budayl testified to this, but Abū Sufyān said, "I do not know this." After morning came, he did accept Islam. They then asked him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to grant Quraysh safety. He replied, "Those who enter the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe," his house being in the heights of Mecca. He went on, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe," his house being in the lower part of Mecca. And he added, "Whoever locks his own door shall be safe."

Al-ʿAbbās's account states, "Then ʿUmar hurried off towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I rode the mule and arrived before him, but only by the amount that a slow-moving mule can outpace a slow-moving man. I jumped off the mule and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUmar did the

same and said, 'Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān whom God has delivered without any pact or agreement! Let me cut off his head!' I said, 'Messenger of God, I have given him my protection.' I then sat down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding his (Abū Sufyān's) head and said, 'I swear, no man apart from myself is willing to protect him tonight!'

"When ʿUmar kept on complaining about him, I told him, 'Take it easy, ʿUmar! I swear, if he were from Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb you'd not be saying this! But you well know that he is from Banū ʿAbd Manāf.' 'Take it easy yourself,' ʿAbbās,' he replied. 'Your accepting Islam the day you did was more welcome to me than if al-Khaṭṭāb' (his father) 'had been the one to do so! And this was only because I knew that your accepting Islam was more welcome to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than that of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take him away to your tent, ʿAbbās, and bring him to me when morning comes.'"

Al-ʿAbbās continued, "So I went off with him to my tent where he spent the night with me. Next morning I hurried him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, when he saw him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! Is it not time for you to know that there is no god but God?' He replied, 'How wise, noble and kind you are! Had there been any other besides God he would have already given me some aid!'

"'Well, Abū Sufyān,' continued the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'is it not time for you to know that I am the Messenger of God?' 'How wise, noble and kind you are', Abū Sufyān replied, 'but I'm still having some trouble with that.'"

Al-ʿAbbās then told him, "Woe on you, accept Islam! Bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, before your head is cut off!"

He then gave true testimony, accepting Islam.

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "So I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man to whom prestige is important; do something for him.'

"He then stated, 'Yes; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house shall be safe.'"

ʿUrwa added that he went on to say, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe." And Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated similarly, from al-Zuhrī, that he said, "And whoever locks his own door shall be safe, as will be anyone who goes into the mosque."

As he was about to depart, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to al-ʿAbbās, "Keep him at where the valley narrows, and the mountain projects, until God's forces pass him by, so that he sees them."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated, from al-Zuhrī, that Abū Sufyān, Budayl and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām stood along with al-ʿAbbās at the mountain projectory, and that when Saʿd b. Ubāda spoke the verse,

> "Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed"

to Abū Sufyān, he complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then took back the banner of the *anṣār* from Sa'd and gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. He took it in to the upper part of Mecca and planted it in al-Ḥajūn. Khālid entered from the lower part of Mecca, where Banū Bakr and Hudhayl confronted him. He killed 20 men of Banū Bakr and 3 or 4 of Hudhayl. They were defeated and killed at al-Ḥazwara,[105] the fighting there reaching the door of the mosque.

Al-'Abbās went on, "I proceeded out with Abū Sufyān, keeping him in the narrow part of the valley to which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked me to restrict him.

"The tribes went past flying their banners. As one went by, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who are those, 'Abbās?' I replied, 'Sulaym,' and he commented, 'Well, Sulaym don't concern me.' When another passed, he asked who they were and I told him they were Muzayna. He commented, 'Muzayna don't concern me.' This went on until all the tribes had gone by; he asked me about each one, and he always replied that they were of no concern to him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past with his 'green squadron' that consisted of *muhajirīn* and *anṣār*; their armour allowed only their eyes to be seen. He then exclaimed, 'Glory be to God, 'Abbās! Who are those?' I replied, 'That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his *muhājirīn* and his *anṣār*.' He commented, 'No one could ever withstand those men! By God, Abū al-Faḍl, your brother's domain this morning is immense!'

"I replied, 'Abū Sufyān, it is that of the prophethood.'

"'I agree,' he said. I told him, 'You should hurry to your people.'"

(Al-'Abbās continued) "When he reached them he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Quraysh, this is Muḥammad who brings a force against you that you cannot withstand. Whoever goes into the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, stood up to him and gripped him by the mustache and said, 'Kill this overweight bag of fat! He is too disgraceful to lead our people!'

"Abū Sufyān replied, 'Woe upon you, do not allow this woman to deceive you. You cannot withstand the force against you. Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"People shouted, 'God kill you! What good will your house do us?'

"He replied, 'Those who lock their doors will be secure. Those who enter the mosque will be secure.'

"The people then dispersed to their homes or into the mosque."

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr related that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by, Abū Sufyān asked him, "I see many faces I do not recognize. Are all these faces against me?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "It is you and your people who have done this; these people believed me when you called me a liar. They assisted me when you exiled me."

105. The market-place of Mecca.

Abū Sufyān then complained to him how Saʿd b. ʿUbāda had spoken the following line as he passed him,

> "Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed."

At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Saʿd lied; this is a day when God is glorifying the *kaʿba*, a day by which the *kaʿba* will be adorned."

ʿUrwa related that in the early morning after that night he spent with al-ʿAbbās, Abū Sufyān saw the people gathering for prayer, spreading forth to perform their ablutions and he felt afraid. He asked al-ʿAbbās, "What are they doing?" He replied, "They have heard the call to prayer and are spreading out to perform the prayer." When the prayer began and he saw them prostrating and bowing along with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Sufyān asked, "Would they do anything he asked of them?" "Yes, they would," he replied. "If he ordered them to give up food and drink, they would obey him."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, from al-Zuhrī, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed his ablutions, the men scrambled for the leftover water with which he had washed and Abū Sufyān commented, "ʿAbbās, I've never seen anything like tonight, not even in the kingdoms of Chosroe or Caesar!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās (a certain *ḥadīth*). The last-mentioned then proceeded to narrate this story in its entirety, just as Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī related it, from Ibn Isḥāq, *munqaṭiʿan*, with an incomplete line of transmission. But God knows best.

However, al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bilāl al-Ashʿarī, from Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that al-ʿAbbās brought Abū Sufyān to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so on. However, in this account he is quoted as saying that Abū Sufyān accepted Islam that night, before he came next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This account also says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure," Abū Sufyān asked, "But what if my house is not large enough?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And whoever enters the *kaʿba* will be secure." "And what if the *kaʿba* is not large enough?" Abū Sufyān enquired. He replied, "And whoever enters the mosque shall be secure." "What if the mosque is not large enough?" He replied, "Whoever locks his door will be secure." Abū Sufyān then said, "There will be sufficient space."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth in the year of the conquest of Mecca and this news reached Quraysh, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqāʾ came out to look for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They travelled as far as Marr al-Ẓahrān

where they saw so many camp fires that they seemed like those on Mt. ʿArafāt (in the pilgrimage season). Abū Sufyān commented on this and asked whose fires they could be and Budayl b. Warqāʾ responded that they must be the fires of Banū ʿAmr. Abū Sufyān objected that they were fewer in number. The two men were seen by the guards of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who seized them and took them to him. Abū Sufyān then accepted Islam.

"As Abū Sufyān was returning home, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to al-ʿAbbās, 'Keep Abū Sufyān where the mountain projects so that he sees the Muslims.' Al-ʿAbbās did restrain him there while the tribes went past, squadron by squadron, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). As one squadron went by, Abū Sufyān asked al-ʿAbbās who they were. He replied, 'These are Ghifār.' 'Well, what are Ghifār to me?' Abū Sufyān commented. Then Juhayna passed by and he said the same. Saʿd b. Hudhaym and Sulaym then passed and he made the same comment. Then another squadron passed that was unlike the others and he asked their identity. Al-ʿAbbās replied, 'They are the *anṣār* under the command of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda with the banner.' Saʿd called out, 'Hey, Abū Sufyān, today's the day of the great battle; today the *kaʿba* will be no sanctuary!' Abū Sufyān commented, "ʿAbbās, would that this were a day of honour!'

"Then there passed a squadron smaller than the rest; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were with them, his banner being borne by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Abū Sufyān, the latter called out, 'Do you know what Saʿd b. ʿUbāda said?' 'What did he say?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Sufyān repeated it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Saʿd lied; this is a day when God will assert the glory of the *kaʿba*, a day when the *kaʿba* will be adorned.' He then ordered that his banner be planted at al-Ḥajūn."

ʿUrwa related that he was told by Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim that he heard al-ʿAbbās ask al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, "Was it here that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the banner to be placed?" "Yes," he replied.

He (Nāfiʿ) went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to enter the upper part of Mecca, at Kadāʾ, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in from Kadā. That day two of the cavalry under Khālid b. al-Walīd, Ḥubaysh b. al-Ashʿar and Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī were killed."

Abū Dāʾūd said that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said that his father al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib brought Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Marr al-Ẓahrān and he accepted Islam. Al-ʿAbbās told him, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man who likes to enjoy prestige; perhaps you could do something for him." "Yes," he replied. "Whoever goes into Abū Sufyān's house will be secure. And whoever locks his door will be secure."

An Account of the entry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into Mecca.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a helmet. When he took it off a man came who said, "Ibn Khaṭal is clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*." "Kill him," he ordered.

Mālik stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not, we believe, in a state of Iḥrām,[106] though God knows best."

Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest he was wearing a black turban.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan*[107] relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhī said that it was *ḥasan ṣāḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Muslim related it from Qutayba, as did Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā from Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a black turban and that he was not in a state of *iḥrām*.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, from his father, who said, "It's as if Î can still see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day Mecca was conquered; he was wearing an ash-black turban, its end hanging down between his shoulders."

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wearing a black turban when he entered Mecca.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan* narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Shurayk al-Qāḍī, from ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he entered Mecca was white."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day Mecca was conquered was white; his black flag was known as *al-ʿuqāb*, 'the eagle'. It was made of a piece of variegated wool."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurra, who said, "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal say, 'On the day Mecca was conquered, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted on his camel reciting the *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (XLVIII) in a vibrant, quivering tone. And if it had not been for the people crowding around me, I would have recited in the same tone as he did.'"

106. The physical and psychological state required of a pilgrim before he performs the *ʿumra* or the *ḥajj* pilgrimages. During this state certain actions are prohibited that are permissible at other times.

107. The scholars, apart from al-Bukhārī and Muslim, who assembled the *ṣahih* collections of *aḥādīth*.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Dhū Ṭuwā, he halted on his mount; he was wearing a turban made of striped red cloth from Yemen. He bowed his head so low in submission to God, having seen how He had honoured him with the conquest, that his beard almost touched the middle of his saddle.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ told him that Daʿlij b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Abbār, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Maqdisī, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the day of the conquest of Mecca with his chin resting in submission (to God) on his saddle."

(Al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Bālawayh, quoting Aḥmad b. Ṣāʿid, quoting Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥārith, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said that a man spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the conquest and he began to tremble. Then he said, "Tread softly! I'm the son of a woman of Quraysh who ate cheap desiccated meat!"

(Al-Bayhaqī continued) "Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fāris and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Zuhayr related this similarly, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Ḥārith as being *mawṣūlan*, with full lines of transmission."

He then related it from Abū Zakariyyā' al-Muzakkī, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Ismāʿīl b. Qays, but with an incomplete line of transmission, which is how it is accepted.

This modesty in this place on the part of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he entered with such a huge army contrasts completely with those fools of Banū Isrā'īl, the "ancient Israelites", who were ordered to enter the temple (at Jerusalem) bowing down – that is prostrating – while saying "Wipe out (our past sins)". However, instead they entered creeping forwards on their behinds saying, "Wheat in barley!"[108]

Al-Bukhārī stated that he was informed by al-Qāsim b. Khārija, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Maysara, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said that ʿĀ'isha told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca in the year of the conquest from Kadā', which is in the upper part of the town. Abū Usāma and Wahb agreed that it was from Kadā'.

ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, that at the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper part of Mecca, from Kadā'.

This tradition should only be considered more authentic if one views an account with an incomplete chain of authorities more authentic than one fully complete, as given in the text above! Alternately, this *Kadā* may be spelled either

108. A reference to the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.161. The passage narrates how the Israelites were told to use the word *ḥiṭṭa*, "put down, remove", when beseeching God for the forgiveness of sins. However, they mistakenly used the word *ḥinṭa*, "wheat".

with a *madda*, an alif of elongation or an *alif maqṣūra*, a final yā and without ḥamza. Kudā, spelled with a u, is in the lower part of Mecca. This is widely accepted and preferable.

It is stated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Khālid b. al-Walīd in from the upper part of Mecca, while he himself entered from below, at Kudā; that is given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Khuzāmī, quoting Maʿn, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'When, in the year of the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he saw the women striking at the heads of the horses with their veils. He smiled at Abū Bakr and said, "And what was it, Abū Bakr, that Ḥassān said?" Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then recited the lines,

"May I be deprived of my 'young daughters' (i.e. horses)
if you do not see them making the dust rise at both
sides of Kadāʾ
As they race ahead, pulling at their reins, fully
saddled, as the women strike at them with their veils."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Add those verses to those spoken by Ḥassān!"'"[109]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, from his grandmother Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhū Ṭawā, Abū Quḥāfa said to a daughter, one of his youngest children, 'Daughter, lead me up on Mt. Abū Qubays.' Asmāʾ commented that his sight was very weak."

She went on (quoting the daughter in question), "She said, 'I took him up there and he asked me, "Well, what do you see?" "I can see a black mass." "That must be horses," he said. I then said, "Now I see a man hurrying to and fro in front of that mass, going back and forth." "That", he said, "must be the *wāziʿ*" – meaning the man who goes out to and gives orders to the cavalry.

"'I then said, "The black is now spreading out!" Abū Quḥāfa exclaimed, "The cavalry has been dispatched, then! Hurry me back home!" I led him down, but the cavalry met him before he reached home.'"

Asmāʾ went on, "The girl was wearing a silver necklace and a man confronted her and cut it off her neck. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and went into the mosque, Abū Bakr came in, guiding his father. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, 'Why did you not leave the sheikh at home for me to attend him there?' Abū Bakr replied, 'Messenger of God, it is more fitting for him to come to you rather than you to him.'"

109. They differ from those lines said to have been spoken by Ḥassān on this occasion. See hereafter, p.420 lines 8–10.

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then had Abū Quḥāfa sit down before him and rubbed his chest, saying, 'Accept Islam!' Abū Quḥāfa did so. Abū Bakr then guided him back home. Abū Quḥāfa's hair was as white as a *thaghāma* plant. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change his hair (colour).'

"Abū Bakr then arose and, taking his sister's hand, he said, 'I invoke God and Islam; (who has) my sister's necklace?' No one replied. He then said, 'Forget your necklace; I swear by God, there's little trust in people today!'"

Abū Bakr meant that specific day, because the army was so numerous that almost no one concerned himself with anyone else, and there were people scattered everywhere. Perhaps the person who took it considered it spoils of war. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Baḥr b. Naṣr, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said that) Ibn Jurayj informed him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took Abū Quḥāfa by the hand and led him to the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he brought him before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change him (his hair colouring). But don't make him almost black.'"

Ibn Wahb stated that ʿUmar b. Muḥammad related to him, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) congratulated Abū Bakr on his father's acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth the various parts of his army from Dhū Ṭawā he ordered al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām to enter with some of the men from Kadāʾ; al-Zubayr was in command of the left flank. He ordered Saʿd b. ʿUbāda to take some of the others in from Kudā.

He went on, "Some scholars claim that when Saʿd proceeded inside, he said, 'Today is the day of the great battle; today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity.'

"A man heard this (according to Ibn Hishām that man was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) and he asked, 'Messenger of God, do you hear what Saʿd b. ʿUbāda says? We can't be sure he won't assault Quraysh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told ʿAlī, 'Go after him and take away the banner from him; you enter with it.'"

Sources other than Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recount that when Abū Sufyān complained to him about what Saʿd b. ʿUbāda had said when he passed him by. The words Saʿd had used were, "Abu Sufyān: today's the day of the great battle. The *ḥurma*, the sanctuary" – by which he meant the *kaʿbā* – "will lose its sanctity."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "No; this is a day on which the *kaʿba* will be glorified." He then ordered that the banner – that of the *anṣār* – be taken away from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda as a way to teach him a lesson. It is said that it was given over to his son, Qays. Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī, that he gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* b. ʿAsākir stated in his biography of Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Dīnār that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sirrī al-Anṭakī, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād and that it was also related to him by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda who began waving it and saying, 'Today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity!' This angered Quraysh and they greatly resented it. The wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stood in his way and recited,

'O Prophet of the right guidance, the tribe of Quraysh
took refuge in you and it was too late.
When all the space of earth was too narrow for them
when the God of heaven became hostile towards them
The two ends of the strap met together and we were
brought to the famous disaster.
Saʿd wants to deliver a mortal blow to the people of
al-Ḥajūn and al-Baṭḥāʾ
A Khazrajī, he he would in his rage set vultures and
dogs upon us!
Stop him, for he is the black lion, and a lion
thirsts for blood.
If he were to involve the banner and were to call out,
"O defenders of the flag! People of the flag!"
Then Quraysh will be there in the valley bottom in the
hands of the female slaves.
He is living in the past, wanting (for Mecca) a
decision to strike it out, like a deaf serpent.'"

He went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard this poem feelings of mercy and compassion for them entered him and he asked for the banner, taking it from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. It was then given to his son, Qays.

"It is related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wished not to disappoint her in something in which she requested his help. Yet he did not want to anger Saʿd, and so he took the banner from him and gave it to his son."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ibn Abū Najīḥ recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to enter with some men from al-Layṭ, in the lower part of Mecca. Khālid was in command of the right wing, which consisted of Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and other Arab tribes. Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ charged in with a column of Muslims upon the people of Mecca, straight ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who himself entered from Adhākhir and halted at the upper part of the city where his tent was pitched.

Al-Bukhārī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that at the time of the conquest he had asked, "Messenger of God, where will you make camp tomorrow?" He

replied, "Has ʿAqīl left any house for us?" He then added, "No believer shall inherit from an unbeliever, nor shall any unbeliever inherit from a believer."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who quoted Abū Hurayra as stating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow, if God wills it, and if God gives us victory, our camp will be at al-Khayf where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ibrahīm – meaning Ibn Saʿd – from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Our camp tomorrow, if God wills it, will be at Khayf of Banū Kināna, where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd in similar words.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, that Ṣafwān b. Umayya, ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl and Suhayl b. ʿAmr had gathered some men at al-Khandama to do battle. Ḥimās b. Qays b. Khālid, brother of Banū Bakr, had been sharpening a sword prior to the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His wife asked him why and he replied that it was for use against Muḥammad and his men. She commented, "I swear by God, I don't think it will be of any use against them, Muḥammad and his men!" He replied, "Well, I swear by God, I hope to give you one of them as a servant!" He then spoke the verses,

"If they advance today, I'll have no excuse. This set
of weapons is complete
With sharp blades and easy to manipulate."

He then took part in the fighting at al-Khandama, along with Ṣafwān, ʿIkrima and Suhayl. There they were engaged by the Muslims accompanying Khālid. Kirz b. Jābir, Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr and Ḥubaysh b. Khālid b. Rabīʿa b. Asram, ally of Banū Munqidh, both of Khālid's troops, were killed. They had become separated from Khālid and taken a different route; they were killed together, Kirz prior to Ḥubaysh.

Both sources quoted by Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Salama b. al-Maylāʾ al-Juhannī, also of Khālid's cavalry, was killed there, while some 12 or 13 of the polytheists were killed. When they had lost the battle, Ḥimās left in defeat and went home. He told his wife, "Lock the door on me." She asked, "And what about all that you said?" He replied with the following verses:

"If you had witnessed the battle at al-Khandama when
Ṣafwān and ʿIkrima fled,
With Abū Yazīd erect like a widowed mother receiving condolences,
And the Muslims greeted them with their swords,
Cutting and striking arms and skulls with nothing but
their battle cries being heard,
While we emitted sobs and groans, then you would not
speak the slightest word of blame."

Ibn Hishām stated that these verses are alternatively attributed to al-Raʿāsh al-Hudhalī.

Ibn Hishām also said that the battle cry of the *muhājirīn* at the conquest, at Ḥunayn and at al-Ṭāʾif was "O tribe of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān!" That of al-Khazraj was "O Banū ʿAbd Allāh" and that of al-Aws, "O Banū ʿUbayd Allāh".

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that it was related to him by ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Rāzī, quoting Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, quoting Shuʿayb b. Ṣafwān, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God made this land sacrosanct the day He created the heavens and the earth. He forged it the day he forged the sun and the moon. That which stems from heaven is *ḥarām*, sacrosanct. It was not made *ḥalāl*, desanctified, for anyone before me (to do battle). It was only made *ḥalāl* for me for a brief period of the day, and it then reverted to its former state."

(The account continues) "Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that Khālid b. al-Walīd was killing people. He then told a man to go to Khālid and order him to stop the killing.

"(But) When the man reached him, he told him, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) says, 'Kill those you are able to!' He killed 70 people. This fact was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who sent Khālid a message that asked, 'Did I not forbid you killing?' Khālid replied, 'So-and-so came to me and ordered me to kill those I was able to.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again sent him a message asking, 'Did I not give you an order?' Khālid responded, 'You wanted one thing, but God wanted another! God's order superseded yours; I could not do anything other than what I did.' At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained silent and gave him no response."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had instructed his commanders to refrain from doing battle against any except those who fought them. He did, however, order that a group whom he named should be put to death, even if they were found hiding beneath the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Among these persons was ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, who had accepted Islam, written down the Revelations and then apostatized. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, having sentenced him to death, this ʿAbd Allāh fled to ʿUthmān who was his foster-brother. When the latter brought him to ask that he be spared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made no reply for a long time, but then said, 'Yes.'

"When ʿAbd Allāh departed with ʿUthmān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented to those around him, 'Is there no wise man among you who could have got up and killed him when you saw I was remaining silent?' They replied, 'But Messenger of God, could you not have given us some signal?' He replied, 'Prophets do not kill by making signals.'"

In a different account, the wording is, "It is not proper for a prophet to betray by eye signals."

Ibn Hishām stated that thereafter he was a good Muslim and that ʿUmar appointed him as a governor, and that ʿUthmān did the same thereafter.

I note that he died while prostrated in performing the morning prayer, or after having finished it in his house.

Ibn Isḥāq stated (that the Prophet (ṢAAS)) also condemned to death ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭal, a man of Banū Taym b. Ghālib.

I note that it is also said that this man was named ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, "worshipper of al-ʿUzzā", b. Khaṭal. It is likely that that had been his former name and that after he accepted Islam he was called ʿAbd Allāh, "worshipper of God".

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "After this man had accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out to collect charity contributions, in the company of one of the *anṣār*. With him also he took a freed-man he had. Later he became angry with the freed-man, killed him and apostatized and became a polytheist again. He had two female singers, Fartanā and a friend, who would sing songs mocking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims. This was why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him and the two singers to death. He was killed while he clutched the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Abū Barza al-Aslamī and Saʿīd b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī participated in executing him. One of his women singers was killed, while the other was granted clemency."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Also (he condemned) al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. ʿAbd Quṣayy. He had been one of those who had insulted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. When al-ʿAbbās had mounted up Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm to conduct them to Medina to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the start of the Hijra, this al-Ḥuwayrith had goaded a camel on which they were mounted, and they had fallen to the ground. When he had been condemned to death, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib executed him.

"Also condemned was Miqyās b. Ṣubāba because he had murdered the man who had by accident killed his brother, and he did this after he had accepted the blood-wit. He later apostatized and became a polytheist. It was a man of his own tribe, named Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh, who executed him.

"Then there was Sāra (who was also executed), a freed-woman of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and of ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, because she used to insult the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca."

I observe that it is narrated above that it was she who had carried the message from Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa and seems to have been forgiven or to have escaped. Thereafter he condemned her to death. But God knows best.

She fled until she was granted immunity by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She lived on into the era of ʿUmar, and died when trodden underfoot by a man on a horse. Al-Suhaylī related that Fartanā also accepted Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl fled to Yemen. His wife, Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, accepted Islam and sought immunity for him from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who granted that. She set off and located

ʿIkrima, brought him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he accepted Islam.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammis al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Salmī, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal, quoting Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Ḥamdānī, who said, "Al-Suddī maintained, on the authority of Muṣʿab b. Saʿd, that the father of the latter said, 'On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave immunity to all except four men and two women, saying, "Execute them even if you find them clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*." These persons were ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl was taken while he was clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Saʿīd b. Ḥuwayrith and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir raced to reach him and Saʿīd, the younger of the two men, beat ʿAmmār to him and killed him. Men overtook Miqyas in the market and killed him. ʿIkrima went to sea. A storm blew up and other people on the boat told one another, "Worship God sincerely, for your gods will do you no good here!" And so ʿIkrima said, "Well, I swear by God, if the only thing that succeeds at sea is sincere faith, the fact is that nothing but that succeeds on land too! O God, I make a pact with you that if you save me from my present plight, I will go to Muḥammad, place my hand in his and receive generous forgiveness." So he did go to him and accepted Islam.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ went into hiding in the home of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called on people to come forth and pledge allegiance, ʿUthmān brought ʿAbd Allāh before him and said, "Messenger of God, accept the allegiance of ʿAbd Allāh!" He raised his gaze towards him three times, all this expressing his refusal. Then, after the third time he did accept his allegiance. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later went to his Companions and asked, "Was there not one wise man among you who could have gone up to this fellow and killed him when you saw me refraining from accepting his allegiance?" They replied, "How could we know what you wanted? Could you not have given us some eye signal?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to use secret eye signals!"'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal in similar terms.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Kūfī, quoting al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted immunity to people on the day of the conquest of Mecca, except for four persons. These were ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, and Umm Sāra.

"ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Khaṭl was killed while he clung to the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Someone warned ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ that he would be killed on sight. He was the foster-brother of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to intercede on his behalf. When an *anṣārī* saw him, he girded his sword and went towards him, but found him in the circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He hesitated, reluctant to advance at him. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) spread forth his hand and accepted ʿAbd Allāh's allegiance. Later he asked the *anṣārī*, 'I was waiting for you to fulfil your pledge!' He replied, 'Messenger of God, I wanted to do it for you; could you not have given me some sign?' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet to wink.'"

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate the story of Miqyas b. Ṣubābā – how he had killed a Muslim after he himself had accepted Islam and then had later apostatized.

He went on, "Umm Sāra was a freed-woman of Quraysh who had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and complained to him of her poverty. He had then given to her. But thereafter a man sent her off with a message for the Meccans."

He went on to tell the story of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʾa.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq narrated from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, that Hishām, the brother of Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, was killed at the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq by a Muslim who thought him to be a polytheist. Miqyas then came and made a pretence of accepting Islam to seek the blood-money for his brother. When he received it he attacked and murdered the man who had killed his brother and returned to Mecca as a polytheist. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him to death, he was killed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bayhaqī quoted as follows the verses he composed when he murdered the man who killed his brother:

> "It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
> clothing stained by the blood of his jugular.
> My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
> kept me from enjoying my bed.
> Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to
> the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fāriʿ
> castle.
> By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
> and I was first to return to the idols."

It is said that the two female singers whom he condemned to death were employed by this Miqyas b. Ṣubāba; moreover, it was his cousin who executed him between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Some say that it was al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, may God be pleased with him, who executed Ibn Khaṭal.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭālib, that Umm Hāniʾ, the daughter of Abū Ṭālib, said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt in the heights of Mecca, two of my brothers-in-law of Banū Makhzūm fled to me."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The two men were al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote her as saying that while she was in the home of Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, "My brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came in and said, 'I swear by God, I'll kill them both!' So I locked the door of my house on both men and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was in the heights of Mecca. I found him engaged in washing himself from a basin that had in it some traces of dough; his daughter Fāṭima was shielding him with his clothing. When he had finished washing, he wrapped his garment around himself and performed eight *rakaʿāt* of the *al-ḍuḥā*[110] prayer. He then came over to me and said, 'Welcome indeed to you, Umm Hāniʾ! And what brings you now?' I told him about the two men and ʿAlī and he responded, 'We give protection to those you protect and immunity to those to whom you extend it. We will not execute them.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from the son of Abū Laylā, who said, "No one informed us of having seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) perform the *al-ḍuḥā* prayer except Umm Hāniʾ." She related that on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he washed himself in her house and then performed eight prayer prostrations. She said, "And I never saw him offer a lighter prayer than that, though he did perform the *rukūʿ*, the bowings, and the *sujūd*, the prostrations, completely."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Saʿd b. Abū Hind, which states that Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿAqīl, reported that Umm Hāniʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, related to him that at the conquest of Mecca two men of Banū Makhzūm fled to her and that she gave them refuge. She said, "ʿAlī came in to me and told me, 'I'm going to kill them both!' Having heard this, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in the heights of Mecca. When he saw me he welcomed me and asked why I had come. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I've been giving refuge to two of my brothers-in-law, but ʿAlī wants to kill them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'We give protection to whomever you have protected, Umm Hāniʾ.' He then set about washing himself, while Fāṭima screened him and when he had finished he wrapped himself in his garment and prayed eight superogatory *rakaʿāt* of the *ḍuḥā* prayer."

In one account she is reported to have come in while he was washing and Fāṭima was screening him with his clothing. The account goes on, "He asked, 'Who is the woman?' 'It is Umm Hāniʾ,' she replied. 'Welcome indeed to Umm Hāniʾ!' he said. She told him, 'Messenger of God, my brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib is going to kill two men to whom I have given protection.' He responded, 'We

110. A superogatory prayer performed shortly after sunrise.

grant protection to whomever you protect, Umm Hāniʾ.' He then performed eight prostrations."

That was in the *ḍuḥā*, the early morning, and so many scholars have thought that this was the (actual) *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. Others refer to this as the *ṣalāt al-fatḥ*, the "prayer at the conquest". And the assertion is made that he would affirm the *taslīm*,[111] after each two *rakaʿāt*.

This argues against the view of al-Suhaylī and others who maintain that the *ṣalāt al-fatḥ* should consist of eight (prostrations) and one *taslīm*. Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ performed eight prostrations, with one *taslīm* after each two, on the day of the conquest of al-Madāʾin, in the palace of Chosroe. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Thawr, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Mecca and had reassured the people, he went to the *kaʿba* and circumambulated it seven times on his mount, saluting the *rukn*, the corner with the Black Stone, with a staff he carried in his hand.

When he had finished his circumambulations, he called for ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and took from him the key to the *kaʿba*. When it was opened for him, he went inside, where he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hand and threw it away. He then stood at the door to the *kaʿba*, the people having assembled for him in the mosque.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "He then performed two *rakaʿāt* and went to *zamzam* and looked down into it. He called for water, drank it and performed the ablutions, people hastening to collect the leftovers of the water he had used. The polytheists watched him with great interest, saying, 'We never saw or heard of any king being treated this way!' He pushed back the *al-maqām*[112] to where it is located today, whereas it was previously close to the *kaʿba*."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went on, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the door of the *kaʿba* and said, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has kept His promise, has helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. Every advantage of ancestry or money that might be claimed is herewith placed beneath these feet of mine, except for the guardianship of the *kaʿba* and the provision of water to the pilgrims. Compensation for those who are killed by mistake or incomplete intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated following a binding oath of 100 camels, 40 of which shall be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has removed from you the false pride of the *jāhiliyya* period and the veneration of ancestry. All men stem from Adam, and Adam stemmed from dust.' He then recited the following verse

111. This is the final act in the ritual *ṣalāh*; thereafter the worshipper may resume his normal activities.

112. The *maqām Ibrāhīm*, "Abraham's station", a pillar upon which Abraham is said to have stood during the construction of the *kaʿba*. It remains to this day a special site of prayer.

(from the Qur'ān), 'O people, We created you from male and from female' (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLIX, v.13). He then said, 'O Quraysh, what do you think I am going to do with you?' They replied, 'Good! (You are) a noble brother, and the son of a noble brother.' He then said, 'You may go; you are free.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sat down in the mosque and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib went up to him, holding the key of the *kaʿba* in his hand. He said, 'O Messenger of God, join together for us the right of guardianship of the *kaʿba* with that of provision of the water for the pilgrims, may God bless you!' He responded, 'Where is ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa?' He was summoned for him and then he told ʿUthmān, 'Here is your key, ʿUthmān; this is a day of piety and good faith.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while standing on the steps of the *kaʿba* on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise and helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. (Compensation) for those killed by quasi-intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated by 100 camels."

"'On another occasion he said, "by a binding oath promising payment of 40 pregnant camels. All privilege of ancestry and pride that existed in the *jāhiliyya* (are finished)." Another time, he said, "Both these factors are beneath these feet of mine; however, the right to provide water for the pilgrims and to have guardianship of the *kaʿba* will continue for those in charge of them, as before."'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja related this similarly from *aḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa b. Jawshan al-Ghaṭafānī, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* the day of the conquest, he saw inside it representations of angels and others. He saw Abraham pictured holding divining arrows in his hand. He said, "May God kill them! They have depicted our elder using divining arrows; what would Abraham have to do with divining arrows? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was a *ḥanīf*, and a Muslim; he was no polytheist." He then gave orders and all those images were obliterated.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "There were pictures inside the *kaʿba* and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to wipe them away. And so ʿUmar moistened a piece of cloth and used it to erase them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside nothing of them remained."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid, from Abū Maʿmar, from ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest, around the *kaʿba* there were 360 idols. He set

about striking them with a stick he carried, saying, 'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is powerless.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Uyayna.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibn Isḥāq, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, in the *ka‘ba* there were 300 idols. He took a staff and set about striking the idols with it until he had hit them all."

He then related, through Suwayd b. Sa‘īd from al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd Allāh, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca he discovered there 360 idols. He gestured towards each one with a stick and said, 'The truth has come and error has gone; error is bound to disappear' (*sūrat Banū Isrā᾽īl*; XVII, v.81). And every idol towards which he pointed fell over, without him touching them with his stick."

He (al-Bayhaqī) then commented, "Even though this is a *ḍa‘īf*, weak, tradition, it is substantiated by the one preceding it."

Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq stated tht he was informed by Abū al-Rabī‘, from Ya‘qūb al-Qammī, quoting Ja‘far b. Abū al-Mughīra, from Ibn Abzā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca, an old, grey-haired black woman appeared, clawing at her face and complaining loudly. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That is Nā᾽ila;[113] she is despairing that she will ever again be worshipped in your country.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A narrator of traditions in whom I have trust narrated, on a line of authorities from Ibn Shihāb, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest on his mount and circumambulated the *ka‘ba* on it. Around the *ka‘ba* there were idols made with lead reinforcing. He began pointing at the idols with a stick he held, saying, "The truth has come, and error is gone. Error is bound to disappear." Every idol at whose face he gestured fell over on its back, while every one at whose back he pointed fell over on its face. Eventually every single one had fallen over. Tamīm b. Asad al-Khuzā‘ī therefore spoke the verse,

> "There is a lesson and learning in the idols for those
> expecting reward or punishment."'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, (there is a *ḥadith*) from Shaybān b. Farrūkh, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, from Abū Hurayra, who said in his account of the conquest of Mecca, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forward and when he reached the (Black) Stone he saluted it and circumambulated the *ka‘ba*. Arriving at an idol at the side of the *ka‘ba* to which they had made worship, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grasped a bow he was carrying by its bent frame and began poking it in the eye, saying

113. The pre-Islamic goddess whose icon is said to have been positioned on Mt. Ṣafā.

'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is bound to disappear.' When he had finished his circumambulation, he went out and climbed Mt. Ṣafā and, looking down at the *kaʿba*, raised up his hands, gave praise to God and spoke various prayers."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who quoted his father as quoting Ayyūb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Mecca, he refused to enter the *kaʿba* while it contained idols. He therefore ordered them to be removed. One picture showed Abraham and Ismāʿīl holding divining arrows, and he said, 'May God kill them! They knew very well that they never used them to cast lots!'

"He then went inside the *kaʿba*, and said, *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! in various parts of it, then came out without saying prayers there."

Al-Bukhārī gave this *ḥadīth*, while Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Hammām, quoting ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the *kaʿba* in which there were six columns. He stood at each column and prayed, but he did not perform the *ṣalāh* prayers.

Muslim related this from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from Hammām b. Yaḥyā al-ʿUdhī, from ʿAṭāʾ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Hārūn b. Maʿrūf who quoted Ibn Wahb as having been informed by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith that Bukayr related to him, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* he found a picture of Abraham and another one of Mary. He then said, "They are well aware that angels will not enter any building containing a picture; yet this is Abraham depicted! Why ever would he cast lots?"

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, who said that ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī had related to him that he heard Miqsam relate that Ibn ʿAbbās had said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the *kaʿba* and spoke prayers at its side and then went out and performed two *rakʿa* of the *ṣalāh* prayers."

Aḥmad alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Layth, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed two *rakʿas* of the *ṣalāh* prayers in the *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Layth said, quoting Yūnus, quoting Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest from its heights and that riding with him on his mount was Usāma b. Zayd. From al-Ḥajaba he was accompanied by ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa. He dismounted at the mosque and ordered that the key to the *kaʿba* be brought to him. He then went in with Usāma b. Zayd, Bilāl and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and stayed there for a long time. Eventually he came out again and the people hurried there. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar was the first to go inside and he found

Bilāl standing behind the door. He asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' Bilāl pointed to the spot. ʿAbd Allāh commented, 'I forgot to ask him how many prayer prostrations he had made.'"

Imām Aḥmad related from Hushaym, quoting various persons, including Ibn ʿAwn, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in accompanied by al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, Usāma b. Zayd, Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and Bilāl. He gave orders to Bilāl who shut the door upon them. He stayed inside for a period of time, and then he came outside."

Ibn ʿUmar stated, "The first of them I met was Bilāl and I asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' 'It was over here', he replied, 'between the two columns.'"

I note that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and elsewhere that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed inside the *kaʿba* with its door behind his back, positioning himself with two columns on his right, one on his left and three to his rear. At that time the *kaʿba* had six columns. There was a distance of some three arms-lengths between himself and the western wall.

Ibn Hishām stated, "And a certain scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* at the conquest of Mecca accompanied by Bilāl, whom he ordered to make the call to prayer. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, ʿAttāb b. Usayd and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām were seated in the courtyard of the *kaʿba*. ʿAttāb said, 'God honoured (my father) Usayd by not having him hear this; had he done so, it would have enraged him.' Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām commented, 'I swear by God, if I had known he was right, I would have followed him!' Abū Sufyān added, 'I'll say nothing. If I were to speak, these stones would report on me!'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and said, 'I know what you said,' and he then related their comments to them. Al-Ḥārith and ʿAttāb declared, 'We testify that you are the Messenger of God! There was no one with us who overheard this for us to say he repeated it to you.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having related from his father, who said, "A member of the family of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he gave orders to Bilāl, who climbed on to the roof of the *kaʿba* and there made the call to prayer. One of the sons of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'God honoured Saʿīd by taking him away before he heard this black man on the roof of the *kaʿba*.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated, from Maʿmar, from Ayyūb that Ibn Abū Mulayka said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl who made the call to prayer on the day of the conquest of Mecca on top of the *kaʿba* and that one of the Quraysh men said to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, 'Do you see where that black man has climbed?' He (al-Ḥārith) replied, 'Leave him alone; if God dislikes him, He will change him.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Hishām b. ʿUrwa as quoting his father as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl on the day of the

conquest of Mecca, and that he made the call to prayer from atop the *kaʿba*, to anger the polytheists.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, from al-Wāqidī, from Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Isḥāq, as saying that after the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was sitting saying to himself, "What if I had gathered a force against Muḥammad!" While he was asking himself this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) slapped him between the shoulders and said, "Then God would have put you to shame!" Abū Sufyān then raised his head and, when he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing above him, said, "I was never sure before that you were indeed a prophet!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, *ijāzatan*, with permission (for me to quote him), quoting Abū Ḥamīd Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqrī, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī, quoting Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq from Abū al-Safar, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When Abū Sufyān saw that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walked that the people would tread in his footsteps, he said to himself, 'What if I had fought this man again!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went up, struck him on the chest and said, 'Then God would have put you to shame!'

"He (Abū Sufyān) said, 'I turn to God and seek His forgiveness for what I have spoken!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Ibn Khuzayma and others, from Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī, from Abū Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, quoting Mūsā b. Aʾyan al-Juzarī, who quoted his father, who quoted Isḥāq b. Rāshid as quoting Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab as saying, "That night of the conquest of Mecca the people who entered kept on calling out *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! rejoicing and circumambulating the *kaʿba* until the next morning. Abū Sufyān asked Hind, 'Do you think this is from God?' She replied, 'Yes; this is from God.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter told him, 'You said to Hind, "Do you think that this is from God?" "Yes", she replied, "this is from God."'

"At this Abū Sufyān exclaimed, 'I testify that you are the servant and Messenger of God! By Him who is invoked in oaths, no one but Hind alone heard my saying this.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq related to us, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, from Ibn Jurayj who said that Ḥasan b. Muslim informed him, from Mujāhid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God made Mecca a sanctuary the day He created the heavens and the earth. It is a sanctuary by God's having made it so and will remain such until Judgement Day. (Conflict in it) was not made permissible for anyone before myself, nor for anyone after me; and this only for a short time. In it game may not be hunted, its trees may not be cut down, nor may its vegetation be uprooted. And items found in it belong to the finder only after announcement of the find.' Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib suggested, 'Except for

the *idhkhar*[114] plant, Messenger of God, its use is essential in burials[115] and inside homes.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was silent a moment, then agreed, 'Except for the *al-idhkhar*; harvesting it is allowed.'"

A like or similar *ḥadīth* comes from Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd al-Karīm – he being the son of Mālik al-Jazarī – from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, which gives Abū Hurayra as the narrator of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* with the line of transmission quoted above. This account is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain, as is that of the second line.

This and similar accounts are cited by those who maintain that Mecca was conquered by force of arms, along with their reference to engagements that occurred at al-Khandama, reported above. At that battle some 20 Muslims and polytheists were killed; that the evidence from it is clear is the position of most scholars.

It is well known that al-Shāfiʿī held that Mecca was taken peacefully, since it was not distributed as booty and because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated the night of its conquest, "Whoever enters the home of Abū Sufyān will be secure; whoever enters the sanctuary will be secure; whoever locks his own door will be safe."

The proper place for discussion of this issue, if God Almighty so wishes it, is with reference to the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. Shuraḥbīl, quoting al-Layth, from al-Maqburī, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī, who said that he asked ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, who was about to dispatch groups of fighters into Mecca, "O *amīr*, 'Commander', please permit me to report a statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day following the conquest of Mecca. My ears heard, my heart knew and my eyes saw him as he spoke it. He praised and thanked God, then said, 'It was God, not men who made Mecca a sanctuary. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood nor to cut down trees within it. And should anyone seek permission to fight therein because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought there, then tell him, "God gave permission to His messenger but gave none to you." And He only allowed this to me for a short period. Its sanctity has reverted today to what it was before. Let those here present inform of this those absent.'"

Abū Shurayḥ was then asked, "What did ʿAmr reply to you?" Abū Shurayḥ responded, "He said, 'I know this better than you do. The sanctuary does not provide refuge to anyone who has sinned, nor to a murderer in flight, nor to anyone seeking to escape payment of the *jizya*[116], the poll-tax.'"

114. The schoenantum plant, an odoriferous rush.

115. Other texts of al-Bukhārī give the word *al-qaym*, "blacksmith"; rather than *al-dafn*, "burial", as here. The plant's use as an essential fuel seems implied.

116. An alternative reading of al-Bukhārī's text substitutes *al-kharba*, "having caused damages".

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd in similar words.

Ibn Isḥāq related that during the *jāhiliyya* period a man called Ibn al-Athwaʿ killed a man of Khuzāʿa known as "Iḥmarra Baʾsan", "he who turned red in rage". On the day of the conquest of Mecca Banū Khuzāʿa killed Ibn al-Athwaʿ while he was in Mecca; the man who killed him was Khirāsh b. Umayya. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "People of Khuzāʿa, kill no more; there has been too much killing, even if to some purpose. I will pay compensation for the man killed."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslamī related to me, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned what Khirāsh b. Umayya had done, he said, 'Khirāsh kills to excess!'"

Ibn Isḥāq also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī related to him, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī, who said, "When ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr advanced on Mecca to battle his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, I went to him and said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Mecca was conquered. The day following the conquest Khuzāʿa attacked and killed a man of Hudhayl who was a polytheist. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rose to address us and said, "God made Mecca a sanctuary when He created the heavens and the earth. It will remain one of God's sanctuaries until the day of Resurrection. It will not be lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down a tree there. This was not made lawful for anyone who came before me, nor will it be lawful for anyone who comes after me. It was only made lawful for me for this short period because of (God's) anger against its inhabitants. Now its sanctity has reverted to as it was previously. Let those of you present so inform those absent. Respond to anyone who tells you that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought in it by saying, 'God made this lawful for His messenger, but He has not done so for you.' O Khuzāʿa, cease killing; there has been too much, even if to some purpose. You have killed someone and for him I will pay compensation. If someone should be killed after my stay here, then his family has two options: to demand the blood of his killer, or to seek blood-money for him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then paid compensation for the man Khuzāʿa had killed.'

"ʿAmr then said to Abū Shurayḥ, 'Go away, sheikh! We know better than you about its sanctity. It does not protect anyone who sheds blood, retracts his allegiance or resists paying the *jizya* tax.'

"Abū Shurayḥ then said, 'Well, I was present there and you were absent. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered those of us present to so inform those absent; and I have so informed you. Now do as you will.'"

Ibn Hishām said that he was told that the first person for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid compensation at the conquest of Mecca was Junaydib b. al-Akwaʿ. Banū Kaʿb had killed him. The compensation he paid for him was 100 camels.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā, from Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "When Mecca was conquered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Cease using weapons; except for Khuzāʿa against Banū Bakr.' He gave them permission (to fight on) until the *al-ʿaṣr*, late afternoon, prayer. He then announced, 'Cease using your weapons!' A man of Khuzāʿa encountered and killed another from Banū Kalb next day at al-Muzdalifa. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he arose and said, (the narrator added that he saw him and that he was resting his back on the *kaʿba*), 'The people God dislikes most are those who kill others in the sanctuary, those who kill those not fighting them, and those who kill for the blood-money of the *jāhiliyya* period.'"

He went on to relate the *ḥadith* to its end.

This *ḥadīth* is completely unique.

The *al-sunan* scholars relate this *ḥadīth* in part.

His giving permission here to Khuzāʿa to take revenge on Banū Bakr up to the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer of the day of the conquest is something I have seen only in this *ḥadīth*. If true, it seems that this is in special consideration for what they suffered at their hands on the night of their attack, known as *al-watīr*. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and Yazīd b. ʿUbayd, all of whom quoted Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, from ʿAmr al-Shaʿbī, from al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barsāʾ al-Khuzāʿī (who said), "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'This (city) will never be conquered after today until the day of Resurrection.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Bandār, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. He said, "It is *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'."

I comment that if this statement is a proscription, then it is devoid of ambiguity. If it be a negation, then, as al-Bayhaqī said, "Its meaning is 'by those whose people are unbelievers'."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, from his father Muṭīʿ b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'After this day and on up to Resurrection Day, no man of Quraysh will ever be killed in captivity.'"

The objection to the first statement, above, could equally well be made against this too.[117]

Ibn Hishām stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest and went up to al-Ṣafā to pray, the *anṣār* watched him and asked one another, "Do you think that since God has conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his own land and city that he will remain there?

117. The author is attempting to explain the purport of the *ḥadīth* in light of the fact that several inter-communal conflicts between Muslim forces did indeed occur in apparent contradiction of the prophecy.

"When he had finished his prayer he asked them what they had been saying and they replied that it was nothing. He kept on at them until they told him. He then said, 'God forbid! I shall live where you live, die where you die!'"

This comment given by Ibn Hishām is substantiated by Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his *ḥadith* compendium. He stated that the following was related to him by Bahz and Hāshim, both quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit. Hāshim said, "Thābit b. Bunānī related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, who said, 'Delegations came in to see Muʾāwiya and I was among them, as was Abū Hurayra. This was in Ramaḍān. We prepared food for one another. Abū Hurayra would invite us very often. So I asked myself whether I should prepare some food and invite them to my tent. I ordered food to be prepared and met Abū Hurayra that evening. I said to him, "Abū Hurayra, the invitation tonight is at my place." "So you're beating me to it then?" "Yes," I replied, "I've invited some people who are there."

"'Abū Hurayra said, 'Well, you *anṣār*, should I recount a *ḥadīth* of yours?" He went on to relate the conquest of Mecca. He said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he entered Mecca. He dispatched al-Zubayr in command of one of the flanks and Khālid in charge of the other. He sent Abū ʿUbayda over the bridge and they took the centre of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his squadron. Quraysh had gathered their forces. They (the army commanders?) said, 'We'll send those ahead; and if they make progress, we'll be with them. If they are attacked, we'll give him whatever he asks.'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then looked over and when he saw me, he said, 'Abū Hurayra!' I responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God!' 'Call up the *anṣār* for me; and I don't want any except *anṣār* to come to me.' So I called out to them and they came and formed a circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked them, 'Do you see the Quraysh forces and their supporters grouped together?' He then spoke using his hands, saying, 'Cut right through them to conduct me to al-Ṣafā.'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, "So off we went, each one of us refraining from killing any of them and they not interfering with us. Abū Sufyān commented, 'The green (banner) of Quraysh has been disgraced! There is no Quraysh after today!'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then announced, 'Whoever locks his door will be secure; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure.' And so people did lock their doors.

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then advanced to the (Black) Stone, saluted it and circumambulated the *kaʿba*. In his hand he carried a bow. He grasped it by its bent frame and arriving, on his way round, at an idol beside the *kaʿba* they used to worship, he struck it in the eyes, saying, 'The truth has come and error is gone. Error is completely gone!'

"'"He then climbed al-Ṣafā from where he could look down upon the *kaʿba*, and raised his hands, invoking God and praying to Him.

"'"Meanwhile, the *anṣār* were down below and were telling one another, 'The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and he has a feeling of compassion for his tribe!'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, 'Then revelation came to him. It was never hidden from us when this came, and no one would raise his gaze to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until it was at an end."'"

Hāshim stated, "When the revelation was over, he raised his head and said, 'O *anṣār*, did you just say, "The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and by compassion for his tribe?"' They replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God, we did say that.' 'What then should I be called? Absolutely not! I am God's servant and His messenger. I migrated to God and to you. It is with you I shall live and with you I shall die.'

"Those present then went up to him, weeping and saying, 'We only said what we did because of our passion for God and His messenger.' He then said, 'God and His messenger believe you and forgive you.'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Al-Nasā'ī added the name of Salām b. Miskīn.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, all three sources quoting Thābit, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ the *anṣārī*, who lived in al-Baṣra, from Abū Hurayra in similar words.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that Faḍāla b. ʿUmayr b. al-Mulawwaḥ – al-Laythī, that is – wanted to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS) as he was circumambulating the *kaʿba* at the time of the conquest of Mecca. When the man approached him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "'Is that Faḍāla?' 'Yes, Faḍāla, Messenger of God,' he replied. He next asked, 'And what was it you were just telling yourself?' He replied, 'Nothing; I was repeating the name of God.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed and said, 'Seek God's forgiveness!' and he placed his hand on Faḍāla's chest and his heart became calm.

"Faḍāla used to say, 'I swear by God, by the time he took his hand away from my chest, none of God's creation was more beloved by me than him.'

"Faḍāla stated, 'I went back to my family and went by to see a woman with whom I would talk. She asked, 'Are you coming in to talk?'

"But Faḍāla declined and proceeded to speak the verses,

> 'She said, "come on in and talk!" He replied, "No; God
> and Islam forbid you that.
> Had you but seen Muḥammad and his advance at the
> Conquest, the day when the idols were smashed,
> You would have seen God's religion fully visible while
> the face of idolatry was covered in darkness."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to him, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "Ṣafwān b. Umayya left to go to Jidda to take a boat from there to Yemen. ʿUmayr b. Wahb told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'Prophet of God, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, his people's chief, has fled from you intending to cast himself into the sea. Do you give him immunity, may God bless you?' He replied, 'He is given immunity.'

"ʿUmayr then asked him, 'Messenger of God, please give me some token by which he will know your immunity for him.' So he gave him the turban he had been wearing when he had entered Mecca.

"ʿUmayr left with it and caught up with Ṣafwān as he was about to go to sea. He told him, 'Ṣafwān, may my father and mother be your ransom; if you plan to kill yourself, this is a guarantee of immunity from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that I have brought you.'

"'Clear off! Don't talk to me!' Ṣafwān told him. ʿUmayr insisted, 'But I swear, he is the most trustworthy, compassionate and best of all men and your cousin. His fame, honour and possessions are your own.' Ṣafwān replied, 'Yet I fear for myself.' ʿUmayr argued, 'But he is too compassionate and noble for that.'

"ʿUmayr did bring him back and when he stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Ṣafwān said, 'This man claims that you grant me immunity?' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied. 'Let me have two months to make my choice,' Ṣafwān asked. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You may have four months to decide.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate from al-Zuhrī that Fākhita, daughter of al-Walīd, the wife of Ṣafwān, and Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, the wife of ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, had followed ʿIkrima to Yemen and asked him to come back, and he did so and accepted Islam. When the two men (Ṣafwān and ʿIkrima) accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) affirmed the validity of their first marriages.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit as having said, "Ḥassān delivered against Ibn al-Zibaʿrā while the latter was in Najrān the following single verse, adding to it no other,

> 'May you never be deprived of a man hatred for whom has
> made you settle in Najrān where your life is solitary
> and mean!'

"When this reached Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, he came out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. When he did so, he spoke the verses,

> 'O Messenger of *al-Malik*, the Sovereign Lord, my tongue
> is now mending what I tore when I was unproductive,
> When I followed Satan in the ways of error; and those
> who turn along his course are deceived.
> My flesh and bones believe in my Lord; and my heart is
> witness that you are the one who warns.
> I shall drive away from you there the clan of Luʾayy;
> all of them are deceived.'"

Ibn Isḥāq also quoted Ibn al-Zibaʿrā as reciting, when he accepted Islam,

"Worries and cares held back sleep from me and the night pitched above me was disturbed and impenetrable
When I had heard that Aḥmad had criticized me, I passed that night as though in fever.
O best man that ever a sure-footed, fast-paced camel bore upon its body,
I apologize to you for what I did; I have been wandering in error
During a time when Sahm and Makhzūm ordered me to pursue false paths.
I gave aid to evil policies, led on by the orders of those in error, accursed men.
Today my heart believes in the Prophet Muḥammad and whoever mistakes this is deprived (of truth).
Enmity is over, its causes gone; the ties and understanding between us call out.
Forgive my mistakes – may my parents be your ransom – for you are forgiving and are yourself forgiven.
Upon you there is the sign of the knowledge of the Sovereign Lord, a strong light and a seal impressed
After friendship, He honoured you with His proof, and proof from God is powerful indeed.
I have testified that your religion is true, and that you will be mighty in the hereafter.
God testifies that Aḥmad is the one chosen, noble and pre-eminent among the righteous,
A prince, his high house being from Hāshim, the branch of a tree firm at its apex and in its roots."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars of poetry dispute attribution of these verses to this poet."

I note that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī was one of the chief enemies of Islam, one of those poets who used their powers in satirizing the Muslims. God then allowed him to repent fully and to return to Islam, and to aid and defend it.

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the following lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit were among those delivered on the day of the conquest of Mecca:

"Traces of her campgrounds, now empty, at Dhāt al-Aṣābiʿ and al-Jiwāʾ and on to ʿAdhrāʾ[118] have vanished,
Homes of Banū al-Ḥasḥās now deserted and obliterated by wind and rain

118. Sites in Syria Ḥassān is said to have visited.

Always was the company pleasant there and in its
pastures were fine camels and sheep.
No more of that! But who can deal with a spectre that
keeps me awake when evening is past?
Shaʿtha: when she appears before one, the heart knows
no consolation.
She is like a fine wine from Bayt al-Ra's[119], one to be
mixed with honey and water;
Such drinks are fine to recall, the best of wines for
which to make sacrifice.
It we blame if we behave badly, getting into fights or
quarrels
When we drink it, it makes us feel like kings or lions
so that nothing can deter us from conflict.
May we be deprived of our horses if you do not see them
raising the dust, their objective Kadā.
They battle their reins, turning aside the thirsty
spears above their shoulders.
Our horses continue charging ahead, the women flapping
their veils at them.
Either you turn away from us and we perform the
pilgrimage, and then the conquest will occur and the
cover (over the *kaʿba*) be removed,
Or you should bear up against a battle in which God
will give victory to whomever he wishes.
Gabriel, the Messenger of God, is on our side, and the
Holy Spirit is without peer.
God said, 'I have sent a servant who speaks the truth –
if visitation can do good.
I swear by him; so stand, and acknowledge his truth.'
You replied, 'No; we'll not arise. We don't wish to.'
And so God said, 'I have sent my troops; they are the
anṣār and their intent is to fight.'
Every day we receive from Maʿadd insults, conflict or
mockery.
We will confuse with our rhymes those who mock us; and
we will strike when blood mixes with blood!
Give Abū Sufyān from me an important message – for now
is plain what had been hidden –
Consider our swords having left you a slave, and
household slaves have bondwomen rule them!
You satirized Muḥammad, and I answered for him; with
God will be your requital.
Is whoever of you satirizes the Messenger of God, the
equal of those who praise and aid him?

119. A place in Jordan.

You satirized someone blessed, a pious *ḥanīf*, a
companion of God, a man characterized by loyalty.
My father, his father and my honour, all protect against
you the honour of Muḥammad.
My tongue is a faultless sword and my verse a water
source no buckets could turn cloudy."

Ibn Hishām commented that Ḥassān spoke these verses before the conquest.

I note that what he said is well-directed and pointed towards what was to come after these verses; the Abū Sufyān referred to in the verse is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Hishām commented that he had heard that al-Zuhrī had stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the women slapping the horses with their veils, he smiled at Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Anas b. Zunaym al-Dīlī spoke the following verses in apology to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for what ʿAmr b. Sālim al-Khuzāʿī had said about the Muslims; that was when he came asking assistance against them, as related above.

"Is it you at whose command Maʿadd was led aright? No;
God guides them and said to you, 'Testify!'
No camel ever carried on its saddle a man more pious
and trustworthy than Muḥammad,
Anyone swifter to do good or more generous, a man who
goes forth like a burnished Indian-steel sword.
Anyone more ready to present a fine, unused Yemeni
robe, or to give away the winning horse.
You should know, O Messenger of God, that you will
attain me, and that a threat from you is as already
accomplished.
You should know, O Messenger of God, that you have
power over every settlement, whether in the highlands
or the lowlands.
You should know that the mounted men, the riders of
ʿUwaymir, are liars who break every vow.
They informed the Messenger of God that I satirized
him; if that be true, then my hand has never carried
my whip!
All I said was, 'Woe upon the mothers of the young men
struck down by ill-luck, not in fortunate, happy times.'
They were killed by those not their equal in blood-line;
and my weeping and confusion were extreme.
And you were accused of spreading evil about ʿAbd b.
ʿAbd Allāh and Mahwad's daughter.
Dhuwayb, Kulthūm and Salmā all followed one another (to
death) and even if I do not weep, I do grieve,

And Salmā! There is no tribe like Salmā and his brothers. Are kings alike to slaves?
I have committed no sin nor shed blood; be sure, you who know the truth, and take thought!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses on the conquest of Mecca:

"That morning Muzayna and Banū Khufāf drove the people of al-Ḥaballaq from every ravine.
We struck them with our sharp swords at Mecca the day of the conquest of the good Prophet
We came at them with 700 of Sulaym and a full 1,000 of Banū ʿUthmān.
We crushed their backs, striking and thrusting and pelted them with fine arrows
Which you could hear making a crackling sound like arrowshafts breaking at their point fastenings.
We charged, our steeds wheeling among them, the shafts of our lances straight ahead.
We came back taking plunder as we wished, while they retreated regretting their conflict.
We gave the Messenger of God our pledge and goodwill.
They heard our speech and set about retreating from us on that morning of terror."

Ibn Hishām stated that ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following verses at the conquest of Mecca:

"With us that day when Muḥammad conquered Mecca were 1,000 men wearing insignia; the valleys streamed with them.
They helped the Messenger and witnessed his signs; their emblems the day of the encounter were to the fore.
In a constricted place where their feet set firm; it was as though (their enemies') heads were mere colocynths.
Before this their hooves had raced over Najd, until jet-black Hijāz stretched out before them
It was God who conquered it for him and the judgement of swords and vigorous toil subjugated it to us.
A man used to leadership, his head held high, aspiring to the heights of dignity, a most generous man."

Ibn Hishām gave the explanation for the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. His father used to worship a stone idol called Dimār which he entrusted to

ʿAbbās when his death was near. One day, while ʿAbbās was worshipping it, he heard a voice from inside it say,

"Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that Dimār has perished,
while the people of the mosque live on.
He of Quraysh who has inherited prophethood and right-guidance
after Mary's son is a true guide.
Dimār has perished, though he was long worshipped, from
before the scripture up to the Prophet Muḥammad."

At that ʿAbbās set Dimār afire, joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. This story is given above in full in the section of the *Cries of the Spirits*[120] along with various similar tales. And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AGAINST BANŪ JADHĪMA, AFTER THE CONQUEST OF MECCA.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥanīf, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who said, "When Mecca was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālid b. al-Walīd as a missionary and not as a warrior. With him were Arab tribes, along with Sulaym b. Manṣūr and Mudlij b. Murra. When Banū Khudhayma b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna saw them approach, they went for their weapons, but Khālid told them, 'Put down your arms; people have accepted Islam.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued that a companion of his, a scholar from Banū Jadhīma, told him, "When Khālid asked us to put down our arms one of us, a man named Jaḥdam, said, 'Take care, Banū Jadhīmā – it's Khālid! I swear by God, all there will be after laying down your arms will be captivity; and after that there will be execution! By God, I'll never lay down my arms!'

"He was seized by some of his people, who asked, 'Jaḥdam, do you want to spill our blood? People have (all) accepted Islam now and warfare is over. People are safe now.'

"They kept on at him until they had taken away his weapons. They disarmed him because of what Khālid had said."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to report that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm quoted Abū Jaʿfar as saying further, "When they had put down their weapons, Khālid ordered that they be bound and he then put a number of them to the sword. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he raised his hands to heaven and said, 'O God, I declare to You my innocence of what Khālid b. al-Walīd has done.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that one man from that tribe escaped and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the latter had

120. See Vol. I above, pp.258–9.

been told what had happened, He asked, "Did anyone argue with him?" The man replied that a man of pale complexion and medium stature had argued with him, but Khālid rebuked him and shut him up. Another man, tall and excitable, had also argued with him and they disputed fiercely. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "The first man, Messenger of God, was my son ʿAbd Allāh; the other was Sālim, the freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm further quoted Abū Jaʿfar as saying, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and told him, 'ʿAlī, go out to those people and make enquiries. Put an end to the practices of the *jāhilīyya*.'

"ʿAlī went out to them carrying money the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent with him. He paid them compensation for the deaths and for their material losses, even paying them for a dog's bowl! Having met all these obligations, he still had some money left. He asked them whether there was anyone else to be paid for lost blood or damages and they said not. He then gave them the remaining money on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in case any other demands that neither he nor they were aware of should be made later.

"Having done this, he returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported to him. 'You acted correctly and very well,' he told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and, facing the *qibla* and stretching his arms out wide so that his armpits were visible, he said, 'O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālid b. al-Walīd did.' He spoke these words three times."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that some who wished to excuse Khālid report him as having said, "I did not fight them until ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī told me to do so. He said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to combat them because of their having refrained from accepting Islam.'"

Ibn Hishām quoted Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī as saying that when Khālid reached them, they had said, "*ṣabaʾnā*! *ṣabaʾnā*! We have changed religion!"

These traditions are defective in their lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd to Banū – I think he said this – Jadhīma, and he invited them to enter Islam. But they did not respond properly by saying *aslamnā*, 'we accept Islam', but instead began saying '*ṣabʾnā*! *ṣabaʾnā*!' Khālid then took some prisoner and killed others. He gave to each of our men a prisoner and next morning Khālid ordered that each man of us should kill his prisoner."

Ibn ʿUmar went on, "I said, 'I swear by God, I'll not kill my prisoner! Nor will any of my men kill theirs either!'"

The account continues that they then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what Khālid had done. He responded by raising his hands and saying, "O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālid has done!" He said this twice.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā᾿ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ῾Abd al-Razzāq in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Jaḥdam said to them, when he saw what Khālid was doing, 'O Banū Jadhīma, the die is cast and lost; I warned you of what had happened to you.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "I have heard that there were angry words between Khālid and ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. ῾Awf about this. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān told him, 'You have behaved in Islam as though in the *jāhilīyya*!' 'But I only took revenge for your father,' Khālid replied. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān responded, 'You lie! I have already killed my father's murderer. It's your uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, whom you have avenged!' Ill feeling arose between them over this.

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Take it easy, Khālid! And leave my Companions alone! I swear, that if you had a mountain like Uḥud of gold and then spent it in God's cause, you'd not attain a morning and evening's worth of what my Companions have done!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then went on to relate the story of al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra b. ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar b. Makhzūm, the uncle of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He had left on a business trip to Yemen in the company of ῾Awf b. ῾Abd ῾Awf b. ῾Abd al-Ḥārith b. Zahra, this man's son ῾Abd al-Raḥmān, along with ῾Affān b. Abū al-῾Āṣ b. Umayya b. ῾Abd Shams and his son ῾Uthmān. When they returned they brought with them some possessions of a man of Banu Jadhīma who had died in Yemen. They brought these effects to his heirs. One of their men, a man named Khālid b. Hishām, claimed them and met them on Banū Jadhīma territory, asking for the dead man's possessions before they reached the family of the latter. When they refused to hand them over he attacked them and in the fighting ῾Awf and Fākih were killed and their goods were seized. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān killed the man, Khālid b. Hishām, who had slain his father, while ῾Affān and his son ῾Uthmān fled to Mecca. Quraysh were about to attack Banū Jadhīma when the latter sent apology to them insisting that the attack had not been their fault. They returned the two dead men and their property and so warfare was averted.

This, then, is why Khālid told ῾Abd al-Raḥmān that he had avenged his father by killing Banū Jadhīma and why ῾Abd al-Raḥmān responded by saying that he had killed his father's murderer. And so he went on to charge that Khālid was merely avenging his uncle al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra when they killed him and took his possessions.

What was really thought by both men was that he, ῾Abd al-Raḥmān, had not intended any of this and that the charge had only arisen due to their conflict. Khālid had only sought to render Islam and its side victorious, even though he was in error in thinking that they had been demeaning Islam by saying, *saba᾿nā! saba᾿nā!* He did not realize that they had accepted Islam, and so he killed a large number of them and took the rest captive. Most of the captives were killed as well. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not take his command away but left

him in charge. He did, however, declare his own innocence of what Khālid had done and paid compensation for the loss of life and property.

In this there is substantiation of a statement made by scholars that the mistake of the Imām rests with his treasury, not with his own funds! But God knows best.

This is why the Caliph Abū Bakr did not dismiss him when he killed Mālik b. Nuwayra during the *ridda* wars, first executing him, then choosing for himself Mālik's wife Umm Tamīm. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then advised, "Dismiss him; there's a fault in his sword!" Abū Bakr replied, "I'll not sheathe a sword that God drew against the polytheists."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from Ibn Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, who said, "That day I was with the cavalry of Khālid b. al-Walīd and a young man of Banū Jadhīma, of about my own age, whose hands had been tied up to his neck with a rope, spoke to me. The women were all gathered together a little way off. He asked me, 'Take me by the rope and lead me over to where the women are so that I can say something, and then bring me back and you can do with me whatever you will.'

"I replied that what he had asked was easily granted and took his rope and led him over to stand near them. He then said, 'Ḥubaysh, accept that life is at an end.' He then spoke the following verses,

> 'Don't you agree that when I sought and found you at
> Ḥilya or came to you at al-Khawāniq
> Was it not right to reward a lover who had travelled
> hard through long nights and hot days?
> There was no blame in my saying, when our peoples were
> together,
> "Grant me love, before some tragedy occurs."
> "Grant me love before distance intervenes and the chief
> leads my lover away."
> I never betrayed our secret pact and, after meeting
> you, was never attracted by another.
> And even when distracted from love by tribal matters,
> my passion persisted.'

"She replied, 'May you live on for ten, or nine odd numbered years and then eight more in succession!'

"I then led him back and he was beheaded."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate, quoting Abū Firās b. Abū Sanbala al-Aslamī who quoted some of their sheikhs, from others who were present there, to the effect that the girl, Ḥubaysh, went over to him when he was beheaded and bent down over, kissing him until she herself died right there with him!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Ḥumaydī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq, who said that he heard a man of Muzayna named Ibn ʿIṣām quote his father as having said, "The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) would say when he sent out a military expedition, 'If you see a mosque or hear a call to prayer, do not kill anyone.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send us out on one such mission and so ordered us. We headed towards Tihāma and caught up with a man leading some *howdahs*, camel-borne litters. We told him, 'Accept Islam!' He replied, 'What is Islam?' We explained, but he would not recognize it. He then asked what we would do if he declined. We told him we would kill him. He then asked if we would wait while he went over to the *howdahs*. We agreed to take him over there. When he reached there, he called out, '*Islamī*! Accept Islam, Ḥubaysh! before life comes to an end.' She replied, '*Islam*! "be safe", for ten and nine odd-numbered years and then eight more in succession.'

"The man then spoke the verses (given above) as far as 'and the chief leads my lover away' and came back to us, saying, 'Do as you wish.' So we led him off and beheaded him. The woman then hurried down from her *howdah*, threw herself down upon him and died."

Al-Bayhaqī proceeded to relate, through Abū Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī, who quoted Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥarb al-Marwazī, quoting 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazīd al-Naḥwī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth an expedition that captured booty, along with a man. He told the raiders that he did not belong there and was in love with a woman he had been pursuing. He asked to see her one more time, and that then they could do with him whatever they wished. A tall woman of dark complexion was there and he said to her, "Accept, Ḥubaysh, before life comes to an end." He then spoke two verses. She responded, "Yes, I would sacrifice myself for you!"

The narration continued "When they led him away and beheaded him, she came and threw herself upon him, sighed deeply once or twice and died.

"When they arrived back and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he exclaimed, 'Was there not one man of mercy among you?'"

THE DISPATCH OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD TO DESTROY AL-'UZZĀ.

Ibn Jarīr stated that its destruction occurred five days before the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd to al-'Uzzā. There was a building at a palm-grove that Quraysh, Kināna and Muḍar revered. Its custodians and guardians were of Banū Shaybān, of Banū Sulaym, allies of Banū Hāshim. When the Sulamī who was its guardian heard that Khālid was coming, he hung his sword upon the Goddess and hurried away up the mountain where she stood, saying,

> 'O 'Azz, make an all-out attack on Khālid; throw aside
> your veil and roll up your sleeves!

> O ʿAzz, if you don't kill that man, Khālid, then you
> will meet swift punishment or convert to Islam!'

"When Khālid reached there he destroyed it, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidī and others related that when he arrived there, it was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān. Having smashed it, he returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, "And what was it you saw?" "I saw nothing," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him back and when he arrived there he saw a black female emerge from the temple, her hair dishevelled and wailing. He then put her to the sword and spoke the verse,

> 'O ʿUzza, and such is for disbelief, and not glorifying
> God; I see that God has indeed disgraced you.'

He then went on to lay waste to that temple in which she had been. He also confiscated the valuables inside it, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'That was al-ʿUzzā; she'll not be worshipped again.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that the jurist Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Jaʿfar, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, quoting Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Fuḍayl, from al-Walī b. Jamīʿ, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Mecca, he sent Khālid b. al-Walīd out to al-Nakhla, where al-ʿUzzā was. It consisted of a shrine positioned above three acacia trees. He cut down the trees and destroyed the shrine and returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he told him, "Go back; you have done nothing."

Khālid did so and when the temple guardians saw him they hurried off up into the mountain, saying,

> "O ʿUzzā, cut him down! O ʿUzzā, disgrace him! If you
> don't, you'll have to die!"

When Khālid reached there he found a naked female with dishevelled hair piling dirt over her head and face. He put her to the sword and killed her, then returned and reported to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who commented, "Yes, that was al-ʿUzzā."

Chapter: On the period spent by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca.

There is no dispute over his having remained for the rest of Ramaḍān, shortening the prayers and breaking the fast. This is used by some scholars to substantiate their view that travellers who do not resolve upon remaining may shorten the prayers and fast for 18 days, according to one view. According to the other, it is determined by the place where he is.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Qabīṣa, quoting Sufyān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Isḥāq, from Anas b. Mālik, who

said, "We stayed 10 days with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shortening the prayers."

The other scholars related this from numerous lines, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥadramī al-Baṣrī, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by ʿAbdān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting ʿĀṣim, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there for 19 days, performing prayers consisting of two *rakʿas*."

Al-Bukhārī related it also from another line. Al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥuṣayn gave longer versions of both. Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja (related it) from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

In the text of Abū Dāʾūd the period of the stay was 17 days.

Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Shihāb, from ʿĀṣim, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "We stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while travelling for 19 days, shortening the prayers."

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "We therefore shorten the prayer if we stop over for less than 19 days. If our stay is longer, however, we complete the prayer normally."

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ibn ʿAliyya, quoting ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Abū Naḍra, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn as follows, "I went on military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and was present with him at the conquest. He remained (there) for 18 nights performing prayers consisting of only two *rakʿas*, saying, 'You residents, pray four *rakʿas*; we are travellers.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān and he said, "This is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

Abū Dāʾūd then related from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there 15 nights performing shortened prayers. He then said, 'More than one authority quoted this from Ibn Isḥāq without reference to Ibn ʿAbbās.'"

Ibn Idrīs stated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb and others, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Mecca for 15 nights."

Chapter: On the regulations issued by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) (the following *ḥadīth*). And al-Layth stated that Yūnus related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ promised his brother Saʿd that he would gain custody of the son of Zamʿa's slave girl. ʿUtba had said that the boy was his own son. When the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca during its conquest, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ took the boy to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and ʿAbd b. Zamʿa went with him.

"Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated, 'This is the son of my brother; he has sworn to me that he is his son.' ʿAbd b. Zamʿa said, 'Messenger of God, this is my brother; he is Zamʿa's son and was born on his bed.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked at the son of Zamʿa's slave girl and found him to be very like ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ. He then said, 'He is your brother, ʿAbd b. Zamʿa, because he was born on his (your father's) bed.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said (to his wife), 'And you shall put on your veil before him, Sawda!'[121] This was because of the resemblance he saw in him to ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ."

Ibn Shihāb went on to quote ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A child relates to a bed; for a fornicator there is a stone.'"[122]

Ibn Shihāb stated, "Abū Hurayra used to affirm this *ḥadīth* in public."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Ibn Mājah (also) gave it from his *ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was active on the conquest of Mecca, a woman committed theft and her family asked Usāma b. Zayd to intercede (and seek clemency) for her. When Usāma brought the matter up with him, the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) changed colour and he demanded, 'Are you talking to me about a punishment legally prescribed by God?' Usāma replied, 'Please seek God's forgiveness for me, Messenger of God!'

"That evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to make an address. He gave praise to God and went on to say, 'Now then, peoples before you were ruined because if one of them of noble birth were to steal, he would be excused, whereas if a person without power were to do so the penalties of the law would be applied against him. By Him in whose hand rests the soul of Muḥammad, if Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad were to steal, I would cut off her hand!'

"He then ordered that the hand of the woman be amputated. Thereafter she was truly repentant and married."

ʿĀʾisha said, "After that she would sometimes come and visit and I would pass on requests from her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another section (of his work) and Muslim did so from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha.

121. Sawda was the daughter of Zamʿa. Since it was obvious from the boy's appearance that he was not Zamʿa's son, Sawda was not his relative and therefore should not appear before him unveiled.

122. That is, a child is to be identified with the parents with whom he is. Stoning to death is the penalty in Islam for fornication.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of Sabra b. Maʿbad al-Juhanī which says, "At the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to engage in *al-mutʿa*, temporary marriage, when he entered (the town) but by the time he left it he forbade it (the practice)."

In one account the Prophet (ṢAAS) is quoted as saying, "It is certainly *ḥarām*, forbidden; it is *ḥarām* from this day and on to the day of resurrection."

In an account in the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), the *musnad*, as well as in the *sunan*, it is stated that this (the prohibition of *mutʿa* marriages) came at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage". But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of transmission from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, from Abū al-ʿUmays, from Iyyās b. Salama b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "In the year of *awṭāṣ*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condoned temporary marriage with women of three nights duration, but he then forbade it."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The 'year of *awṭās*' means the year of the conquest." This and the *ḥadīth* of Sabra are identical.

I note that those who establish its prohibition in the expedition against Khaybar say that it was twice made permissible and twice prohibited. Al-Shāfiʿī and others give texts to this effect.

The practice is also said to have been both declared permissible and prohibited on more than two occasions. But God knows best. It is also said to have been prohibited only once, on this occasion under discussion, at the conquest of Mecca.

It is also said to have been declared permissible only in case of *al-ḍarūra*, "necessity"; on the basis of this, if necessity exists, it, *al-mutʿa*, is made permissible. This view is attributed to Imām Aḥmad.

It is also said that the practice was not absolutely forbidden, but should be considered *ʿalā al-ibāḥa*, "permissible". This is well-known as the position of Ibn ʿAbbās and his companions, as well as that of a group of the Companions (of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)). Discussion of this occurs in the work *al-Aḥkām*.

DIVISION.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, (who said) that Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related to him that his father, al-Aswad, saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepting pledges of allegiance on the day of the conquest. He said, 'He was seated with Mt. al-Qarn facing him and was accepting the people for their Islam and their *shahāda*.' I asked, 'What is meant by *shahāda*?' He replied, 'Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related that he received their pledge of allegiance (on their expression of) faith in God and their testimony that "there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger."'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "People high and low came to him, men and women both, and he accepted their (affirmation of) Islam and their (recitation of the) *shahāda*.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "People then assembled in Mecca to pledge allegiance in Islam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was seated before thm, so I have been told, on Mt. al-Ṣafā, with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb below where he sat. He accepted (their statements) of total obedience to the best of their ability to God and to His messenger.

"When he had finished receiving the pledges of the men, he accepted those of the women. Among them was Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, fully veiled and apologetic in her speech for what she had done to Ḥamza. She feared that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would punish her for that. When the women came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for him to accept their allegiance, he told them 'Pledge to me that you will not associate anything else with God.' Hind commented, 'Well, I swear, you're making demands of us different from those applied to the men!'

"He went on, 'And do not steal!' She responded, 'I swear by God, I did occasionally steal a little money from Abū Sufyān; I really didn't know whether that was permissible for us or not.' Abū Sufyān, who was a witness to what she was saying, said, 'You are absolved for whatever you took in the past.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'You must be Hind, daughter of ʿUtba?' 'Yes, I am,' she replied. 'Please forgive what is now past, may God forgive you.'

"'And you women must swear not to commit adultery,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on.

"'Does a free woman[123] commit adultery?' Hind asked.

"'And do not kill your children,' he continued. She responded, 'Should we raise them from birth, then kill them when grown? You and they know best about this!'[124] At this ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb laughed uncontrollably.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'And you shall not make up slanderous and disgraceful stories.' 'Well', Hind replied, 'inventing slander is certainly ugly; a little exaggeration is better!'

"'And you must not disobey me,' he went on. Hind responded, 'To do good!'[125]

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to ʿUmar, 'Accept their pledge. And may God forgive them. For God is forgiving, merciful.'"

123. That is, a woman who is not a slave – i.e. "does a woman of good birth (or high standing)".

124. According to al-Ṭabarī's account, Hind responded to this question by saying, "I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!" (Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.)

125. This exchange appears in different form in al-Ṭabarī's account. According to it, the exchange was as follows, "You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good." She said, "We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders!" Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.

ʿUmar then accepted their pledges, for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never shook hands with women. Indeed, the only women he ever touched were those God had made lawful for him, or who were *maḥram*[126] for him.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, that she said, "No, I swear, the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never touched the hand of any woman." In one account the wording is, "And he only ever accepted allegiance verbally from them." And he would say, "Whatever I say to one woman, is just what I would say to 100 women."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is reported from ʿĀʾisha that Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. He does not give me enough to cover expenses for myself and for my children. Would it be wrong for me to take some of his money without his knowledge?" He replied, "You may fairly take from his funds enough for yourself and your children."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, that Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, said, "Messenger of God, there used to be nothing hidden on the face of the earth that I wanted more than that your supporters be humiliated. But now there's nothing hidden in the back of the earth that I want more than that your supporters be successful." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And what else, by Him who holds Muḥammad's soul in His hand?" She said, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. Would it be wrong for me to provide food from what he owns?" "No, but do so *bil-maʿrūf*, 'fairly'."

Al-Bukhārī related this from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr in similar terms. Material relating to the acceptance of Islam by Abū Sufyān is given above.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, '(Now) there is no *hijra*, but there is *jihād*, "striving for God's cause", and *nīyya*, "intentions". If you are fought, then fight back.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, and Muslim did so from Yayḥā b. Yaḥyā, from Jarīr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting Wahb, quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, who said that he was told, "that only those who migrated will enter paradise". So I (the father of Ṭāwūs?) said, "I'll not go home until I ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what it was he was asked. So I went to him, told him of this and he responded, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest of Mecca. However, there is *jihād* and *nīyya*; and if you are fought, then fight back.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

126. That is, in a degree of consanguinity to him that precluded marriage.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd, who said, 'I went with Abū Maʿbad to the Prophet (ṢAAS) so that he could make a pledge to him to make the *hijra*. He replied, "The *hijra* is over,[127] (reserved) for those who did it. I accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam and for the *jihād*."'

"I met Abū Maʿbad and asked him (about this) and he replied, 'Mujāshiʿ spoke the truth.'"

Khālid stated, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Mujāshiʿ, that he brought his brother Mujālid with him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAmr b. Khālid related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān, who said, "Mujāshiʿ related to me as follows, 'After the conquest of Mecca, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with my brother and said, "Messenger of God, I've brought you my brother for you to accept his pledge for the *hijra*." He replied, "Those (credited with) performing the *hijra*, with all its rewards, have gone." "For what will you accept his pledge, then?" I asked. "I will accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam, to faith and to the *jihād*."

"'I later met with Abū Maʿbad, who was the elder of them, and asked him (about it). He replied, "Mujāshiʿ spoke the truth."'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Bishr, from Mujāhid, who said, "I said to Ibn ʿUmar, 'I want to migrate to Syria.' He replied, 'There is no *hijra*; however, do go and present yourself. You'll either find something or just return.'"

Abū al-Naḍr stated that Shuʿba related to him, quoting Abū Bishr who said that he heard Mujāhid say, "I asked Ibn ʿUmar and he said, 'There's no *hijra* now' – or 'after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'" The rest of the *ḥadith* is as above.

Ishāq b. Yazīd related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAbda b. Abū Lubāba, from Mujāhid b. Jubayr, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar said, "There is no *hijra* after the conquest."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Yazīd related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, quoting al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, who said, "I visited ʿĀʾisha with ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr who asked her about the *hijra*. She replied, 'There is no *hijra* now. The believers used to flee, each one singly with his religion, to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to His messenger, fearing his faith might be subverted. Now God has rendered Islam victorious and the believer worships God wherever he wishes. However, there is *jihād* and *nīyya*.'"

These accounts and anecdotes show that the *hijra*, whether already completed or in general, came to an end after the conquest of Mecca. This was because people

127. This implies that following the conquest of Mecca migration to join Islam was no longer valid. Previously participation in the *hijra* had been an action for which there would be reward.

had entered into God's religion in large numbers and Islam had become victorious and firmly based; and so there was no *hijra* any more.

This is so unless there might be some circumstances arising that necessitate *hijra*, due to the close presence of warfare and a lack of power to make the faith prevail over them; this would then necessitate *hijra* into the domain of Islam. This is a matter about which there is no dispute among scholars.

However, such a *hijra* would not be similar to that of prior to the conquest. Moreover, both *jihād* and *infāq*, "sacrifice", for God's cause are appropriate and desirable right up to Judgement Day, though not like that *jihād* and *infāq* that pertained to the conquest, that is the conquest of Mecca.

God, Almighty is He, stated, "Those of you who made sacrifices and fought prior to the conquest are not equivalent; those are higher in rank than those who made sacrifices and fought thereafter. But for both God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10).

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "When the verse, 'when God's victory and the conquest came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1) was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited it to its end and then he said, 'The people are good and I and my Companions are good.' He then said, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest, but there is *jihād* and *nīyya*.'

"Marwān said to him (Abū Sa'īd), 'You have lied! With him there were Rāfi' b. Khadīj and Zayd b. Thābit, seated with him on the bed.' Abū Sa'īd responded, 'If these two wanted, they would tell you it was so. But this one is afraid that you will withdraw his prestige with his people, while this other one is afraid you will withdraw the stipend he receives!'

"At this Marwān raised his whip to strike him and when the two men saw this, they said, 'He spoke the truth!'"

Aḥmad is alone in relating this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, quoting Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "'Umar would take me in with the sheikhs who had been at Badr. One of them seemed annoyed and said, 'Why do you let him come in with us, when we have sons like him?' 'Umar replied, 'But you know who he is.' One day 'Umar invited them and I went in with them; I did not realize that he had only included me to show them something. 'Umar asked, 'What do you have to say about the statement of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'When God's victory and the conquest come"?' One of the sheikhs replied, 'We are ordered to praise God and to seek His forgiveness if we are aided and given victory.' Others of them were silent, saying nothing. 'Umar asked, 'Is that what you say, Ibn 'Abbās?' 'No,' I replied. 'Well, what do you say?' he asked. I replied, 'This refers to the approach of death for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which God was informing him. (The phrase)

'When God's victory and the conquest come' was a sign of your (the Prophet's) death. And so, 'give praise to your Lord and ask his forgiveness. He is ever willing to forgive'. At that ʿUmar said (to the sheikhs) 'I do not know anything about it other than what he knows.'"

Al-Bukhārī was alone in recounting this.

This is related similarly on more than one line of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās, all to the effect that he interpreted this verse as a reference to the approaching death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Mujāhid, Abū al-ʿĀliyya al-Ḍaḥḥāk and others, including Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with them both, also subscribed to this interpretation.

There is also a *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad who quoted it through Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, ʿAṭāʾ, and Saʿīd b. Jubayr back to Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the verse, 'When God's victory and the conquest come' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I have been given notice of my death"' – that is, that he would be taken away (by God) that year."

Imām Aḥmad is alone in including in his chain of transmission ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī. This *ḥadīth* has weakness noted by several *imāms*. In the text there is a phrase which is completely inappropriate. Namely, the statement that "he would be taken away that year". This is foolish, because the conquest was in the year 8 AH, in Ramaḍān, as related above. This is something beyond dispute.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of 11 AH, again something beyond dispute.

Similar is the *ḥadīth* related by *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī, may God have mercy upon him, (who stated as follows), "Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Wakīʿī related to us, quoting his father, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Abū al-ʿUmays, from Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Jahm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The last *sūra* of the entire Qurʾān that was revealed in its entirety was, "When God's victory and the conquest came."'"

This is also unacceptable. Its chain of authorities is also problematic. It is likely that what is meant is that it is the last *sūra* of the Qurʾān that was revealed in its entirety. But God knows best.

We have sufficiently discussed interpretation of this noble *sūra*; and to God belong all praise and credit.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from ʿAmr b. Salama (who said) that Abū Qalāba asked him, "Won't you meet him and ask him?" So I did meet him and did ask him. He replied, "We were at a water-source by which people passed and we would ask them, 'What is wrong with the people? What is that man doing?' They would reply, 'He claims that God has sent him and revealed to him such-and-such.' I would learn those words by heart and would feel as though they were implanted inside me. These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, 'Leave him for his own people to

take care of him! If he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth.'

"When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, 'I swear by God that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth!' He, (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the *adhān*, the summons to prayer. And then which ever one of you knows the Qur'ān best should lead the prayer.' So they enquired but found no one who knew more Qur'ān than I did, because of what I had been learning from the passing caravans.

"And so they appointed me to lead them in prayer; I was six or seven years old at the time. I used to be dressed in a *burda*, a short, squared garment, and when I prostrated it would ride up (and expose me). A woman of the tribe asked, 'Couldn't you cover over for us the anus of your reciter?' So they bought cloth and made a shirt for me. And nothing had ever made me so happy as that shirt did!"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in recounting this; Muslim did not.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST HAWĀZIN; THE BATTLE OF ḤUNAYN.

God Almighty stated, "God aided you on many battlefields and at the battle of Ḥunayn, when your large numbers made you confident, but they were of no use to you and the earth was constrained all about you, spacious though it was! Then you turned back, retreating. Thereafter God sent down his sense of calm[128] upon His messenger and upon the believers and He sent down forces which you did not see and He punished those who disbelieved; that is the reward of unbelievers. Then, after that, God will turn towards whomever He wishes; and God is Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat al-Barā'a*; IX, v.25–7).

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār related in his book that the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Hawāzin came after the conquest, on the 5th of Shawwāl, 8 AH. He also claimed that the conquest took place ten days before the end of Ramaḍān, fifteen days before his departure against Hawāzin.

This is related similarly from Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated this, and Aḥmad preferred it, as did Ibn Jarīr in his history.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against Hawāzin on the 6th day of Shawwāl and he reached Ḥunayn on the 10th of that month. Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', stated, 'We'll not be defeated today because of size.'[129] Then they were defeated; the first defeated were Banū Sulaym, then the Meccans, then the remainder of the force."

128. The word used is *sakīna*; for discussion of this word, see Lane, op. cit. under *sakana*.

129. The implication is that the substantial numbers of the Muslims engaging would ensure victory.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that when Hawāzin heard about how God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), their leader, Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, gathered them together. All of Thaqīf assembled with Hawāzin and they were joined by Naṣr and all Jusham, along with Saʿd b. Bakr and a few men of Banū Hilāl. Of Qays ʿAylān, only these were present. Of Hawāzin, (the clans of) Kaʿb and Kilāb did not attend and no noteworthy person of them was there. Among Banū Jusham there was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, an elderly sheikh who was capable of speaking advice and giving his knowledge of warfare; he was a man of very great experience. Thaqīf had two leaders; in the Aḥlāf there was Qārib b. al-Aswad b. Masʿūd b. Muʿattib. In Banū Mālik there were Dhū al-Khimār Subayʿ b. al-Ḥārith and his brother Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith. The overall command was under Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī.

Ibn Isḥāq's account continued, "When he had made the decision to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he had the people bring their possessions along with their women and their children with them. When they halted at Awṭās, his force gathered around him; among them was Durayd b. al-Simma in a kind of *howdah* in which he was borne along. When they halted, Durayd asked, 'In which valley are you?' 'In Awṭās,' they replied. He commented, 'A fine place for cavalry! It's not hilly with rocks, nor is it soft ground. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels and the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' They replied that Mālik b. ʿAwf had had the force bring their possessions, women and children with them. 'And where is Mālik?' asked Durayd. 'He is here,' they told him and summoned him.

"Durayd then said to him, 'Mālik, you have become your people's leader and this is a day that will greatly influence the future. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels, the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' He replied, 'I had the people bring their children and possessions with them.' 'Why was this?' Durayd asked. Mālik replied, 'I wanted every man to have his family and possessions behind him so that he would fight for them.'

"On hearing this, Durayd made a sound of disapproval and commented, 'You cowardly sheep grazer! Would anything ever turn around someone in retreat? If the battle is to go well, it will be only men with swords and lances who do you good. If the battle goes badly, you'll be disgraced with regards to your family and possessions anyway.'

"Durayd then asked, 'What have Kaʿb and Kilāb done?' 'No one from them is present,' he replied. 'So then skill and courage are absent! If it were to be a day of fine, noble deeds, Kaʿb and Kilāb would not miss it. I wish you had done the same as them! Who is attending with you?' They told him that ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir and ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir were present. He responded, 'Well, those two branches of ʿĀmir will do neither good nor harm.' He then said, 'Mālik, you've done nothing (good) by sending ahead the main force of Hawāzin to face up to the cavalry.'

"Durayd then told Mālik b. ʿAwf, 'Send them up high to some inaccessible area of their people's territory, then meet the turncoat apostates on horse. If the

battle goes in your favour, then your people behind you can join you. If it goes against you, then you will have saved your families and possessions.'

"Mālik replied, 'By God, I'll not do that! You've grown old and so has your mind!' He went on, 'Hawāzin, either you obey me, or I'll press myself down on this sword until it comes out through my back!' He hated Durayd to have any say or credit. They said they would obey him.

"Durayd then said, 'This is a battle in which I did not participate, nor did I miss it.' He then spoke the following verses,

'How I wish I were a youth once more! I would speed
forth into the battle
I would lead on long-maned horses as though they were
young donkeys.'

"Mālik then told everyone, 'When you see them, then break your swords from their sheaths and charge at them as one man!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān related to me that he was told that Mālik b. ʿAwf sent out some of his men as scouts. When they came back their joints had become dislocated. 'What happened to you?' he asked them. They replied, 'We saw some white men mounted on piebald horses. And all of a sudden, we were afflicted as you see us now.' And, by God, even that did not deter him from his plan."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard about them, he sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī with orders to infiltrate them and report back. He did so, and when he had learned of their plan to wage war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and heard (of the role of) Mālik and Hawāzin and their intentions, he came back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and so informed him.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had decided to go forth against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayya had a stock of coats of armour and weapons. He therefore sent to Ṣafwān – still at that time a polytheist – and asked him to loan his equipment for the Muslims to use against their enemies next day.

"Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you going to take them (from me) by force, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'No. They will be a loan and guaranteed for return to you.' 'I've no objection to that,' he responded. He then gave him 100 coats of mail and sufficient weapons. Some maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him also to transport the equipment and that he agreed."

This is the account as given, without a full line of transmission, by Ibn Isḥāq.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated this from Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father. And also from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, al-Zuhrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm and others, the account of Ḥunayn is given similarly to above. The story of the armour is also as above. In that account, when Ibn Abū Ḥadrad returned and

reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Hawāzin, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questioned his veracity. Ibn Abū Ḥadrad responded, 'If you call my honesty into question, ʿUmar, you'd probably call truth itself into question!' ʿUmar asked, 'Do you hear what he is saying, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'You were going astray, but God gave you guidance.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Shurayk, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafiʿ, from Umayya b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed armour from (Ibn) Umayya at the battle of Ḥunayn. (Ibn) Umayya responded, 'Are you taking them by force, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'No, it's a loan, return guaranteed.'"

He went on to relate that some of the armour was lost and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offered to make good on his guarantee of their return and that (Ibn) Umayya responded, "Today it's Islam I want, Messenger of God."

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Al-Nasāʾī included it from an account of Isrāʾīl, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafiʿ, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj from ʿAṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj, from ʿAṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of armour and horses from Ṣafwān. He related the remainder of the *ḥadīth* as above.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that it was related to him by Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, quoting Jarīr, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafiʿ, from people of the family of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Ṣafwān, do you have any weapons?" Ṣafwān responded, "As a willing loan or by force?" "As a loan," he replied. Ṣafwān then loaned him between 30 and 40 coats of mail and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Ḥunayn. When the polytheists were defeated, Ṣafwān's armour was collected and some was found to be missing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Ṣafwān, "We have lost some of your armour. Shall we pay you compensation?" "No, Messenger of God," he replied. "There is now in my heart what was not present that day."

This is also *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth accompanied by 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his men who had come out with him and through whom God had conquered Mecca. They totalled 12,000 men."

I note that according to the statements of ʿUrwa, al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba, the total number of the 2 armies with which he faced Hawāzin was 14,000, since he had brought 12,000 to Mecca, in their view, and 2,000 of the *al-ṭulaqāʾ*[130] had been joined to these.

130. The word means "those set free". The term is applied to the Meccans who remained polytheists until the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq related that he went out from Mecca on the 5th of Shawwāl, and that he appointed ʿAttāb b. Usayd b. Abū al-ʿAīṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams al-Umawī in command of Mecca.

I note that ʿAttāb was at that time approximately 20 years of age.

Ibn Isḥāq related further how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had proceeded on to meet Hawāzin, and he then quoted the *qaṣīda*, the ode, of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī on that activity. Some of its verses were,

> "Take to all Hawāzin, their high and low, a message
> from me, giving them clear advice:
> 'I think that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will attack
> you in the morning with his army.
> Among them will be your brother Sulaym who will not let
> you leave, along with the Muslims, God's servants, of
> Ghassān.
> On his right flank there will be Banū Asad, and the
> well-tried tribes of ʿAbs and Dhubyān.
> The earth will almost shake with fear at Him, and in
> his vanquard will be Aws and ʿUthmān.'"

Ibn Isḥāq pointed out that Aws and ʿUthmān were clans of Muzayna.

He went on, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān al-Dīlī, from Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, that al-Ḥārith b. Mālik said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Ḥunayn, having only recently emerged from the *jāhilīyya*.

"'We travelled on with him to Ḥunayn. The Quraysh unbelievers and other Arabs revered a great green tree called *Dhāt Anwāṭ*; they would go to it each year and hang on it their weapons, make sacrifices near it and spend the day there.

"'As we travelled on with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we saw a great green lote tree and we called out from all sides of the path, "O Messenger of God, establish for us a *Dhāt Anwāṭ* such as they have." He responded, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!" By Him who holds my soul in His hand, you speak as did the people of Moses to him, "Make for us a god like the god they have!" You are an ignorant, foolish people! These are *sunan*, ancient practices! You would re-establish the ancient practices of your forebears!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, from Ṣufyān. Al-Nasā'ī related it from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, both of them drawing it from al-Zuhrī, just as did Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Ibn Abū Ḥātim related it, in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) through Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, from his father, from his grandfather, *marfūʿan*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Abū Tūba related to him, quoting Mu'āwiya b. Sallām, from Zayd b. Sallām, that he heard Abū Sallām quote al-Salūlī, who said that Sahl

b. al-Ḥanẓaliyya related to him, that when they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer at *al-ẓuhr*, noontime, a horseman arrived, who said, "Messenger of God, I went on ahead of you, went up Mt. such-and-such and Mt. such-and-such and then I came across Hawāzin in their entirety, complete with their sedan-borne women, their livestock camels and their sheep, all gathered at Ḥunayn.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, 'Tomorrow all that will be booty for the Muslims, if God will it!' He then asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' Anas b. Abū Marthad replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then mount up,' he told him.

"He went and mounted a mare, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Go on up into this defile till you reach its top; we don't want to be exposed to danger from ahead tonight.'

"Next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the place for prayer and performed two *rakʿas* of prayer. He then asked, 'Have you perceived anything from your mounted guard?' When they said they had not, he made a call for prayer and performed it, glancing up towards the defile until it was over. He then announced, 'Good news! Your horseman has come!' As he said this he was looking through the tree into the defile and the mounted man then appeared and stopped in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reported that he had gone right up to the top of the defile, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had looked out over both defiles when morning came and had not seen anyone. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'Did you dismount at all during the night?' He replied, 'No; except to pray or to relieve myself.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have done your duty; don't worry about not doing it hereafter!'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it similarly, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Ḥarrānī, from Abū Tūba al-Rabīʿ b. Nāfiʿ.

Chapter: On the conduct of the battle; how at first there was flight and then it ended in favour of the pious.

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār as saying, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father, who said, 'Mālik b. ʿAwf went forth with others to Ḥunayn, where he arrived before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They prepared and positioned themselves for battle in the narrows and twists of the valley.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force arrived in the valley in the half-light of dawn. As the men descended the enemy cavalry appeared before them and bore down on them. Our men broke ranks and fled, no one caring about the others.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away to the right, calling out, "Where are you going, men? Come to me; I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh!"

"'But it did no good. The camels were all over one another. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of the men ...[131] With him a group of men of his family: ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brother Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās. And, it is said, al-Faḍl b. Abū Sufyān, Aymān b. Umm Aymān, Usāma b. Zayd. Some include with them Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

"'Al-ʿAbbās was gripping the mouth-ring of his white donkey that he was riding, having struck it to open its mouth.'"[132]

He (Ibn Isḥāq) continued, "There was one man of Hawāzin mounted on a red camel who carried a black banner on the end of a long spear; he was ahead of and leading Hawāzin who were behind him. When he overtook someone, he would thrust his spear at him; if he missed the man, then he would raise his spear as a sign to those behind him and they would follow the man.

"While he was engaged in this, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib fell upon him, accompanied by an *anṣārī*. ʿAlī approached him from behind and struck the hocks of the camel and it fell on its rump. The *anṣārī* then leapt on the man and gave him a blow that severed his foot, along with half his leg, so that he fell from his saddle.

"The men went on fighting hard and when those who had fled in defeat returned, they found bound prisoners assembled near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who had stood fast that day and had well and truly accepted Islam and was holding the back of the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Who is this?' Abū Sufyān replied, 'I'm your mother's son, Messenger of God.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the enemy had been defeated, some of the Arab toughs began to reveal their ill-will. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb (whose acceptance of Islam was still fresh and who was still that day carrying divining arrows) said,

131. The Arabic printed text is defective at this point. The account, as given in Guillaume's translation, continues as follows: "The men ran away, except that a number of Muhājirs and Anṣār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirs who stood firm were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; of his family ..." From this point the Arabic printed text seems intact, as above.

132. At this point the Arabic text seems defective and ill-ordered. In Ibn Isḥaq's account as translated by Guillaume, this quotation is part of a separate passage quoting the words of the father of Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.569.

'Their defeat won't end before the sea!' Kalada (or Jabala) b. al-Ḥanbal, who was there with his brother – on his mother's side – Ṣafwān b. Umayya (he still being a polytheist, during the respite granted him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) cried out, 'Magic is definitely useless now!' Ṣafwān responded, 'Be silent, may God close your mouth! I swear, I'd sooner have a man of Quraysh be my leader than any of Hawāzin!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān b. Muslim, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas b. Mālik, that, "Hawāzin brought their women, children, camels and livestock with them to the battle of Ḥunayn and lined them up so that they would outnumber (the supporters of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And when the forces met, the Muslims did retreat, as God Almighty stated. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'O *anṣār*, I am God's servant and His messenger.' And God defeated the polytheists; and he was neither struck by a sword, nor pierced by a lance."

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated that day, 'Whoever kills an unbeliever shall own the booty from him.' Abū Ṭalḥa killed that day 20 men and took booty from them.

"Abū Qatāda stated, 'O Messenger of God, I struck a man on his shoulder vein; he was wearing armour, but I was forced away from him. Would you see who took it?' At that a man arose and said, 'I'm the one who took it. You should compensate him for it and award it to me.' Whenever a request was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he either agreed to it or remained silent. This time he remained silent and ʿUmar spoke up, 'I swear, God would not compensate one of God's lions and give it to you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'ʿUmar has spoken the truth.'"

He (Imām Aḥmad) said, "Abū Ṭalḥa met Umm Sulaym who had a dagger with her. Abū Ṭalḥa asked, 'What is that?' She replied, 'If one of the polytheists comes near me, I'll stick him in the stomach!' Abū Ṭalḥa commented, 'Did you hear what Umm Sulaym said?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and Umm Sulaym asked, 'Messenger of God, execute those *ṭulaqāʾ*, Meccan converts, at our rear who deserted you!' He replied, 'God has already done well and enough, Umm Sulaym.'"

Muslim also narrated from him the story of Umm Sulaym's dagger, and Abū Dāʾūd related it along with a statement from him (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) that, "Whoever kills someone (an enemy) will have the man's booty." Both these authorities quoted from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

The comment given above as ʿUmar's is controversial; it is widely believed to have been made by Abū Bakr, "the Trusting".

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith related to him, quoting his father, quoting Nāfiʿ Abū Ghālib, (who said) that he was present when Anas b. Mālik was asked, by al-ʿAlā b. Ziyād al-ʿAdawī, "Abū Ḥamza, what age was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he received his mission?' He replied that he was 40 years of age. 'And what happened then?' he was asked. He

replied, 'Thereafter he was 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina. When he had completed 60 years of age, God took him to Himself.' He was asked, 'At that time, what was he like, relative to the age of others?' 'He was the most youthful of men, handsome and well-built,' he replied.

"Al-'Alā' then asked, 'Abū Ḥamza, did you ever participate in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'Yes, I was on the expedition to al-Ḥunayn with him. The polytheists came forth and attacked us early in the morning and soon we saw our cavalry round at our rear. Among the polytheists there was one man who was really devastating us. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, he dismounted and then God defeated them and they retreated. When he saw that victory was won, he had them brought to him as captives, one by one, and they would pledge allegiance in Islam to him. One of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I have sworn that if that man who had been devastating us were brought, I would behead him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent, and the man referred to was brought up. When the man saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "Messenger of God, I turn in repentance to God!" He refrained from accepting the man's pledge of allegiance so that his Companion could fulfil his vow. The latter kept looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of whom he was in awe, waiting for him to tell him to kill the man. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that he was not going to do anything, he accepted the prisoner's pledge of allegiance. His Companion then asked, "What about my oath, Messenger of God?" He replied, "I've only refrained from accepting his oath till now so that you could fulfil your oath." The Companion asked, "Messenger of God, could you not have gestured to me?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to gesture."'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Aḥmad (also) stated that it was related to him by Yazīd, quoting Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "One of the prayers spoken by the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn was, 'O God, if You wish it, You will not be worshipped on earth after today!'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and meets the criteria of the two sheikhs.[133] However, none of the compilers of the (canonical) collections included it with this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Isḥāq, who heard al-Barā' b. 'Āzib being questioned by a man of Qays as to whether he and others had deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn. He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not fled. The Hawāzin were good archers. They fled when we attacked, but when we charged at the booty, they shot arrows at us. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his white mule, its reins being held by Abū Sufyān, and the former was saying, 'I am undoubtedly the Prophet!'"

133. That is, al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Al-Bukhārī also related this from Abū al-Walīd, from Shuʿba, the Messenger of God's words having been,

> "I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Isrāʾīl and Zuhayr quoted this from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, with the addition of the words, "And then he dismounted from his mule."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related it from Bandār. Muslim added Abū Mūsā to the chain. Both traced it back to Ghundar.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said that he then dismounted, calling for help and saying,

> "I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. O God, send down Your help!"

Al-Barāʾ went on, "When the fighting became most intense, we would seek protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); those who were brave would imitate him."

Al-Bayhaqī related from various lines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that day, "I am al-ʿAwātik's[134] son."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl al-Asfāṭī, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Wāsiṭī, quoting Hushaym, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, from Shabbāba, from Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Sulamī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of al-Ḥunayn, "I am al-ʿAwātik's son!"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *from* ʿAmr b. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, from Abū Muḥammad, freed-man of Abū Qatāda, from Abū Qatāda, who said, "We accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into battle at Ḥunayn. When we clashed, the Muslims retreated. I saw one of the polytheists overpowering one of the Muslims, so I struck him with my sword from behind on his shoulder vein, cutting through his armour. But he charged at me and pinned me down so hard I felt near death. However, he died and so released me. I caught up with ʿUmar and asked, 'What's wrong with everyone?' 'It is God's decree,' he replied.

"Later they (the Muslims) returned (to the battle) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat and stated, 'Whoever killed one of the enemy and has a witness to it can claim the dead man's possessions.' So I arose and asked, 'Who will be my witness?' I then sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said, and again I arose, asking for someone to be my witness; and then I sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated his statement, and again I arose. He now asked, 'What is wrong, Abū Qatāda?' I related what I had done and a man

134. A word meaning an ancient bow – an honorific title for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

then got up and said, 'He speaks the truth. I have the dead man's possessions, so compensate Abū Qatāda for me.' Abū Bakr then said, 'Absolutely not, by God! You cannot expect a lion of God to fight for God and His messenger, then for him to give you the booty he won!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'He (Abū Bakr) spoke the truth; give it back to him!' The man did so and I used it to purchase a piece of land from Banū Salama; it was the first money I earned after accepting Islam."

The rest of the scholarly community, except al-Nasā'ī, related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Layth b. Sa'd related, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from 'Amr b. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, from Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of Abū Qatāda, who quoted Abū Qatāda as saying, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, I noticed one of the Muslims fighting a polytheist, while another of the polytheists was sneaking up behind the Muslims to kill him. So I charged at the second polytheist, who raised his hand to hit me, but I struck it and cut it off. However, he seized me and pulled me to himself so hard I feared (I would die). Then he went down, loosening his grip, and I pushed him away and killed him. After that the Muslims retreated, as did I myself. Then I saw 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb amid the army and asked him, 'What's wrong with everyone?' He replied, 'It is God's decree.'

"After that the men returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (after defeating the enemy) and he announced, 'Whoever can provide proof of his having killed an enemy shall receive his (the dead man's) possessions.' So I stood up to look for some proof of my having killed an enemy, but since I could not see anyone who could testify for me, I sat down again. Then it seemed to me I should tell to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what had happened (and did so). One of the men sitting there said, 'I have the weapons belonging to the man slain to whom he is referring; give him compensation for me.' Abū Bakr said, 'Indeed not; he will not give anything to some little hyena of Quraysh what belongs to one of God's lions who fought for God and His messenger.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and awarded it to me and I used it to buy a piece of land. It was the first property I earned."

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places, as did Muslim. Both drew it from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Sa'd.

It is given above from an account of Nāfi' Abū Ghālib, from Anas, that the man who spoke up on the occasion was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Perhaps he said it following Abū Bakr, or in substantiation or agreement of his words. Or there may have been some confusion over who spoke thus. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that it was related to him by 'Āṣim b. 'Umar, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from his father Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS), when he saw how people were behaving at the battle of Ḥunayn, as saying, "ʿAbbās! Call out: 'O *anṣār*! O people of the tree!'" (When he did so) they responded, "*Labbayka*! *Labbayka*! At Your service! At Your service!" The men then tried to turn their mounts, and when they failed to do so, they threw off their armour from around their necks, took their swords and shields and headed in the direction of his voice. Eventually some 100 of them were gathered about him and they made a stand and fought on. The first call he made was to the *anṣār*, then another was made to (Banū) Khazraj. They were steadfast in the battle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked out at his mounted men and the fierce battle waging and commented, "The fires of war are really hot now!"

Al-Bayhaqī went on, "By the time all the force had returned around him, the prisoners were already bound, and there with them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God destroyed many of them and caused many to flee. He awarded to His messenger their possessions and children."

Ibn Lahīʿa stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhrī, that after God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he had rested, he went out against Hawāzin, accompanied by the people of Mecca, some mounted, others on foot. Even the women left too, walking; they did so not for religious reasons but to watch and to bring back the booty. And they would not have minded if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had lost.

They also stated that he was accompanied by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Ṣafwān b. Umayya. The wife of the latter was a Muslim, while he was still a polytheist. But they (the couple) had not been separated.[135]

ʿUrwa stated, "The leader of the polytheists that day was Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī. With him was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, much suffering from his advanced age. Also accompanying them were their womenfolk, children and livestock. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ahead ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad as a scout. He spent the night with the enemy force and heard Mālik b. ʿAwf say to his companions, 'When morning comes, attack them as one man. Break the scabbards of your swords and position your livestock and women in separate lines.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām positioned themselves apart and to the rear to observe which side would prevail. The Muslim forces were ranged into lines and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted his grey mule, went out to meet each line and urged them to fight hard, encouraging them that they would be victorious if they remained steadfast.

"While they were so engaged, the polytheists attacked the Muslims as one man. The Muslims engaged in one round of fighting, then turned around and retreated. Ḥāritha b. al-Nuʿmān commented, 'I estimated the number remaining with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the retreat to be 100 men.'

135. The fact that the couple did not share the same faith did not cause the dissolution of their marriage.

"People say that one of the Quraysh men passed by Ṣafwān b. Umayya and said, 'I bring good news of the defeat of Muḥammad and his men. I swear, they will never recover.' Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you telling me it's good news for the bedouin to win? I swear, I much prefer a man of Quraysh than a bedouin as my master.' Ṣafwān was angry for this reason."

῾Urwa went on, "Ṣafwān sent a slave of his ahead, telling him, 'Listen for who is making the war cry.' When he came back, he said, 'I heard them saying, "O Banū ῾Abd al-Raḥmān! O Banū ῾Abd Allāh! O Banū ῾Ubayd Allāh!"' He (Ṣafwān) said, 'Muḥammad has won! Those were their war cries.'"

The sources stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the thick of the battle, he stood up in his stirrups while he rode the mule and raised his hands praying to God, saying, 'O God, I appeal to You to fulfil Your promise to me. O God, it must not be that they defeat us!' He called for his men and urged them on, 'O men who were at the Ḥudaybiyya truce! God! God! Things are turning against Your prophet.' It is said that he incited them by saying, 'O *anṣār* of God and of His messenger! O Banū al-Khazraj! O people of *sūrat al-Baqara*!' And he assigned some of his Companions to call this out."

They went on, "He also picked up a handful of pebbles and cast them into the faces and on to the heads of the polytheists, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'

"His men then hurriedly gathered around him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Now the fires of war are heating up!' God then defeated His enemies wherever He had cast His pebbles at them. The Muslims pursued them, killing them. And God gave them their women and offspring as booty. Mālik b. ῾Awf fled and entered the fort of al-Ṭā᾽if, along with some of his people's leaders.

"Many of the people of Mecca accepted Islam when they saw God's victory for His messenger (ṢAAS) and the way He had honoured His religion."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Wahb stated that it was told to him by Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, who said that Kathīr b. al-῾Abbās b. ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib quoted al-῾Abbās as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn; I and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith kept close to him throughout. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was riding a white mule presented to him by Farwa b. Nufātha al-Jadhāmī. When the forces met, the Muslims turned back in flight. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suddenly urged his mule on towards the polytheists. I held tight to its bridle, trying to slow it down, while Abū Sufyān gripped the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cried out, 'Hey, ῾Abbās, call for the men of the acacia tree!' I swear, it was as though, on hearing my voice, I had gained their attention as does a cow her young! They responded, '*Yā labbaykāh*! *Yā labbaykāh*! At Your service! At Your service!'

"They and the polytheists then engaged in battle, while the *anṣār* criers shouted, 'O *anṣār*!' Then the cry was repeated directly to Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on his mule, stared over at them, as though stretching forward to battle them himself, and said, 'This is when the fires of war will heat up!' Then he picked up gravel which he threw into the faces of the unbelievers and said, 'May you be defeated, by Muḥammad's Lord!' I had been watching, and as far as I could see the fighting was progressing as before. But no sooner had he thrown the gravel than the enemy's enthusiasm dulled and they retreated."

Muslim narrated this about Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb in similar terms. He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī in similar terms.

Muslim also related, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "We fought the battle of Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we confronted the enemy, I advanced up a mountain path where I found a polytheist, at whom I shot an arrow. He hid from me and I did not know what became of him. I then saw the enemy coming up another mountain path. They clashed with the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who turned back. I retreated too. I had two striped garments, in one of which I was dressed, the other draped over me. I untied my waist-wrapper and joined both striped garments together. Then I retreated, passing by the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was mounted on his grey mule. He commented, 'Ibn al-Akwaʿ has seen something frightening.'

"As the enemy was overwhelming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he dismounted from his mule, picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and threw it into their faces, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!' And every single one of them had his eyes fill with that dirt from that handful and they turned and fled. God defeated them and thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up their possessions among the Muslims."

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *Musnad ḥadīth* collection that it was related to him by Ḥammād b. Salama, from Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yasār, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn. We set out on an extremely hot day. We halted in the shade of some acacia trees, and when the sun had set, I put on my cuirass and mounted my horse. I then went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in his tent. I addressed him, 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God and may His mercy and blessings be yours. Is it time to go yet, Messenger of God?' 'Yes, it is,' he replied. He then called out the name of Bilāl, who emerged quickly from beneath an acacia, his shadow like that of a bird. He said, 'At your service and pleasure, may I be ransom for you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Saddle up my horse.' He was brought two palm fronds that were without holes or indentations.

"He mounted his horse and we spent the day riding. The two cavalries came face to face and we did battle with them. Then the Muslims turned and retreated, as God Almighty stated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began saying,

'O worshippers of God, I am the servant and Messenger of God!' He then jumped from his horse and someone close to him later told me that he took a handful of dirt and tossed it into the faces of the enemy, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'"

Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭā᾽ stated, "Their sons quoted their fathers as saying, 'All of them, without exception, had their eyes and mouths filled with dirt. And we heard a clanging sound from the sky like iron striking an iron pot and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, defeated them.'"

Abū Dā᾽ūd al-Sijistānī related it in his *Sunan* collection, quoting Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, from Ḥammād b. Salama in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting al-Ḥārith b. Ḥusayn, quoting al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, from his father, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn. The men retreated from him, and 80 of the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* remained there with him. We drew back some 80 feet, but did not turn our backs to the enemy. These men were the ones upon whom God sent down *al-sakīna*.[136] The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile still going forward on his mule, which veered to one side so that he slipped off his saddle. I called out to him, 'Up you get! May God raise you up!' He replied, 'Get me a handful of dirt!' With this he struck them in their faces and filled their mouths. Then he asked, 'Where are the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*?' 'They are close by,' I replied. 'Call for them,' he asked. I did this and they came, their swords in their right hands shining like stars, and the polytheists then turned their backs in retreat."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.Tamīm al-Qanṭarī, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā᾽ifī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIyyāḍ b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū Hawāzin with a force of 12,000 men and that at Ḥunayn a like number of the people of al-Ṭā᾽if were killed as those who died at Badr. ʿIyyāḍ stated, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of pebbles which he threw into our faces, and we were defeated."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in his history, but he did not include ʿIyyāḍ's genealogy.

Musaddad stated that Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān related to him, quoting ʿAwf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the freed-man of Umm Burthin, from someone who was present at Ḥunayn as an unbeliever, who said, "When we and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met they had not prepared ewes' milk[137] for us! So we advanced

136. "The calm"; see notes and above and *sūrat al-Barā᾽a*; IX, v.27. Sometimes the word is found identified as "His (God's) sakīna", as in the above verse and elsewhere, sometimes with the definite article, as here.

137. That is, presumably, "they were not going to treat us as honoured guests".

slashing away with our swords before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until we overwhelmed them. Eventually there between us and them were some really magnificent men. And then they cried out, 'May your faces be deformed! Go back!' And we were defeated because of those words."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that it was related to him by Abū Sufyān, quoting Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaʿbī, from al-Ḥārith b. Badl al-Naṣrī, from a man of his tribe who had been present on that day at the battle of Ḥunayn, along with ʿAmr b. Sufyān al-Thaqafī, both of whom said, "When the Muslims were being defeated at Ḥunayn, there only remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles and threw it into their faces. We fled, imagining every rock or tree to be some knight chasing us."

Al-Thaqafī added, "I raced away on my horse until I entered al-Ṭā'if."

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated in his military chronicle, from Yūsuf b. Suhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh, that only one man stood fast with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn, and his name was Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, through al-Kudaymī, quoting Mūsā b. Masʿūd, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Sā'ib b. Yasār al-Ṭā'ifī, from al-Sā'ib b. Yasār, who quoted Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Suwā'ī as saying, at the discovery that Muslims came across at the battle of Ḥunayn, "The polytheists pursued them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and then advanced towards the polytheists and threw it into their faces, saying, 'Go back! May your faces be deformed!' And every man another would meet complained about dirt in his eyes."

He then narrated through two other lines from Abū Hudhayfa, who stated that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. al-Sā'ib b. Yasār al-Ṭā'ifī, quoting Abū al-Sā'ib b. Yasār, who said that he heard Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Suwā'ī (who had been present at Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), though on the side of the polytheists, having accepted Islam only later) say as we asked him about the terror that God had cast into the hearts of the polytheists at the battle of Ḥunayn, "He would take pebbles and throw them into an iron pot that would clatter; and we would experience the same in our insides."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-ḥāfiẓ* and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl, both of whom said, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting Abū Ayyūb b. Jābir, from Ṣadaqa b. Saʿīd, from Muṣʿab b. Shayba, from his father, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the battle of Ḥunayn, though it was not Islam nor any knowledge of it that made me do so; I just refused to have Hawāzin defeat Quraysh! As I stood with him, I said, "Messenger of God, I can see piebald horses!" He replied, "No one but a

polytheist would see them!" Then he struck me in the chest and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" He then hit it again and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" and then he did and said the same a third time. And I swear by God, no sooner had he raised his hand from me the third time than there was none of God's creation whom I loved more than I did him!'"

He went on to relate the encounter between the armies, how the Muslims had been retreating, how al-ʿAbbās had called out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked God for His help, and so on until God had defeated the polytheists.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī, quoting Yūsuf b. Mūsā, quoting Hishām b. Khālid, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from ʿIkrima, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Shayba b. ʿUthmān, who said, "When I saw at the battle of Ḥunayn that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was exposed, I remembered my father and my uncle and how ʿAlī and Ḥamza had killed them. So I said (to myself) today I'll get my revenge on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"I went to approach him from his right, but there was al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib standing dressed in white metal armour, looking like silver with its tarnish wiped away. I said, 'He's his uncle – he'll not desert him.' Then I went at him from the left and came upon Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. I told myself, 'That's his cousin – he'll not desert him.' Then I came at him from behind. All I had left to do was attack him fiercely with my sword when a great flame like lightning arose beween myself and him. I was afraid it would burn me, so I put my hand over my eyes and retreated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned and said, 'Shayba, come closer to me. O God, take Satan away from him!' I then lifted my gaze to him and found him to be dearer to me than my own sight or hearing. He then said, 'Shayb, fight the unbelievers!'"

Ibn Isḥāq quoted Shayba b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, as saying, "I said, 'Today I will get my revenge'" (his father had been killed at Uḥud). 'Today I shall kill Muḥammad!' I went around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, but something overwhelmed me so that I could not do that; I knew that it was forbidden for me."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq also quoted his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār, from another man, who quoted Jubayr b. Muṭʿim as saying, "I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn and while the battle was going on, I saw something like a black coverlet falling from the sky that descended between us and the enemy. We saw it to be ants that had spread all over and were filling the valley. Immediately the enemy were defeated. We had no doubt that it was the angels."

Al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq.

He went on to quote Khudayj b. al-ʿArjāʾ al-Naṣrī as reciting the following verses – about Ḥunayn, that is,

> "When we approached Ḥunayn and its water, we saw
> something black, unpleasant in colour, streaked white
> With a grey squadron which, were it cast up at the
> heights of Mt.ʿUrwa it would have become level!
> If my people's chiefs had obeyed me, we would not have
> encountered the manifest apparition.
> Then we would not have met the troops of Muḥammad's
> people, 80,000 strong, along with Khindif."

Ibn Isḥāq also quoted the following verses spoken by Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, chief of Hawāzin, while he was in the turmoil of battle that day:

> "Advance, Muḥāj![138] This is a day of battle to which one
> like me rides on one like you, again and again.
> Even if the front line is lost and the rear too and
> they come on up,
> Squadrons (so numerous as to) exhaust one's sight. I
> used to thrust so hard as to make the wounds gush with blood!
> When others were blamed for holding back and hiding, I
> would thrust so hard the blood would gurgle forth
> In a full stream from inside, sometimes overflowing,
> sometimes gushing fast,
> The lance's tip still inside, broken at the shaft-head.
> O Zayd! O Ibn Hamham, to where do you flee?
> Your teeth are gone and you are old. The white-skinned
> women wearing long veils know well
> That I'll not charge blindly, when the secluded women
> are brought from behind the curtains."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yūnus b. Bukayr, who quoted from Ibn Isḥāq, other verses delivered by Mālik when his companions had fled in defeat. These verses were spoken after he had accepted Islam; they are also attributed to others:

> "Remember their progress, and all those there, while
> above Mālik the banners fluttered.
> Mālik is a leader above whom there is none; at Ḥunayn
> he wore a glistening crown.
> Until they met their enemy, when bravery led them on,
> wearing helmets and chain-mail and bearing leather
> shields.
> They struck hard at the men until they saw no one
> around the Prophet, until dusk encompassed him.
> Until Gabriel came down to help them and we were
> defeated and made captive.
> Had it not been Gabriel fighting us, our fine swords
> would have protected us

138. The name of his horse.

ʿUmar al-Fārūq when they were being defeated, escaped
from a thrust that caught his saddle."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated, and God gave His messenger power over them, a Muslim woman said,

'God's cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; it is God
who more deserves to prevail.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that an authority on the transmission of poetry quoted it to him as,

"God's cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; His
cavalry more deserves to prevail."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When Hawāzin were defeated, widespread execution of Thaqīf of Banū Mālik took place. Seventy of their men were killed beneath their banner, which was under the charge of Dhū al-Khimār. When he was killed, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb took it and fought on with it until killed. ʿĀmir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of his death, he said, 'God damn him! He hated Quraysh!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba as having said that along with this man ʿUthmān, a Christian slave of his was also killed. One of the *anṣār* came to remove the youth's possessions and found him to be uncircumcised. So he called out at the top of his voice, "Hey, Arabs, Thaqīf are uncircumcised!"

"Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafī said that upon hearing this, 'I took him by the hand, fearing that this calumny would spread among the Arabs and told him, "Don't say that, may my father and mother be your ransom! He was just a Christian slave of ours." I then uncovered the dead for him, asking, "Can't you see that they are indeed circumcised?"'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The banner of (Banū) al-Aḥlāf was with Qārib b. al-Aswad. When the enemy were defeated, he leaned it against a tree and he, his relatives and his people all fled. Only two of the al-Aḥlāf were killed – one man of Banū Ghiyara named Wahb and a man of Kubba named al-Jullāḥ. When he heard of the death of al-Jullāḥ, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The leading young man of Thaqīf, except for him descended from Ibn Hunayda, has been killed today.'" By this latter man he was referring to al-Ḥārith b. Uways.

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "Al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās spoke the following verses, referring to Qārib b. al-Aswad and his having fled from his brothers, and to Dhū al-Khimār's having constrained his people and himself to death:

'Who is it will inform Ghaylān for me and, I imagine,
someone knowing will go to him,

And ʿUrwa too; I have only to lead you to a response
and a statement that suggests the contrary to what you
both say:

That Muḥammad is a servant and a messenger for a Lord who does not lead astray nor does He do wrong.
We find him to be a prophet like Moses, and whatever man thinks himself better than him is deluded.
Terrible was the state of Banū Qasī in Wajj, when the matters were decreed.
They ruined their situation; and for every people there is a leader, and fortunes may well change.
We attacked them like forest lions; the forces of God move in plain view.
We attacked the force of Banū Qasī enraged, almost flying at them
I swear that had they stayed, we would have brought troops against them and they would not have escaped.
We were (like) lions of Līya[139] there until we revealed them and al-Nuṣūr[140] were made to surrender.
And (there was) a day before that of Ḥunayn that has now gone by when blood streamed.
You'll hear of no day like today; a people of long memory has not heard of such.
We killed Banū Ḥuṭayṭ on the dust, over their banners, while the cavalry shifted away.
Dhū al-Khimār was no leader for a people who had intelligence who could be punished or disavowed.
He took them on the roads to death, matters being clear for those who could see them
Some on the point of death escaped and survived, while many of them were killed.
A feeble man would not help such a situation, nor would someone lacking modesty or over-cautious.
He destroyed them and perished; they gave him leadership over their affairs and the chiefs left.
Banū ʿAwf have horses that trot along and are given hay and barley to eat.
Were it not for Qārib and his father's sons, the pastures and forts would be divided up
But they occupied the leadership by luck to which they were directed.
They obeyed Qārib, and good fortune and aspirations lead to glory.
If they are led to Islam, they will be found to be leaders of men for so long as day and night persist.
If they do not accept Islam, then they call for war against God and shall have no helper.

139. A place near al-Ṭāʾif.
140. The family of Mālik b. ʿAwf.

Just as war erased Banū Sa῾d and fate brought evil to the clan of Banū Ghaziyya.
As though Banū Mu᾽āwiya b. Bakr came to Islam like sheep, bleating.
We said, 'Accept Islam! We are your brothers; our hearts are innocent of old hatred.'
It was as though when the people came to us, they were, after the peace, devoid of hate."

Chapter.

When Hawāzin had been defeated, their leader Mālik b. ῾Awf al-Naṣrī halted at a pass with a group of his men and told them to stay there until their weaker comrades and those at their rear caught up with them.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he had been informed that some horsemen came up while Mālik and his companions were at the pass. He asked his men, "What do you see?" "We can see men who place their lances between the ears of their horses that have long flanks." Mālik commented, "Those are Banū Salīm; you should not fear them." When they arrived there they followed a route in the middle of the valley. Then other riders appeared, following the first group. Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They replied, "We see men who rest their lances carelessly across their horses." "Those", Mālik said, "are al-Aws and al-Khazraj. You should not fear them." When these men arrived at the base of the pass, they took the same route as Banū Salīm. Then another horseman appeared, and Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They told him, "We see a rider on a long-flanked horse holding his lance on his shoulder and with his head covered in a red kerchief." "That is al-Zubayr b. al-῾Awwām," Mālik observed, "I swear by al-Lāt, he will attack you, so fight back hard." When al-Zubayr reached the base of the pass, he saw them, made for them and kept thrusting at them until he had dislodged them from it."

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders regarding the booty, and the camels, sheep, goats and prisoners were gathered together. He had them all taken to al-Ji῾rāna where they were kept.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Mas῾ūd b. ῾Amr al-Ghifārī in charge of the booty.

Chapter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was informed by a colleague that on that day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a woman whom Khālid b. al-Walīd had

killed; a crowd had gathered around her. He told one of his companions, "Go to Khālid and tell him that God's messenger forbids you from killing children, women or hired labourers."

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus without a complete line of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAmr, quoting al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, who said that al-Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayfī related to him, from his grandfather Rabāḥ b. Rabīʿ, brother of Banū Ḥanẓala al-Kātib, who stated that on one occasion the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition he had waged in which Khālid b. al-Walīd was in the vanguard. Rabāḥ and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a dead woman who had been struck down by the vanguard. They had halted and were looking down admiringly at her when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mount, caught up with them. They drew away from her and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted over her and said, "This woman should not have been killed!" He then told one of his men, "Go to Khālid and tell him, 'No women nor hired labourers must be killed!'"

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja related it similarly, from a *ḥadīth* of Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayfī.

THE EXPEDITION TO AWṬĀS.

The reason for this was that when Hawāzin were defeated a number of them, including their leader Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, took refuge in al-Ṭāʾif, where they fortified themselves. One group of their men went and made camp at a place called Awṭās. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition of his men under the command of Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī and they fought and defeated the enemy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then himself went and besieged al-Ṭāʾif, as will be recounted.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated at the battle of Ḥunayn, they went to al-Ṭāʾif, in the company of Mālik b. ʿAwf. Some of them encamped at Awṭās, while others, consisting only of men of Banū Ghīra of Thaqīf, went towards Nakhla. The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) followed those who took the path through the pass."

He went on, "Rafīʿa b. Rafīʿ b. Ahān al-Sulamī – known by his mother's name as 'son of al-Daghina' – captured Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. He did so by taking the reins of his camel, thinking that a woman and not he, was in the *howdah* upon it. When he made the camel kneel, he discovered an old man inside, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, whom the young man, Rabīʿa, did not recognize. Durayd asked him, 'What do you want of me?' He replied, 'I am going to kill you.' 'Who are you?' Durayd asked. 'I am Rabīʿa b. Rafīʿ al-Sulamī.' Rabīʿa then struck Durayd with his sword, but the blow was ineffective. Durayd commented, 'Well, your mother did not give you a good weapon! Here, take my sword from the back of

my saddle in the *howdah*, then use it to strike me; hit above the backbone and below the skull. Now that's how I would strike men! And when you go to your mother, tell her that you killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. I swear that many were the times I defended your women!'

"Banū Sulaym claim that Rabī'a said, 'When I struck him and he fell down, he was exposed and the skin high up between his thighs was like parchment from his having so often ridden bareback.'

"When Rabī'a returned to his mother and told her of having killed him, she said, 'I swear, he set free three of your mothers!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted verses his daughter 'Amra spoke eulogizing him. These included,

> "They said, 'We killed Durayd!' I said, 'They spoke
> the truth!' And my tears kept streaming down my robe.
> Were it not for Him who had defeated all the tribes,
> Sulaym and Ka'b would have known what to do.
> Then a great army would have attacked them constantly,
> their armour emitting various odours of rust, wherever
> they went."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent after those of the enemy who had headed for Awṭās a force under Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī. He caught up with some of those who had fled and they engaged in battle. An arrow was shot at and killed Abū 'Āmir and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī took the banner, he being the cousin of Abū 'Āmir, battled them and God, Almighty and Glorious, gave him victory over them. They claim that it was Salama b. Durayd who shot Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī with an arrow, striking him in the knee and killing him.

"Salama spoke the following verses,

> 'If you ask about me, I'll say I'm Salam, son of
> Samādir, "the weak-sighted", I'll tell whoever asks
> I strike with my sword the heads of Muslims.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "An authority on poetry and its transmission whom I trust told me that Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī confronted the polytheist brothers. One of them attacked him and Abū 'Āmir fought back, calling him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him!' Then Abū 'Āmir killed him.

"A second polytheist attacked him and Abū 'Āmir fought back, inviting him into Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Abū 'Āmir then killed him. At that they all charged at him while he spoke as before. Eventually he had killed nine of them and only the tenth remained. He attacked Abū 'Āmir, who fought back, calling upon him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Then the man called out, 'O God, do not bear witness against me!' At that Abū 'Āmir stopped fighting him and the man withdrew. He thereafter accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. When he saw him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) would comment, 'That's the fugitive from Abū 'Āmir.'

"Two brothers – al-ʿAlā and Awfā, sons of al-Ḥārith of Banū Jusham b. Muʿawiyya – then shot at Abū ʿĀmir. One of them hit him in the heart, the other in the knee, and they killed him. Abū Mūsā then turned the enemy back and attacked and killed these two men. A man of Banū Jusham b. Muʾāwiya eulogized them in the following verses,

> 'What a calamity was the killing of al-ʿAlā and Awfā together, who received no support.
> It was they who killed Abū ʿĀmir, that cunning lion!
> They left him lying on a battle field, his clothing as though stained with saffron.
> The like of them both was never seen before; no two were ever more free of fault, or more sure of aim.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAṭāʾ related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished at Ḥunayn, he sent Abū ʿĀmir in command of an army to Awṭās. There he encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimma who was killed, while his companions were defeated."

Abū Mūsā went on, "He sent me forth with Abū ʿĀmir, who was shot in the knee, the arrow, shot by a man of Banū Jusham, lodging in it. When I reached him, I asked, 'Who shot you, uncle?' He pointed over at the man, saying, 'There, that's the man who shot and killed me!' I made for him, but he withdrew when he saw me coming. I followed on, calling out, 'Aren't you ashamed not to stand and fight?' he stopped retreating and we exchanged a few sword strokes then I killed him. I went and told Abū ʿĀmir, 'God has killed your enemy!' He asked me, 'Take out this arrow.' I did so and water seeped from the wound. He then requested, 'Nephew, deliver my greeting to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to pray for my forgiveness.'

"Abū ʿĀmir then appointed me in command of our men and after a short while he died. I returned and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside his house. He was lying on a rope bed of date-palms and stalks with a coverlet over him; the ropes and strands of the bed had made marks on his back and sides. I told him our news and about Abū ʿĀmir and how he had told me, 'Ask him to seek forgiveness for me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for water to be brought, performed the ablution, then raised his arms praying, 'O God, forgive ʿUbayd, Abū ʿĀmir!' I saw the whiteness of his underarms. He then said, 'O God, place him on the Judgement Day of Resurrection above many of Your creation' – or 'of many people'. I said, 'Will you also ask forgiveness for me?' He then said, 'O God, forgive ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays his sins and on Resurrection Day grant him a favourable entry (into paradise).'"

Abū Burda noted, "One of the prayers was for Abū ʿĀmir, the other for Abū Mūsā, may God be pleased with them both."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Barād, from Abū Usāma in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – from ʿUthmān al-Battī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, 'At Awṭās we took some women prisoner who had husbands and we were reluctant to have intercourse with them while this was so. We therefore asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and this verse was revealed, "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.24). And so we considered their bodies permissible to us.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUthmān al-Battī. Muslim gave it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī. Imām Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba. Muslim, Shuʿba and al-Tirmidhī gave it additionally from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām, from Yaḥyā, all three giving an account from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū ʿAlqama al-Hāshimī, from Abū Saʿīd to the effect that the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Awṭās made captives of women who had husbands who were polytheists. This fact made some of the men refrain from intercourse with them. And so this verse "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" was revealed.

This is the version given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; and he added to this chain of authorities Abū ʿAlqama al-Hāshimī who is considered reliable. This is the accepted interpretation, though God knows best.

A number of the early authorities view this verse as evidence that the sale of a female slave means her divorce. This is related of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The majority oppose these, citing an anecdote about Burayra to the effect of her having been sold and then given a choice of ending or maintaining her marriage. If sale of her meant her divorce, then she would not have been given a choice.

We have discussed this issue in detail and sufficiently in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And we will refer to it again, if God so wills it, in our (projected work) *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

A number of the early authorities cite this *ḥadīth* relating to those made captive at Awṭās to substantiate the permissibility (of intercourse) with female slaves who were polytheists. The majority, however, oppose them, saying, "This is a special case; perhaps these women accepted Islam or were Christians or Jews." The proper place for further discussion of this issue will be in *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God Almighty wills it.

Chapter: On those who were martyred at the battle of Ḥunayn and on the Expedition to Awṭās.

(These men were) Ayman b. Umm Ayman, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being Ayman b. ʿUbayd; Zayd b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, whose horse, named al-Janaḥ, bolted and so he was killed; Surāqa b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAdī al-Anṣārī, of Banū al-ʿAjlān; Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī,

the commander of the expedition to Awṭās. These total four men; may God be pleased with them.

Chapter: On the Poetry spoken at the Expedition against Hawāzin.

Among these verses are those of Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā,

"Had it not been for God and His servant, you would have retreated when terror overcame every coward
At the winding valley that day our enemies faced us, the swift horses stumbled on to their chins.
Some men went running, their garments held up in their hands, others were knocked to the side by hooves and flanks.
God honoured us and gave victory to our faith, dignifying us through worship of the Most Merciful.
And God destroyed them, dispersing and humiliating them for worshipping Satan."

Ibn Hishām stated that some transmitters of the poetry include the verses,

"When Your Prophet's uncle and his ally arose, calling, O squadron of the faith!
Where are they who responded to their Lord, at the battle of al-ʿAriḍ and at the 'willing allegiance'"[141]

(Ibn Isḥāq stated) "ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following,

'By the swift horses on assembly day and by the Book that the Messenger recited,
I was pleased at Thaqīf's painful fate yesterday beside the defile
They are the enemy's leaders from Najd, and killing them is sweeter than drinking.
We defeated their group, that group of Banū Qasī, and fierce was the fighting for Banū Riʾāb.
The tents of Banū Hilāl were left at Awṭās begrimed with dust.
If (our forces) had clashed with Banū Kilāb, their women would have risen with dust[142] upon them.
We raced our horses among them between Buss and al-Awrāl,[143] breathing hard in pursuit of the booty
Amidst a clamorous army that included the squadron of the Messenger of God that charged into the battle.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

141. See above, Vol. II p.341, footnote 74.
142. That is, in mourning.
143. Buss is a mountain near Dhāt ʿAraq. Al-Awrāl are three black mountains in the desert.

'O seal of the prophets, you are sent with the truth;
all guidance on the right path being yours.
God built upon you love in His creation, and Muḥammad
he named you.
Then those who were true to the pact you gave them
became an army, over whom you appointed al-Daḥḥāk
A man with a sharp sword who, when surrounded by the
enemy, saw only you.
He would even battle those near in blood, seeking to
please the All-Compassionate and yourself too.
I tell you I witnessed his repeated attacks in the
turmoil of war, braining the polytheists,
Sometimes strangling them with his hands, sometimes
slashing their heads with his sharp sword,
Using it to smash the warriors' heads; if you saw what
I did, it pleased you well,
While Banū Sulaym charged before him, striking and
thrusting constantly at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner as though lions of a
thicket determined to battle there.
Not wanting closeness from their relatives, seeking
only that they obey their Lord and to please you.
These were our actions for which we were renowned, our
ally being your Lord.'

"῾Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'Mijdal is empty of its people now, as is Mutāli῾; and
the plains of Arīk are bare, as are its cisterns.
Homes of ours, O Juml, when our lives were fine and
easy, and time's changes would unite our family wish
A lover whom great distance has diverted; can life now
past ever return?
If she seeks after the unbelievers, she is not to be
blamed; for I am the assistant and follower of the
Prophet.
The best of envoys I have known, Khuzayma, brought us,
and al-Mirrār is of them, and Wāsi῾ too.
And so we came, along with 1,000 men of Sulaym,
upon whom were splendid coats of mail made by Dā᾽ūd.
We pledged allegiance to him at al-Akhshabayn, though
it was the hand of God to whom we really pledged there.
We went into Mecca with the *mahdī*, the one well-led, by
force, our swords in the rising dust, glistening,
openly,
The bodies of our horses were covered with sweat,
groaning, their blood within them boiling,

At the battle of Ḥunayn when Hawāzin came at us, and our tight ribs restricted our breathing
We kept firm with al-Daḥḥāk, undeterred by the blows and strikes of our enemies
Before the Messenger of God, while a banner flew above us, shining like lightning above clouds.
That evening Daḥḥāk b. Sufyān struck with the sword of the Messenger of God, and death was near at hand.
We defended our brother from our brother,[144] and if we had seen an option, we would have followed our relatives.
But the religion of God is that of Muḥammad; we are pleased with it. It has guidance and laws.
Through it he set us aright after our mistaken course; and no matter decided by God can be prevented.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'The remaining connection with Umm Muʾammal has been ended, for she changed her intention, against her word.
She had sworn by God not to sever the link; she did not speak true in that, and was not true to her word.
She is from Banū Khufāf who spent the summer in the al-ʿAqīq valley, living in the desert at Wajra and al-ʿUrfā.
Even if Umm Muʾammal follows the unbelievers, she has stocked my heart with passion despite her distance.
Someone will tell her that we refused; the only ally we seek is our Lord,
And that we are with the guide, the Prophet, Muḥammad and that 1,000 are with us, matched by no other tribe,
With trustworthy heroes of Sulaym, men who obey and do not disobey by even a syllable.
Khufāf, Dhakwān and ʿAwf, whose path you would imagine strewn with (disuniting) difficulties,
(But) our glossy armour and helmets were as though worn by frowning lions slashing in their lairs.
Through us God's religion gained strength; we added a like number to the group already with him
At Mecca when we came; it was as if our banner was an eagle that, having soared, was ready to swoop down.
Upon mounts staring fixedly ahead, their forcing against their bits you would think inspired by a genie's hum,
That morning we trod the polytheists underfoot, finding no deviation or change from the orders of the Messenger of God,

144. Banū Sulaym and Hawāzin were both clans of Qays.

At a battle amidst which the men heard from us no
urgings except to fight and to crush heads
Sent flying from their supports by our swords which
sliced right through the warriors' necks.
Many's the man we left struck down, and many the widow
weeping bitterly over her husband.
It is God's pleasure we seek, not that of man; and to
God belongs all that is apparent and hidden.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following verses,

'Why are your eyes sleepless, as though bothered by
irritants, husks beneath their lids?
Eyes made sleepless from their pain, welling and
streaming their tears,
Which look like pearls scattered when the man stringing
them breaks their thread.
How far away is the home of her for whose love you
hope, between you and whom al-Ṣammān and al-Ḥafar
stand!
Abandon your youth now gone, long past for your hair is
grey and thin.
And recall the distress of Sulaym in their lands; yet
Sulaym have reason to have pride.
They are a people who aided the Most Merciful and
followed the religion of the Messenger while people
were in conflict.
They no longer plant palm shoots in their land, nor do
cattle low in their wintering grounds
Where only fast steeds, like eagles, are kept at hand
amidst lands filled with herds of camels.
Khufāf and ʿAwf were brought to their flanks, and the
clan of Dhakwān did not turn away in annoyance.
They struck openly at the polytheist armies in Mecca's
valley and their souls were whisked away
Until we left, their bodies like palm trees uprooted on
the plain's surface.
At the battle of Ḥunayn our witness was to the glory of
the religion and it is recorded with God.
When we rode death, dingy-hued its inner flanks, while
the horses emitted a dusky glow
Beneath the banner, with al-Daḥḥāk leading us, like a
lurking lion walking within his forest,
In dire straits due to the burdens of warfare that
almost caused sun and moon to fade.
We remained steadfast at Awṭās; our lances dedicated to
God, we helped those we wished, and won victory.

And finally people returned to their homes who, were it
not for the Sovereign and ourselves, would not have
emerged.
You will not see any tribe, small in number or large,
without our having had some influence upon them.'

"ʿAbbās also spoke the following,

'O man who is borne upon a young, strong-boned, swift-footed camel
If you should go to the Prophet, then say to him as it
is your duty to do, if the group assembled are at ease,
"O finest man to ride a mount or ever to walk upon the
earth, if souls be counted,
We were true to our pact with you when the cavalry were
overpowered and wounded by the warriors
When there streamed a force from all parts of the
Buhtha clan that shook the mountain trails
Until we attacked the people of Mecca, in a squadron,
their armour shining, being led by proud men.
From every powerful clan of Sulaym, wearing close-knitted
chain-mail upon them
Moistening their lances when they charged into the
fray, so that you would imagine them as frowning lions.
Overwhelming the squadron, their insignia showing,
bearing in their hands slashing swords and quick-thrusting spears.
At Ḥunayn there were a thousand in our force by which
the Messenger was supported, as by fierce lions,
They were a vanguard ahead of the believers; and that
day the sun upon them seemed more intense.
We went forward, God guarding us in his care; and God
never loses those He guards.
We were blockaded at al-Manāqib. But God took pleasure
in that; and that makes our blockade worthwhile.
The morning of Awṭās we made a fierce attack and the
enemy drew back, calling out to us, "Hold off!"
Hawāzin appealed to the brotherhood between us; but
the breast Hawāzin used to offer is very dry!
Finally we left their force like wild asses that lions
have torn apart, one after the other.'

"He also, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following,

'Who is it will tell the peoples that Muḥammad is God's
messenger, right-guided wherever he moves?
He called out to God, seeking His help alone and He was
true and kind to him.
We travelled forth, keeping our appointment with
Muḥammad at Qudayd so that he could have us fulfil a
matter that God had decreed.

They scouted us at dawn and as dawn broke they
perceived us to be young warriors with lances set,
Upon horses, and our armour firmly attached, and our
numerous infantry rushing forward like a torrent.
The best of the tribe – if ask you must – are Sulaym and
they include some who claim to be Sulaym
And a force of *anṣār* who would not desert him, obedient
to him and they do not disobey him in what he says.
Since you have appointed and promoted Khālid commander
of the army, he has indeed advanced
With an army, guided by God, of which you are leader.
With it you rightfully strike those who are evil.
I have sworn a genuine oath to Muḥammad and have
fulfilled it with a thousand horses, fully bridled.
The Prophet of the believers called, 'Advance!' And
it pleased us to be the vanguard.
We spent the night at Mustadīr pool. We had no fear –
only enthusiasm and determination.
We obeyed you until all the enemy accepted Islam,
attacking their force in the morning, those people at
Yalamlamā.
(A force so large) even a piebald red stallion could go
astray amidst it, and an old man be insecure unless
well marked.
We surprised them like a covey of grouse startled at
dawn, each of which you see to be uncaring for its
brother,
That morning; until finally we left them that evening
at Ḥunayn, its streams flowing with blood.
If you wished, you could everywhere see fine race
horses, their riders stretched out besides broken
lances.
Hawāzin have regained from us their herds; and for us to
be disappointed and deprived of these has pleased
them.'"

Thus did Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq give the poems of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, may God be pleased with him. We have omitted some of the odes he included for fear of being long-winded and boring. Ibn Isḥāq also gives the poetry of others; but enough on the subject has been given above. Though God knows best.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST AL-ṬĀʾIF.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought at Ḥunayn and besieged al-Ṭāʾif in Shawwāl of 8 AH.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The routed Thaqīf army reached al-Ṭā'if, shut themselves behind the gate of the city and fortified themselves in preparation for conflict.

"Neither ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd nor Ghaylān b. Salama were present at Ḥunayn or the siege of al-Ṭā'if. They were at Jurash learning how to construct testudos for use at a distance and close by the walls.

"Having finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to al-Ṭā'if. On that subject Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses,

'In the lowlands and at Khaybar we ended all doubt, then rested our swords
For them to choose (next). Had they spoken, their blades would have said, "Attack Daws or Thaqīf!"
May I have no mother if you do not see them at your courtyards, with us in our thousands.
We will tear down the pavilions in the Wajj valley, and your homes will be devoid of you.
The most swift of our cavalry will attack you, leaving behind them a dense mass
When they descend on your areas, you'll hear from them enough to make your camels kneel in alarm.
In their hands will be sharp, slim swords, visiting death upon those opposing them,
Flashing like lightning, fashioned by Indian blacksmiths, not beaten out flat.
You might have thought the blood of heroes in them that battle morning was mixed with saffron.
As for their most diligent, had they no adviser in their peoples who knew of us
To tell them that we had gathered the most choice and well-bred of horses
And had brought against them a force to line up around the walls of their fort?
Their leader was the Prophet, resolute, pure of heart, steadfast and abstemious,
Mature, wise, knowledgeable, astute, never rash or frivolous.
We obey our Prophet and a Lord who is the Most Merciful and has been most kind to us.
If you offer us peace we will accept and will make you our allies, and
If you refuse, we will fight you steadfastly, and conflict with us will not be gentle or easy.
We will fight on as long as we survive or you turn in repentance to Islam, submissively.
We will battle on, careless whom we confront, nor whether we destroy the old or the new.

How numerous were the tribes allied against us, some
the central tribes, some their allies.
They attacked us thinking themselves unequalled, but we
severed nose and ears
With our Indian swords, supple and gleaming, violently
forcing them forward
To the business of God and Islam until the religion is
established in justice and devotion
And al-Lāt, al-῾Uzzā and Wudd are forgotten and we
remove their necklaces and earrings.
Now they have become acquiescent and secure; and those
who do not refrain (from idolatry) become disgraced.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kināna b. ῾Abd Yālīl b. ῾Amr b. ῾Umayr al-Thaqafī answered him in the following verse."

(I note that he had later come over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the Thaqīf delegation; he accepted Islam along with them. This was so stated by Mūsā b. ῾Uqba, Abū Isḥāq, Abū ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr and others. Al-Madā᾿inī, however, claimed that he did not accept Islam, but went into Byzantine territory, where he accepted Christianity and died.)

'To those seeking us to fight us: we're at a well-known
place we will not leave.
We know our forefathers were here, where are its
terraces and its vineyards.
῾Amr b. ῾Āmir previously put us to the test, and their
men of reason and wisdom advised them.
They knew – if truth they tell – that we set straight
cheeks turned aside in disdain.
We reform them; those who are wild we tame and those
who do wrong acknowledge the evident truth.
We dress in light, supple chain-mail, from a longed-for
legacy, sky-coloured its sheen, decorated with
stars.
We force them off us with our sharp swords which, when
once drawn in conflict we do not again sheathe.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Shaddād b. ῾Āriḍ al-Jushamī spoke the following verses concerning the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to al-Ṭā᾿if,

'Do not assist al-Lāt whom God destroys; how can aid be
given to one who cannot be assisted?
She who was burned, flaming in black smoke, while at
her stone monument not even the worthless do battle.
Once the Messenger descends on your lands and has left,
none of its people will remain there.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled – from Ḥunayn to al-Ṭā'if – by way of Nakhla al-Yamaniyya, Qarn, al-Mulayḥ and Buḥrat al-Rughā' of Liyya; he had a mosque constructed there and performed the prayers.

"ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped that day at Buḥrat al-Rughā' he allowed *retaliation in kind for blood* spilled, that being the first occasion in Islam that such permission was given. A man of Banū Layth had killed someone of Hudhayl and he executed him for it. While at Liyya he ordered the destruction of the fort of Mālik b. ʿAwf.

"He then proceeded along a path known as *al-Ḍayyiqa*, 'the narrow, difficult path'. As he was setting out along it he asked what it was called and it was so named to him. He commented, 'No; it's *al-Yusrā*, "the easy road".'

"Emerging from it he passed Nakhb and made a halt beneath a lote tree known as *al-Ṣādira*, near property owned by a man of Thaqīf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent word to him to either come out or have his wall destroyed. He refused to emerge and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that his wall be demolished."

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Ismāʿīl b. Umayya as quoting Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr to have said, "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say when he went forth with him to al-Ṭā'if and passed by a grave, 'This is the tomb of Abū Righāl,[145] he being the father of Thaqīf. He was of Thamūd and one of those defending their sanctuary there. When he went out (with Abraha) he was afflicted by that same vengeance that came down upon his people at that place, and he was buried there. The proof of this is that along with him a golden bough was buried. If you exhume him, you will find it.'

"The men promptly did so and retrieved the bough, along with his remains."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this from Yaḥyā b. Muʿīn, from Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Rawḥ b. al-Qāsim, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled on and established his camp near al-Ṭā'if. Some of his men were killed by arrows because the camp had been set close to al-Ṭā'if. They therefore withdrew to the place where today stands his mosque, built by Thaqīf after their acceptance of Islam. It was ʿAmr b. Umayya b. Wahb who built it. It had in it a column from which, so they say, a cracking sound could be heard every morning when sunlight struck it.

"He besieged them there for some 20 days." Ibn Hishām gives this figure as 17.

145. This related to the advance made in the area by Abraha (see Vol. I above, p.22) who was persuaded in al-Ṭā'if to leave their temple undisturbed and to continue on to attack the sanctuary at Mecca.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quote al-Zuhrī as having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on to al-Ṭāʾif, leaving the captives (from Ḥunayn) at al-Jiʿrāna, where they filled the tents of Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) encamped at al-Akama, near the fortress of al-Ṭāʾif, for some ten or more days, engaging them in battle while they fought back from behind their fortifications. The only man to emerge was Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, Ziyād's brother from his mother's side. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set him free. Many casualties were suffered there and they (the Muslims) cut down some of their grape vines to enrage them thereby. At this Thaqīf asked, 'Don't ruin our properties; they will either remain ours or become yours.'"

ʿUrwa stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered each Muslim to cut down five date-palms or five vines. He sent out a crier to announce, "Anyone who comes forth to us will be free." A number of people did join him, including Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, a brother of Ziyād b. Abū Sufyān on his mother's side. He then set them free and assigned each one to a Muslim who was to provide food and a mount.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would set free any slave who came to him with priority over any of their freed-men who accepted Islam. (He stated also) that at the battle of al-Ṭāʾif he set two men free.

(Imām) Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Bakr b. Khumayr related to us, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif and two slaves came out whom he set free. One of them was Abū Bakra. It was his practice to free any slaves who came over to him.'"

He also stated, "Naṣr b. Riʾāb related to us, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'At al-Ṭāʾif, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Whatever slaves join us shall be freed."'

"'Some of the slaves did come out, including Abū Bakra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set them all free.'"

This *ḥadīth* is given only by Aḥmad; it hinges upon al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, a weak source. However, Imām Aḥmad did accept it. It was his view that it was a general, universal principle that every slave who left the enemy to join Islam was freed.

Others maintained that this was conditional and not an absolute rule.

If the *ḥadīth* is authentic, then its general legislative authority is very plain – as in the case of his statement (referred to above), 'Whoever kills an enemy shall own that man's possessions.'

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as stating, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mukarram al-Thaqafī related to me, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif, one of their slaves came out to join him, he being Abū Bakra, who belonged to al-Ḥārith b. Kalda. Along with him came

"al-Munbaʿith"; his real name was al-Muḍṭajiʿ, "he who lies down", but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him "al-Munbaʿith", "he who rises again". Also there were Yaḥnas and Wardān among a group of slaves who accepted Islam. When the delegation arrived from the people of al-Ṭāʾif to accept Islam, they asked, "Messenger of God, restore to us our slaves who joined you." He replied, "No; those have been set free by God." But he did give the man the clientage to his former slave.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿĀṣim, who said that he heard Abū ʿUthmān say, "I heard Saʿd, the first to shoot an arrow in God's cause, and Abū Bakra, who climbed over the walls of al-Ṭāʾif to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both say, 'We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, "Anyone who claims to be the son of someone other than his real father, while knowing the facts, will be denied paradise."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Hishām said, 'Maʿmar informed us, from ʿĀṣim, from Abū al-ʿĀliya – or Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī – as follows, "I heard Saʿd and Abū Bakra narrate the following *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS), namely, that ʿĀṣim reported having said to him, 'Two men have testified to you who are to be trusted.' 'Yes, that is so,' he replied. One of these was the first to shoot an arrow in God's cause. The other was the third of 23 persons who joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭāʾif."'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Two of his wives were accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of these was Umm Salama. He set up two pavilions for them and would pray between them. He besieged the enemy and fought them fiercely, engaging in exchanges of arrow fire."

Ibn Hishām stated that he also shot at them using catapults.

A trustworthy source related to me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the first in Islam to fire a catapult, using them against the people of al-Ṭāʾif.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that a number of the Muslims went beneath a testudo and moved it slowly forward to burn the walls of al-Ṭāʾif and heated nails were cast down upon them. When they emerged from beneath the testudo, Thaqīf shot arrows down at them, killing some men. At that point the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the Thaqīf vines be cut down and the Muslims set about this task.

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba then advanced and called for safe passage to talk with them. This was granted and they invited some women of Quraysh and Banū Kināna to come out to them; they feared that they might be treated as captives if the fortress were conquered. The women refused and Abū al-Aswad b. Masʿūd asked the two men, "Can't I make a better suggestion for you than that you put forward? You well know the whereabouts of the estate of Abū al-Aswad. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been encamped at a valley

called al-ʿAqīq, between the lands of Banū al-Aswad and al-Ṭāʾif. There is no property in al-Ṭāʾif more distant from irrigation water nor more difficult to supply or more inaccessible to cultivate than it. If Muḥammad cuts it down it will never produce again to him; so suggest that he either take it for himself or leave it alone for the sake of God and our kinship ties."

They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did leave it alone for them.

Al-Wāqidī quoted his elders similarly. It was his view that it was Salmān al-Fārisī who suggested using the catapult and that he himself operated it. It is said that he brought it forward, along with the two testudos. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī, through Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, reported that ʿUyayna b. Ḥuṣn sought permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to the people of al-Ṭāʾif to invite them to Islam. He was given this permission. When he went to them, he advised them, in a lengthy address, to stay in their fortification, telling them, "You should not be scared by the strikes of someone who cuts down trees!"

The account continues, "When he returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him what he had told them and he replied, 'I invited them into Islam, warned them of hell and told them of paradise.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You lie! You said such-and-such to them!' ʿUyayna admitted, 'You speak the truth, O Messenger of God! I turn to God and to you seeking forgiveness for that.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām al-Dustuwāʾī, from Qatāda, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Miʿdān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ al-Sulamī, he being ʿAmr b. ʿAbsa, may God be pleased with him, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the siege of the fortress at al-Ṭāʾif. I heard him say, 'Whoever of you can make an arrow reach (them) will reach an extra level in paradise.' And that day I made 16 arrows reach.

"I also heard him say, 'Whoever casts an arrow in God's cause is in effect set free. For whomever turns grey in God's cause there shall be a light on Resurrection Day. Any man who frees a Muslim shall have God render every one of his bones a shield for every other, bone by bone. And any woman who frees a Muslim woman shall have God render every one of her bones a shield for every other bone she has.'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated this, and al-Nasāʾī declared it *ṣaḥīḥ*, from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting Hishām, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who said that Umm Salama stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me when I had a *mukhannath*,[146] 'an effeminate man', with me. The former heard

146. The term seems to have been applied to men not sexually excited by women; see Ibn Kathīr's own comments hereafter.

the latter say to ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya, 'If God conquers al-Ṭāʾif for you tomorrow, be sure to take Ghaylān's daughter; she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Don't have such persons in your company!'"

According to Ibn ʿUyayna and Ibn Jurayj the name of the effeminate was Hīt.

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, with lines of transmission from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father. In one version there are the words, "whom they considered devoid of normal male sex drive". And in one there is the phrase, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I would not have this man know what is here. Don't have such people in your company.'"

This implies that if he were someone who understood that, then he would be included (for consideration) with those referred to in God Almighty's words, "or the children who are not conscious of the private parts of women" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, 31).

By the word *al-mukhannath* in the usage of the early authorities is meant those devoid of (sexual) interest in women; the word does not refer to homosexuals. For had he been like that, his execution would certainly have been necessary, as the *ḥadīth* tradition indicates, and as Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', may God be pleased with him, himself decreed execution.

The meaning of the phrase given above, "she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back" is a reference to the folds of flesh on her stomach; these would appear as four folds as she approached and each of these would become two as she moved away. This woman was named Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, and she was a lady of Thaqīf.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Ibn Jurayj as giving the name of this *mukhannath* as Hīt. This is widely accepted as fact. However, Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a freed-man of his aunt Bint ʿAmr b. ʿĀyid, a *mukhannath* named Mātiʿ. He would go into the presence of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his home; he was not considered as having the normal desire for women that men have. Then he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) overheard him saying to Khālid b. al-Walīd, 'Khālid, if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should conquer al-Ṭāʾif, then be sure that Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān, does not slip away from you. She exposes four folds of flesh when she approaches you and eight when she turns her back.' When he heard this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I would not have thought this man would notice such as that.' He then told his women, 'Let him not have access to you.' He was then banned from the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr, from Abū al-ʿAbbās, the blind poet, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged al-Ṭāʾif, but did not overcome them, he said, 'We'll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.'

This disappointed them and they asked, 'Are we to leave without victory?' He replied, 'Then recommence the fighting.' Next day they did so but suffered casualties. He then said, 'We'll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.' This pleased them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed." Sufyān, the sub-narrator, once used the wording, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna; he gave the line of transmission as being from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, different from that given by al-Bukhārī. And (this line is given) in another similar version and in one from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Kuthayyir b. Zayd b. al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ quotes Abū Hurayra as saying, 'Fifteen days of the siege of al-Ṭāʾif having elapsed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Nawfal b. Muʾāwiya al-Dīlī, asking, "Nawfal, what is your view of maintaining it?" He replied, "Messenger of God, if you wait out a fox in its hole, you'll take it; and if you leave it (where it is) it will do you no harm."'"

Muḥammmad b. Isḥāq stated, "I have been informed that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in the siege of Taqīf, he asked Abū Bakr, 'Abū Bakr, I had a vision that I was presented with a bowl filled with cream. A cock pecked at it and spilt its contents.' Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, replied, 'I do not think you will achieve with them today what you wish.' 'I don't think so either,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"Khawlā al-Sulamiyya, daughter of Ḥakīm, then said, 'Messenger of God, please give to me, if God gives you victory, the jewellery of Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, or that of al-Fāriʿa, daughter of ʿUqayl'; these were known as the Thaqīf women with the most jewels. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'What, Khawlā, if I am not awarded control over Thaqīf?'

"Khawlā then left and reported to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb what he had said and the latter went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Messenger of God, Khawlā has reported to me a conversation she claims to have had with you.' 'I might have said it,' he replied. ʿUmar asked, 'Then have you not been awarded control over them?' 'No,' he answered. ʿUmar asked, 'Then should I not announce our departure?' 'Yes, do,' he told him.

"ʿUmar then announced their departure. As the army moved off, Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAsīd b. Abū ʿAmr b. ʿAllāj commented, 'Well, their tribe is standing fast.' ʿUyayna b. Ḥuṣn responded, 'Yes, I swear by God, nobly and valiantly.' One of the Muslims then addressed the latter, 'ʿUyayna, God Damn you, would you praise the polytheists for withstanding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when you came here to assist him?' ʿUyayna replied, 'I did not come with you to fight Thaqīf; I wanted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to conquer al-Ṭāʾif so that I could acquire a Thaqīf woman with whom to have intercourse so she would bear me a son. We hold Thaqīf in high regard.'"

Ibn Lahīʿa narrated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, the story of Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm, and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said and how

he had told ʿUmar to announce the departure. He went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men that they not disband their force. Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth with his men and as he mounted to leave, he said, 'O God, guide them and spare us the trouble of them!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that they (the Muslim forces) said, "O Messenger of God, the Thaqīf arrows greatly harmed us; pray to God against them." He responded, "O God, give guidance to Thaqīf."

He (al-Tirmidhī) then commented, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mukarram, quoting well informed scholars as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif for some 30 days and then left, not having defeated them. After he had returned to Medina, a delegation of them came to him, in Ramaḍān, and accepted Islam."

Reference to this will come in detail with regard to Ramaḍān of 9 AH, if God so wills it.

The following is the list of names of those Muslims who were, according to Ibn Isḥāq, martyred at al-Ṭāʾif.

From Quraysh: Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya; ʿUrfuṭa b. Janāb, ally of Banū Umayyya b. al-Asad b. al-Ghawth; ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who was struck by an arrow there and who died of his wound in Medina, after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, struck by an arrow that day; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, an ally of Banū ʿAdī; al-Sāʾib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī al-Sahmī, along with his brother ʿAbd Allāh; Julayḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Saʿd b. Layth.

From the *anṣār*: from Khazraj: Thābit b. al-Jadhaʿ al-Aslamī; al-Ḥārith b. Sahl b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa al-Māzinī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Sāʿida.

From al-Aws: Ruqaym b. Thābit b. Thaʿlaba b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. Muʿāwiya.

Those martyred that day totalled twelve – seven men of Quraysh and four of the *anṣār*. Also killed was one man of Banū Layth. May God be pleased with them all.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on his way back from al-Ṭāʾif, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses concerning the battles at Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʾif:

'It was a replay of the battles of the Ḥunayn valley,
Awṭās and al-Abraq;
Hawāzin foolishly assembled their forces but broke up
like birds scattered.
They did not retain a single position against us,
except for their walls and the base of their ditch.

> We paraded before them to bring them out, but they fortified against us behind a closed gate.
> Our men without armour withdrew to a great force, a squadron whose armour shone with death.
> Close-ranked, and green-hued; if sent charging against a fortress, it would be as though never constructed.
> They walk like hounds on tree-shed thorns, like horses led separately then brought together again,
> Each wearing armour that once firmly set looks like a pool shimmering under a breeze,
> Over coats of armour, the hems of which brushed our shoes, finely woven by Dāʾūd and Muḥarriq's family.'"

Abū Dāʾūd stated that it was related to him by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ, quoting al-Firyābī, quoting Abān, quoting ʿAmr – he being Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥāzim – quoting ʿUthmān b. Abū Ḥāzim, from his father, from his grandfather Ṣakhr – he being Abū al-ʿAyla al-Aḥmasī - who said that when he, Ṣakhr, heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was attacking Thaqīf, he set off with his cavalry to assist him. When he arrived at al-Ṭāʾif, however, he found him already gone. He then made a vow that he would not leave the fortress before they emerged to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And he did not leave them until they had done so. Ṣakhr then wrote to him as follows, "Messenger of God, Thaqīf have now accepted your authority. I am accompanying them to you, along with my cavalry."

(The account continues) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that there be a general assembly for prayer and he spoke ten prayers for Banū al-Aḥmas, saying, 'O God, bless al-Aḥmas for both their cavalry and their foot soldiers.'

"When they arrived al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba spoke, 'O Messenger of God, Ṣakhr took my aunt and she adopted that which Muslims embrace.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Ṣakhr and said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam, their blood and possessions are spared; return al-Mughīra's aunt to him.' And he did return her.

"He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for that water supply belonging to Banū Salīm; they had fled from Islam and abandoned that water. He asked, 'Messenger of God, settle me and my people there.' 'Yes,' he agreed and he agreed to settle him and Aslam – the tribesmen of Aslam, that is – there. They then went to Ṣakhr and asked him to give the water supply to themselves, but he refused. And so they went again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have accepted Islam and went to Ṣakhr to have him give us our water supply, but he refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam their blood and possessions are spared. Deliver their water supply over to them.' He replied, 'Yes, O Prophet of God.'

"I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turn red with embarrassment at his (Ṣakhr's) having taken the women and also the water!"

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some difference of opinion about its chain of authorities.

I observe that it was the Divine Wisdom that determined that the conquest should be postponed that year so that they (Thaqīf) would not be annihilated. It has been related above how, following the death of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone earlier to al-Ṭā'if. He had invited them to come to God Almighty and to provide him sanctuary, so he could go on conveying the message of His Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, but they had rejected him and called him a liar.

He had then departed for home in a state of depression from which he had only emerged at Qarn al-Thaʿālib. There he saw a rain cloud in which was Gabriel. The angel of the mountains had then called out to him, saying, "Muḥammad, your Lord greets you. He has heard how your people have spoken to you and have rejected you. Would you like me to level the Akhshabayn mountains upon them?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had replied, "No; give them respite so that God might bring forth from their loins those who will worship Him alone, associating no other with Him."

His statement, "No; give them respite ..." was consistent with his not conquering their fortress so that they not be annihilated, and that the conquest should be delayed to allow them to come forth as Muslims thereafter, in Ramaḍān of the following year. This will be related hereafter, if God Almighty so will it.

Chapter.

The return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭā'if and the division of the spoils taken from Hawāzin at Ḥunayn; this division occurred following his entry from al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* pilgrimage.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following his departure from al-Ṭā'if, went through Daḥnā and made camp at al-Jiʿrāna, accompanied by his men and by many Hawāzin captives. One of his men had asked him, as he was leaving Thaqīf, "O Messenger of God, speak a prayer against them," but he had prayed, "O God, guide Thaqīf and bring them."

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "At al-Jiʿrāna a delegation of Hawāzin came to him. At that time he held captive 6,000 women and children and innumerable camels and sheep."

He went on, "ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb related to me (and there is a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Bukayr also from ʿAmr) quoting his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn and after he had taken captives and possessions from Hawāzin, a delegation came to him at al-Jiʿrāna from them; they had now accepted Islam. They addressed him as follows, "O Messenger of God, we are one people, one tribe. You well know what disaster has befallen us. Be kind to us and may God be kind to you."

"'Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad Abū Ṣurad, then arose and said, "Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids who cared for you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamir or al-Nu῾mān b. al-Mundhir and then had suffered from them what we have from you, we would have at least hoped for some special consideration and compassion from them. And you are the Messenger of God, the most trustworthy of men."

"'He then recited the following verses,

> "Be kind to us, Messenger of God, in your nobility, for
> you are the man from whom we hope and expect this.
> Be kind to womenfolk ruined by fate, their community
> destroyed and ruined.
> Fate has imposed upon us circumstances of great sorrow,
> the hearts of our people overwhelmed with misery and
> pain.
> If there does not reach them comforts that you deliver,
> O most wise of men when tested,
> Be kind to women from whom you suckled, your mouth
> filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.
> Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for then your
> actions will adorn you and not be wasted.
> Do not render us like those whose joy is gone for ever;
> let us survive, for we are a noble people.
> We will surely express thanks for favours for, if given
> us, we will remember them forever hereafter."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What matters most to you – your women and children or your possessions?" "What?" they replied. "Would you have us choose between our honour and our goods? Of course, our women and children matter most to us." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is yours. After I have prayed with the people, say, 'We ask the Messenger of God to intercede with the Muslims; and we ask them to intercede with him for us for our women and children.' When you ask this, I will grant your wish and make a request on your behalf."

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayer, they arose and they spoke as he had asked. He then said, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is now yours." The *muhājirūn* responded, "Whatever (rights) we had now go to the Messenger of God." The *anṣār* said the same.

"'However, al-Aqra῾ b. Ḥābis said, "For myself and Banū Tamīm, no!" ῾Uyayna stated, "For myself and Banū Fazāra, no!" Al-῾Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī said, "For myself and Banū Sulaym, no!" But Banū Sulaym disagreed, saying, "What was ours is now that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." ῾Abbās b. Mirdās then asked Banū Sulaym, "Would you disgrace me?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, "Whoever withholds his right shall have six camels due from the first booty that we obtain. Now return their women and children to these people."

"'He then mounted and the people followed after him, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide up for us our share of the booty!" They forced him over close to a tree which pulled off his cloak. He asked them, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, if the camels I had for you numbered as many as all the trees of Tihāma, I would divide them up among you. Moreover, you have never found me miserly, cowardly or untruthful!"

"'He then went over to a camel and took from its hump a piece of its fur which he held up in two fingers, saying, "People, I swear by God, I have nothing from your booty – not even this hair – except for one-fifth of it. And that too is given back to you. 'A needle for a needle'.[147] For theft of booty means sin, and hell-fire and disgrace on Resurrection Day for those who take it."

"'One of the *anṣār* then came carrying a strand of hair rope and said, "Messenger of God, I took this to sew up a saddle-cloth for a camel of mine with ulcers." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I award to you my rights in it. Since word of this might spread, I don't need it." And he threw it from his hand.'"

This text requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned their captives to them before the division of the spoils, a view held by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, but one opposed by Mūṣā b. ʿUqba and others.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It states that when the delegation of Hawāzin came to him, having accepted Islam, and asked to have their property and women returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, "There are with me those you see. The talk that is most favoured by me is what is most true. Choose one of two options – either the captives or their possessions. I have been waiting for you."

(The narration continued) "He had delayed the distribution for ten days following his return from al-Ṭāʾif. When it was clear to them that he would return to them only one of the two categories, they replied, 'We choose those of us who are captives.'

"He then arose among the Muslims and, having given appropriate praise to God, said, 'These brothers of yours have come in repentance and I have decided to return those of them taken captive. Whoever of you wishes to do that as a favour should do so. Those of you who would prefer to receive this (full) share, we will give it with the first booty God awards us.'

"The Muslims responded, 'We are pleased to return them as a favour, O Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'We do not know which of you have agreed and which have not. So go back and let your leaders inform us.' They did return and their leaders talked with them and came to him and informed him that they (all) had agreed and had given their assent (to the release of the prisoners)."

147. Perhaps: that is, "Be absolutely scrupulous over issues of value".

This is what we have been informed about those Hawāzin taken captive.

Al-Bukhārī did not refer to the objection raised by al-Aqra῾, ῾Uyayna and their families; he remained silent on the issue. A positive (statement) generally takes priority over a denial. And more so if there be silence.

Al-Bukhārī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī as follows, "῾Umar b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ῾im informed me, from his father, that Jubayr b. Muṭ῾im informed him that while he was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanying the men returning from Ḥunayn, the bedouin so crowded around him questioning him that they forced him against a tree which pulled off his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped and asked, 'Hand me back my cloak. If I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was informed by Abū Wajra, Yazīd b. ῾Ubayd al-Sa῾dī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to ῾Alī b. Abū Ṭālib a slave girl named Rayṭa, daughter of Hilāl b. Ḥayān b. ῾Umayya, and to ῾Uthmān b. ῾Affān he gave a slave-girl called Zaynab, daughter of Ḥayān b. ῾Amr b. Ḥayān. He also gave a slave girl to ῾Umar, but he gave her to his son, ῾Abd Allāh.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that Nāfi῾ quoted ῾Umar's son ῾Abd Allāh as having said, "I sent her off to my aunts of Banū Jumaḥ to prepare her properly for me while I circumambulated the *ka῾ba* and arranged to come and take her on my return from the mosque. When I had finished at the mosque, I went there and found everyone in turmoil. I asked what was going on and they replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned their wives and children (to Hawāzin). I then said, 'Your woman friend is with Banū Jumaḥ; go and get her.' And they did so."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "῾Uyayna b. Ḥisn took an elderly Hawāzin woman, saying as he did so, 'I can see an old lady who I think is of high standing in her tribe; ransom for her may be substantial.' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives at a rate of six camels per person, ῾Uyayna refused to give her back. Zuhayr b. Ṣurad then told him, 'Let her go; I swear, her mouth is not cool, her breasts are not rounded, she has no child in her womb, she has no upset husband, and her milk is not abundant. It's not as if you've taken a woman who is fair-skinned and a virgin, or even someone who is plump and mature!' And so ῾Uyayna gave her back in exchange for six camels."

Al-Wāqidī stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils at al-Ji῾rāna, each warrior received four camels and forty sheep.

Salama quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr to the effect that a man who took part in the Battle of Ḥunayn said, "I was riding along on my camel at the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I was wearing heavy boots. My camel bumped against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the toe of my boot struck and hurt his leg. He then tapped my foot with his whip, saying, 'You hurt me! Go further away from me!' So I moved off. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to see me and I assumed this was

because I had struck his leg the day before. So I went to him, feeling apprehensive, but he said, 'You struck my leg yesterday and hurt me and I tapped your foot with my whip. I have called for you to give you compensation for that.' He then awarded me 80 ewes for the blow he had struck me.'"

The import of all of this is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave back the captives only after the division of the spoils, as this text and others show.

The clear text of the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, who was quoted by Muḥammad b. Isḥaq, from his father and from his grandfather, is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives to Hawāzin before the division of spoils. This is why, when he mounted, that the bedouin crowded around him asking that the division of the spoils take place, forcing him over to a tree which tugged off his cloak, so that he said, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly."

This is also related in similar words by al-Bukhārī, from Jubayr b. Muṭʿim.

Since the men feared that Hawāzin would have their possessions returned to them as their women and children had been, they asked him to divide it up at al-Jiʿrāna, as God Almighty and Glorious is He, had ordered him. He gave preference and priority to some persons and some of the tribal leaders in this distribution and some of the *anṣār* complained to him until he addressed them and explained the wisdom of his actions, in order to placate them.

Some foolish and ignorant persons, including some from the *khawārij*,[148] such as Dhū al-Khuwayṣira,[149] may God rebuke him, and the like, made certain criticisms, as will be related and explained in detail in a *ḥadīth* relating thereto. And help is to be sought from God.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿĀrim related to us, quoting Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Sumayṭ al-Sadūsī, to the effect that Anas b. Mālik said, 'Having conquered Mecca, we sent an expedition to Ḥunayn. The polytheists advanced in the most impressive lines I had ever seen. First came the lines of cavalry, then the fighters, then the women and children, then the sheep and goats, then the camels. We were a large force, some 6,000 strong, and Khālid b. al-Walīd was in command of our vanguard of cavalry. Our cavalry began to take shelter behind us but they left themselves open. It was not long before the bedouin forces along with others we know fled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'O *muhājirūn*! O *anṣār*! Where are you now?'"

148. The so-named "Kharijites" (*Khawārij*) were the first group to dissent on doctrinal reasons from orthodox Islam. They were active in the last two years of the Caliphate of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and engaged in sporadic uprisings throughout the Arab-Islamic empire thereafter. The Ibādiyya of North Africa and the lower Arabian (Persian) Gulf consider themselves heirs to the early *khawārij*. See also pp. hereafter.

149. For reference to the bedouin Dhū al-Khuwayṣira see hereafter.

Anas explained that this was according to an account of his aunt.[150] He then went on, "We said, *Labbayka*! 'At your service, Messenger of God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then advanced and by the time we came to them God had already defeated them.

"We seized their property and went on to al-Ṭā'if which we besieged for 40 nights before returning to Mecca. There we stayed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was awarding some men 100 (camels) while to another he would give 200.

"The *anṣār* were saying among themselves, 'He gives to those who fought him in the battles, but not to those who did not!'[151]

"This talk was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* leaders to come in to see him. Then he said, 'Let none but an *anṣārī*' (or he used the word the *anṣār*, plural) 'come in to me.' So we entered his pavilion, which we filled. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then addressed us, saying, '*Anṣār*!' – or something to that effect – 'What is this that has reached me?' 'What is it that you have heard, Messenger of God?' He asked, '(You tell me) what talk it is I have heard!' 'Well, what have you heard, Messenger of God?' they asked.

"He then asked, 'Are you not content that others receive material goods while you go off with the Messenger of God, whom you have enter your homes?' They replied, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' And they were satisfied."

This is related thus by Muslim, from a *ḥadith* of Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān.

There are strange aspects to this. (For example) His statement that they were 6,000 at the battle with Hawāzin, whereas they were 12,000 strong. Also his statement that they besieged al-Ṭā'if for 40 days, whereas they did so for a month, or even less than 20 days. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, who said that Anas b. Mālik stated to him, "Some of the *anṣār* began talking when God gave to His messenger the spoils from Hawāzin and he began awarding some men 100 camels. They were saying, 'May God forgive the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for giving to Quraysh but not us, even though our swords drip with their blood!'"

Anas b. Mālik went on, "What they were saying was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he sent for the *anṣār* whom he gathered in a leather pavilion, allowing entry to no one else at the time. When they were assembled, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'What is this talk that has reached me?' The *anṣār* elders replied, 'Our leaders, Messenger of God, have said nothing. Some of our young men, however, have been saying, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh but not to us, even though our swords drip with their blood."' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I am giving to these men who were so recently polytheists in order to establish good will with them. Are you not

150. The Arabic text indicates a footnote relating to this woman; however there is no accompanying material in the footnote.

151. By giving to the Meccans and not to the *anṣār*.

content they go off with material things, while you take the Prophet to your homes? I swear by God, what you take home is far better than what they do.' They responded, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'You will find others much advantaged. But be patient until you meet God and His messenger; for I will be there at the *al-ḥawḍ*,[152] the pool".'"

Anas concluded, "But they were not patient."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving it from this line.

Al-Bukhārī went on to relate, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAwf, quoting Hishām b. Zayd, from his grandfather Anas b. Mālik, who said, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin attacked. With the Prophet (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors, along with some Meccans who had joined them. They (the Muslims) drew back, and so he called out, '*Anṣār*!' And they responded, '*Labbayka, yā rasūl Allāhi, wa saʿdayk*! *Labbayka*! *Naḥnu bayna yadayk*!'[153] 'At your service, Messenger of God, and at your assistance! We are here before you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!' After that the polytheists were defeated and he gave both to those who had joined at Mecca and to those who were *muhājirūn*; he gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They began talking and he summoned them to his pavilion. He asked them, 'Are you not content to have them take away sheep and camels, while you go back with the Messenger of God?' He went on, 'If the rest were to enter some valley, while the *anṣār* climbed up a mountain defile, I would take the path of the *anṣār*!'"

In another narration from al-Bukhārī on this subject, he (Anas b. Mālik) stated, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin, Ghaṭafān and others advanced, along with their livestock and families. With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors and some men who had joined him at Mecca. They (the Muslims) withdrew, so that he was left alone. He made two calls to them, each call separate from the other. Turning to his right, he called, '*Anṣār*!' They responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God! Be content, we are with you!' At the time he was riding his white mule. He dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!'

"The polytheists were defeated and he won much booty that day and he divided it between the *muhājirīn* and the Meccans who had joined the Muslims (after the conquest). However, he gave the *anṣār* nothing. The *anṣār* said, 'If difficulties arise, we are summoned, but the spoils are given to others!'

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he assembled them in a pavilion and asked them, '*Anṣār*, what is this report that has reached me?' They were silent and he asked, '*Anṣār*, are you not content that others have worldly goods while you go away with the Messenger of God, having him for yourselves in your own homes?' 'Yes,' they replied. Then he said, 'If the men

152. That sweet-water source in paradise where, at resurrection, the Prophet (ṢAAS) will meet his community.

153. Their response is both rhythmic and rhymed.

were to make their way through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a route through a mountain defile, I would follow them.' Hishām asked, 'Abū Ḥamza' (i.e. Anas b. Mālik), 'did you actually witness that?' He replied, 'Where would I have been, away from him?'"

Al-Bukhārī then related it – as also did Muslim – from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled the *anṣār* and said, 'Quraysh were still recently in the *jāhiliyya* and have greatly suffered. I wanted to aid them and to establish goodwill with them. Are you not content for others to return with worldly goods, while you go to your homes with the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He then said, 'If the men were to make their way into a valley while the *anṣār* followed a route into a mountain defile, I would follow the valley – or the defile – of the *anṣār*.'"

They also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥamīd, from Anas in similar form. In that version they (the *anṣār*) had exclaimed, "By God, that's very strange! While our swords still drip with their blood, the spoils are divided up among them." He then addressed them in the words similar to those given above.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave from the spoils at Ḥunayn to Abū Sufyān, ʿUyayna, al-Aqraʿ, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and others. The *anṣār* then said, 'Our swords drip with their blood, yet they go off with the spoils!' News of this reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he assembled the *anṣār* in a pavilion of his until it was filled. He asked, 'Is there anyone here who is not of you?' They replied, 'No one except our cousin.' He commented, 'A cousin is of one's own people.' He then asked, 'Have you said such-and-such?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He observed, 'You are the *shiʿār*, "the under-garments", while the people are the *al-dithār*, "the outer-wear".[154] Are you content to have the others receive the sheep and camels while you take the Messenger of God to your homes?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He went on, 'The *anṣār* are my *karsh*, "my very insides", and *ʿaybatī*,[155] "my closest family". If the men were to take a path through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a mountain defile, I would follow along the defile. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been one of the *anṣār*.' Ḥammād said, 'He gave out 100 camels (to the foregoing persons). He then named each one of those.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this with this line of transmission. And the *ḥadīth* meets the criteria set by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Ibn Abū ʿAdī, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O *anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were lost and did not God then give you guidance through me?

154. *Al-shiʿār* refers to the clothing directly touching the body, while *al-dithār* is the clothing that covers the undergarments and does not contact the body. The comment is to emphasize the degree of closeness to the Prophet.

155. The translation of these two terms is conjectural.

Did I not come to you when you were scattered, and did not God unite you through me? Did I not come to you when you were enemies (to one another) and did not God then place goodwill in your hearts?" "Yes, Messenger of God," they agreed. He asked, "Do you not say, 'You came to us in fear and we made you secure, in flight and we gave you sanctuary, in failure and we gave you aid?'" They replied, "Indeed yes; God has credit for His favour to us and to His messenger."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and it meets the criteria established by the *ṣaḥīḥayn*, the two canonical collections.

This *ḥadīth* from Anas b. Mālik is tantamount to *mutawātir*.[156]

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting 'Amr b. Yaḥyā, from 'Abbād b. Tamīm, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Āṣim, who said, "When God gave booty to His messenger (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn, he made distributions to those recently reconciled (to Islam) but gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They seem to have been upset at not having received as had the others, and so he addressed them as follows, '*Anṣār*, did I not find you astray and did not then God guide you to me? Were you not divided, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not enrich you through me?' As he asked each of these, they replied, 'God and His messenger give many favours.'

"He went on, 'If you had wished, you could have said, "You came to us so-on-and-so-forth." Are you not content to have others go off with the sheep and camels, while you take the Messenger of God away to your homes? Had it not been for the *hijra* I would have been one of the *anṣār*. If the people were to take a path into a valley and a mountain defile, I would follow into the valley and defile taken by the *anṣār*. The *anṣār* are *shi'ār*, while the people are *dithār*.[157] After me you will notice others given preference; be patient until you meet me at *al-ḥawḍ*, the pool before paradise.'"

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Amr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as saying, "It was related to me by 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd that Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won the spoils at the battle of Ḥunayn and had divided these up as he did to those Meccans of goodwill and to others of the Arabs, but had given none of it whatsoever to the *anṣār*, the latter men were resentful. They said, "So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has met with his own!" Sa'd b. 'Ubāda went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "O Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* feel resentment towards you." "Why?" he asked. Sa'd explained, "Because you have been distributing booty to your own people and others but giving them, the *anṣār*, nothing." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "And where do you stand in that, Sa'd?" "Well", he replied,

156. That is, the information it contains is affirmed by so many trustworthy persons as to exclude doubt over its veracity.

157. See footnote p.485.

"I'm just one man of my own people." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Assemble your people for me in this enclosure and when they are gathered, let me know." Saʿd then left, called out to them and they assembled in that enclosure. One of the *muhājirīn* also came; he was allowed entry and went in. Others who came were sent away. Eventually all the *anṣār*, without exception, were gathered for him. Saʿd then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* are now assembled where you told me to gather them."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went and stood among them to address them. He gave fitting praise and thanks to God and went on to say, "*Anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were astray, and did not God then guide you? (Were you not) poor and did God not enrich you? Were you not enemies and did not God create good will between you?" "Yes," they agreed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Can you not give me response, O *anṣār*?" They replied, "What should we say, Messenger of God? How should we answer you? Our favours are due to God and to His messenger." He replied, "I swear by God, had you wished you could have said, 'You spoke the truth, again and again.' And 'You came to us an outcast and we sheltered you. You came in distress and we comforted you. You were fearful and we made you secure, failing and we gave you aid.'" They responded, "Our favours are due to God and to His messenger."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Do you find within you, O *anṣār*, a lust for those worldly things whereby I reconciled a people who had accepted Islam, while I entrusted you with that of Islam which God had allotted to you? Are you resentful, for the others to take sheep and camels to their homes, while you return with the Messenger of God to yours? I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, that if the people were to follow one mountain defile while the *anṣār* followed another, I would make my way through the defile of the *anṣār*. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been a man of the *anṣār*. O God, have mercy on the *anṣār*, their children and their children's children!"

"'They wept at this until their beards were wet and said, "We are content with God as our Lord and His messenger as distributor."

"'He then left and they dispersed.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq. None of the compilers of the canonical collections gave it with this line of transmission. It is (to be considered) *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Imām Aḥmad related it also from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Faḍl b. Marzūq, from ʿAṭīya b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who quoted one of the *anṣār* as having said, to his friends, "I swear, I told you, didn't I, that once things settled down, he would give preference to others over you?" They replied to him rudely and that reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then came to them and said some things the narrator said he did not recall. They replied, "Yes, Messenger of God." He told them, "You used not to ride horses" and every time he said something to them, they replied, "Yes, Messenger of God."

He then related the rest of the *ḥadīth* as above. Aḥmad was also alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad was also alone in relating it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sāliḥ, from Abū Saʿīd, in similar words. He related it as well from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, in an abbreviated form.

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, from his father, from ʿIbāya b. Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, from his grandfather Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to each of those whose goodwill he sought 100 camels from the spoils at Ḥunayn. He gave 100 to each of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis, ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha, and Mālik b. ʿAwf. To al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās he gave less than 100, less than to the others, and so he recited the verses,

> "Would you divide my share and that of (my horse)
> al-ʿUbayd between ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ?
> (Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
> father) Mirdās in the assembly.
> I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
> whomever you demean today will never be raised.
> I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
> nothing, nor was I defended."

The account concludes, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then awarded him more camels to bring his share up to 100."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUyayna in similar terms, and this is (also) the version given by al-Bayhaqī.

There is another version given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Ibn Isḥāq. That quoted al-ʿAbbās as reciting,

> "Those were the spoils I gained by charging on my colt
> into the plain
> And by keeping the tribe alert so that they not doze;
> and when they slept, I did not.
> But my share and that of (my horse) al-ʿUbayd went to
> ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ.
> I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
> nothing, nor was I defended,
> Given only some weak camels, to the number of their
> four legs!
> (Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
> father) Mirdās in the assembly
> And I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
> whomever you put down today will never be raised."

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard these verses, he asked al-ʿAbbās, 'Are you the one who said, "But my share and that of al-ʿUbayd went to al-Aqraʿ and ʿUyayna?"'

"Abū Bakr observed, 'That's not what he said, Messenger of God. I swear by God, you were never a poet; that would not be fitting for you.'[158] 'Well, what were his words?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr then recited the line (reversing the order of the names) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Well, they're the same; it doesn't matter which you put first!'

"He then said, 'Cut out his tongue for me!' Some people feared that he meant for him (al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās) to be mutilated, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) only wanted payment made to him. And he added, 'And also a share for ʿUbayd, his horse!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to him, quoting Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "I was with the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was encamped at al-Jiʿrāna, between Mecca and al-Medina, Bilāl being there with him. A bedouin came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and demanded, 'Well, aren't you going to fulfil your promise to me?' '*Abshir*! Rejoice!' The bedouin insisted, 'You've told me that *abshir* too often already!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went over to Abū Mūsā and Bilāl, looking angry and said, "The *bushrā*, the rejoicing, has been given back; you two have it!" He then asked for a bowl of water in which he washed his hands and face. He then took a mouthful and spat it back in it, saying, "Now, you two drink it and pour the rest over your faces and necks and you two 'rejoice'." They took the bowl and did as he asked. Umm Salama called out from behind the curtain, "Keep some for your mother!" And they did leave some for her.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Mālik, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "I was walking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was wearing a mantle from Najrān that had a rough hem. A bedouin came up to him and pulled on the mantle so roughly that I saw that its hem had made a mark on his shoulder. The bedouin said, 'Order a payment to me from God's property you have!' He turned to him, laughed and then ordered that a payment be made to him."

Ibn Isḥāq recorded the names of those to each of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed 100 camels that day. These were: Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; his son Muʿāwiya; Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār; ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha; al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī, ally of Banū Zuhra; al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; Jubayr b. Muṭʿim; Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī; Suhayl b.

158. C.f. *sūra Yāsīn*; XXXVI, v.69; "And We have not taught him poetry; that would not be fitting for him."

ʿAmr; Ḥuwaytib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn; Safwān b. Umayya; al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī, that one of his companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, since you gave 100 camels to each of ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ, why did you not do so to Juʿayl b. Surāqa al-Ḍamrī?" He replied, "By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in his hand, Juʿayl is better than the very best of all those on earth who are like ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ! But I wanted to establish goodwill with them for them to accept Islam; I placed the trust of Juʿayl b. Surāqa in his Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to mention those to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed less than 100 camels. It would be too lengthy to relate these.

In the authentic *ḥadith* of Ṣafwān b. Umayya, he is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on making distributions to me from the spoils of Ḥunayn; he was previously the most hated person to me, but he gave until he became, for me, the most loved thing that God had created."

An Account of the arrival of Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke with a delegation from Hawāzin and asked them what had happened to Mālik b. ʿAwf. They replied that he was in al-Ṭāʾif with Banū Thaqīf. He told them, "Inform him that if he comes to me as a Muslim, I will return to him his people and their belongings and will award him 100 camels."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When Mālik heard this, he slipped away from Thaqīf and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jiʿrānā – or in Mecca – accepted Islam and became a good Muslim. He then restored to Mālik both his people and their belongings. When he also gave him 100 camels, Mālik b. ʿAwf, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

> 'Never have I seen nor heard of the like of Muḥammad
> among all mankind.
> He gives in good faith and generously when requested
> and if you wish he will foretell what is to come.
> When the squadron goes into action with its lances and
> strikes hard with its Indian-steel swords
> He is like a lion crouching over its cubs within its
> den.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him in command over those of his people who had accepted Islam, those tribes being Thumāla, Salima and Fahm. He (Mālik) had those do battle against Thaqīf; whenever they brought their flocks out, he would attack, thus causing them great difficulty."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, quoting al-Ḥasan, who stated that ʿAmr b. Thaʿlab related to him as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made distribution to some and did not to others. It seems that some complained to him and he responded, 'I give to those people I fear will be impatient and resentful; and to those who are self-sufficient and whose goodness is inspired in them by God, I give not. Of them is ʿAmr b. Taghlib.'

"'ʿAmr went on, 'I would rather have such words about me said by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than have the most choice animals of the herd!'"

Abū ʿĀṣim added to this, quoting Jarīr as saying, "I heard al-Ḥasan quote ʿAmr b. Taghlib as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then brought property – or captives – and distributed it in this way."

In an account from al-Bukhārī he is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought some property – or something – and gave to some men but not to others. It reached him that those who had been left out were complaining and so he made an address to them. He gave praise and thanks to God, then said, 'And further ...'" He then related it as above.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Hishām quoted Ḥassān b. Thābit as having recited these verses about the *anṣār* having been delayed in receiving distributions from the spoils:

"Sadness grew and water from the eyes fell copiously, teardrops streaming,
In pain for Shammāʾ who is young and slender, blameless and healthy.
But forget Shammāʾ, for her passion has faded; and bad it is to meet a love now past.
Go to the Messenger and say, 'O most trustworthy of all men for Believers, if all men be counted,
Why were Sulaym called, though they are to leave, in preference to those who gave refuge and aid?
God named them *anṣār* for their *naṣr*, "aid", to the true faith, while warfare dragged on.
They sped to God's cause, exposing themselves to dangers, never betraying nor complaining.
When people banded against us over you, and our sole defence was our swords and spear points
We battled them and spared none, ignoring nothing that the *sūras* revealed.
Those loving war do not dislike meeting us; when its fire flares, we kindle it even more!
As when we repelled at Badr, before they achieved their goal, those hypocrites, victory alighting upon us.
We were your troops at the battle on the slopes of Uḥud when Muḍar insolently assembled their clans.

We were not slow or ineffectual; they found we did not
stumble, as did all the rest!'"

An Account of the dissatisfaction of some who were ignorant, divisive and hypocritical towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concerning the just distributions he made by agreement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qabīṣa related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils of Ḥunayn, one of the *anṣār* said, 'By doing this, he was not seeking to serve God!' I then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him of this. His face darkened and he exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses! He was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh as saying, "At Ḥunayn the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave preferable treatment to some persons. He gave 100 camels to each of al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna and also made distributions to others. One man said, 'By this division, service to God was not intended!' I said, 'Well, I'm going to report this to the Messenger of God.'

"He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

He also related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from al-Muʿtamir.

In one account given by al-Bukhārī, the wording is, "By God, this is a distribution that is devoid of justice; service to God was not intended." So I said, "I will inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this!" When I went to him and told him, he exclaimed, "And who will ever be just, if it not be God and His messenger! May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿUbayda b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, from Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who said, "I and Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī came to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ while he was circumambulating the *kaʿba*, his sandals hanging from his hand. We asked him, 'Were you present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the man from Banū Tamīm spoke to him at the battle of Ḥunayn?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'A man of Banū Tamīm named Dhū al-Khuwaysira came and stood nearby while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils. Dhū al-Khuwayṣira told him, "Muḥammad, I have been watching what you have been doing today." "Yes", asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "and what have you thought?" "I do not think you have been acting justly." The Prophet (ṢAAS) was very angry and said, "Confound you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it!"'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then asked, 'Should we not kill him?' He replied, 'No; leave him alone. He shall lead a faction who will go deeply into the faith and emerge as an arrow does from its target. When its head is examined, nothing will be seen upon it. Also, its shaft and its notch will have nothing upon them. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood.'"[159]

Al-Layth b. Saʿd quoted from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh as saying, "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jiʿrāna while he was making distributions from the spoils of Ḥunayn. There was silver in Bilāl's cloak which he was taking and handing to people. The man said, 'Muḥammad, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who will be just if not me? Otherwise I would have disappointed and failed.' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Will you permit me, Messenger of God, to kill this hypocrite?' He replied, 'God forbid that people say of me that I kill my men! (When) this fellow and his friends recite the Qurʾān, it doesn't emerge out of their throats; they have it pass straight on through, like an arrow exiting its target!'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Rumḥ, from al-Layth.

Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿĀmir, quoting Qurra, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils of Ḥumayn, a man went up to him and said, 'Do be just!' He responded, 'I will be made to suffer if I am not just!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Saʿīd, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was making distributions of the spoils, Dhū al-Khuwayṣir, a man of Banū Tamīm, came over to him and said, 'Messenger of God, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who would be just if I were not? Then I would have disappointed and failed. If I were not just, who would be?' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Messenger of God, will you give me permission to behead him?' 'Leave him alone,' he replied. 'He has friends. One of you would feel contempt for his prayer and their prayer, his fasting and their fasting. They recite the Qurʾān, but their incantations do not come forth. They slip on through Islam as an arrow slips on through a target. If you examine its head, you'll see nothing on it; then its head binding, you'll see nothing; then its shaft, and you'll see nothing; then its feathers, you'll see nothing. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood. Their sign is that they will have among them a black man, one of whose upper arms reminds you of a woman's breasts, or like a piece of fat meat vibrating; they will appear at a time when people are disunited.'

159. This *ḥadīth* suggests foreknowledge on the part of the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning the schism in Islam resulting from the activities of the *khawārij* of later years. The text of this *ḥadīth* twice employs the word *kharaja*, to go out or secede, from which the name of the movement is derived.

"Abū Saʿīd stated, 'I testify that I heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I also testify that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib fought them while I was present. He gave orders and that man was searched out and brought. I saw him to be as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described him.'"

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd in similar words.

An Account of the arrival of the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at al-Jiʿrāna; her name was al-Shaymāʾ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that a man of Banū Saʿd related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle with Hawāzin, "If you capture Nijād – a man of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr – don't let him escape you." (He had done something serious.) "When the Muslims took him, they led him and his family away. With him they took al-Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"They treated her roughly as they took her away and she said to the Muslims, 'You should know, I swear by God, that I am the foster-sister of your leader.' They did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Yazīd b. ʿUbayd al-Saʿdī – he being Abū Wajzā – said, 'When she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) she said, "Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister." "How can you prove that?" he asked. She replied, "There is the mark of the bite you gave me on my back when I carried you on my hip." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized the mark and spread out his cloak for her, sat her down on it and treated her well. He told her, "If you wish, you may live with me in honour and affection. If you wish for me to provide for you and to let you return to your people, I will do so." She replied, "Yes, do provide for me and return me to my people." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her presents and returned her to her people. Banū Saʿd claim that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave-girl, that she married them to one another and that descendants of that union still survive.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik, from Qatāda, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Hawāzin, a slave-girl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I am your sister! I am Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith.' He asked her, 'If you are telling the truth, then you have a mark I made that would not wear away.' She then exposed her upper arm and said, 'Yes, Messenger of God. When you were small, you gave me this bite.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spread out his cloak for her and said, 'Ask and it will be given; intercede for someone and you will be interceded for.'"

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that he was informed by Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, quoting ʿAmr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Sulamī, quoting Muslim, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting

Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Thawbān, who said, "My uncle 'Umāra b. Thawbān informed me that Abū al-Ṭufayl told him, 'I was a slave who used to care for the camel hides, and I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributing the camels at al-Ji'rāna.

"'A woman came up to him and he spread out his cloak for her. I asked who she was and they told me she was his foster-mother.'"

This is a strange *ḥadīth*; perhaps he meant his foster-sister, who was nursed together with him by her mother, Ḥalīma al-Sa'diyya. If this tradition, as given above, is correct, Ḥalīma would have been very old; the time elapsed between her having suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (and their being at) al-Ji'rāna was over 60 years. The youngest she could have been when she suckled him was 30 years of age. Moreover, God knows best how long she lived after that.

A *ḥadīth mursal* exists which relates that both his foster-parents came up to him. But God knows best how true this is.

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated in *al-Marāsīl* that Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said that) 'Umar b. al-Sā᾽ib related to him that he was informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day seated when his foster-father came up to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread out part of his cloak for him and he sat upon it. Then his mother came and he laid out another part of his cloak, on his other side, for her to sit upon. His foster-brother next arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and sat him down before him.

It is explained above that all Hawāzin are connected to him due to his having been suckled by Banū Sa'd b. Bakr, who are a clan of Hawāzin. Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, stated, "O Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids, so be kind to us, may God be kind to you." He then recited, in part,

"Be kind to womenfolk from whom you suckled, your
mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.
Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for them your
actions will adorn you and not be wasted"

This, then, was the reason why Bakra's father was set free; by so doing, he restored to them all their previous and present rights and privileges, as individuals and as a group.

Al-Wāqidī related from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, from his father, who said, "Al-Naḍīr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada was one of the most handsome of men. He used to say, 'Praise be to God who was kind enough to award us Islam and Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And we will not die with the same (belief system) of our fathers, and that in which our brothers and cousins were killed.'"

He then went on to relate his enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the fact that he went out with his people of Quraysh to Ḥunayn still believing in their old faith. He said, "If there were to be a defeat for Muḥammad, we were prepared

to attack him. But we were not able to accomplish that. When he was at al-Jiʿrāna, I was still unchanged. Then I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Is that Naḍīr?' '*Labbayk*! 'At your service,' I replied. He asked, 'Would you now like something better than what God prevented you from achieving at Ḥunayn?' I went quickly over to him and he said, 'It is now time for you to recognize how wrong you were.' I said, 'I realize that had there been any other (god) than God, he would have helped. I testify that there is no god but God alone and without associate!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, make him ever more firm!' Al-Naḍīr then said, 'By Him who sent him with the truth, it was as though my heart was as firm as a rock in the faith and in enlightenment into the truth.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Praise be to God Who gave him guidance!'"

THE ʿUMRA OF AL-JIʿRĀNA IN DHŪ AL-QAʿDA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Maʿnī both quoted Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā as having quoted Qatāda as saying, "I asked Anas b. Mālik the following, 'How many pilgrimages did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make?' 'One full *ḥijja* and four lesser *ʿumra* pilgrimages. There was one *ʿumra* at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya truce, another in Dhū al-Qaʿda from Medina, another in Dhū al-Qaʿda from al-Jiʿrāna, where he distributed the spoils of Ḥunayn, and then the *ʿumra* he performed when he also performed the full *ḥijja* pilgrimage.'"

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī all related this with various lines of transmission, from Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Naḍr, quoting Dāʾūd – meaning al-ʿAṭṭār – from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the third from al-Jiʿrāna, and the fourth at the time of his full *ḥijja*."

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Makkī, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār. He considered it *ḥasan*, "good", as did al-Tirmidhī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three *ʿumra*. All were in Dhū al-Qaʿda. He would (continue to) make the call *Labbayka*! until he saluted the (Black) Stone."

This tradition is *gharīb*, "unilateral", from this source.

These are the three *ʿumra* that occurred during Dhū al-Qaʿda; these are apart from the one that coincided with his full *ḥijja*, which took place in Dhu al-Ḥijja. If this source suggests the commencement of his *Iḥrām*, state of ritual consecration, through them in Dhū al-Qaʿda, it could be because he did not include that of

al-Ḥudaybiyya, since he was blocked from it and did not actually accomplish it. But God knows best.

I observe that Nāfi῾ and his master Ibn ῾Umar denied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fully accomplished the *῾umra* from al-Ji῾rāna. This is according to the account given by al-Bukhārī. He stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Nu῾mān, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi῾, from Ibn ῾Umar, who quoted ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having asked, "Messenger of God, (what should I do about) the vow I made before the coming of Islam to spend a day in *i῾tikāf*, prayer in seclusion?" He ordered him to fulfil the vow.

(The narrator went on) "῾Umar received two slave girls from the captives taken at Ḥunayn and he accommodated them in a house in Mecca. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released the Ḥunayn captives and they began to run in the streets. ῾Umar asked (his son), '῾Abd Allāh, what's this you see happening?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has released the captives.' ῾Umar then said, 'Go and send the two slave-girls away.'"

Nāfi῾ went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not make the *῾umra* from al-Ji῾rāna. Had he done so, this fact would not have been unknown to ῾Abd Allāh (b. ῾Umar)."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb al-Sukhtiyānī, from Nāfi῾, from (῾Abd Allāh) Ibn ῾Umar.

Muslim also related it from Aḥmad b. ῾Abda al-Ḍabbī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi῾, who said, "Reference was made in the presence of (῾Abd Allāh) Ibn ῾Umar to the *῾umra* made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ji῾rāna. Ibn ῾Umar commented, 'He did not make an *῾umra* from there.'"

This is very *gharīb*, strange, to be reported of Ibn ῾Umar by his freed-man Nāfi῾, both of them thereby denying his having made an *῾umra* from there. The transmitters of *aḥādīth* other than them do maintain that he did so, as is shown by reports given from them in the mass of authoritative collections of *ahādīth* of all kinds, including the military chronicles.

This is also established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* of ῾Aṭā᾽ b. Abū Rabāḥ from ῾Urwa, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who contradicted Ibn ῾Umar's statement that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *῾umra* in Rajab." She stated, "May God forgive ῾Abd al-Raḥmān's father! (῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar, that is.) The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never performed the *῾umra* other than in his presence, and he never did so in Rajab."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-A῾mash, from Mujāhid, who said, "῾Urwa b. al-Zubayr asked Ibn ῾Umar in what month the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *῾umra*. He replied, 'In Rajab.' ῾Ā᾽isha was listening to us. Ibn al-Zubayr referred to what Ibn ῾Umar had said and asked her to comment. She replied, 'May God have mercy on Abū ῾Abd al-Raḥmān! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made an *῾umra* that Ibn ῾Umar did not witness, and he never made any *῾umra* that was not in Dhū al-Qa῾da.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim quoted this from a *ḥadīth* of Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, in similar terms.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, from Abū Isḥāq, from Mujāhid, to the effect that Ibn ʿUmar was asked how many times the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the *ʿumra*. He replied that he had done so twice. ʿĀ'isha then commented, "Ibn ʿUmar knows well that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the *ʿumra* three times, apart from the one he combined with the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the 'farewell pilgrimage'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Mufaḍḍal, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, who said, "I went inside the mosque with ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and there we saw Ibn ʿUmar leaning against ʿĀ'isha's compartment while people there were performing the *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. ʿUrwa asked him, 'Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, what is this prayer?' 'It is a *bidʿa*,[160] "an innovation",' he replied. ʿUrwa asked, 'Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, how many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the *ʿumra*?' He replied, 'Four times; one of them was during Rajab.' We then heard ʿĀ'isha picking her teeth inside her compartment. ʿUrwa asked her, '(Is it then as) Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times, one of which was in Rajab?' She replied, 'May God have mercy on Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān! The Prophet (ṢAAS) never performed the *ʿumra* without him being present, and he never did so in Rajab.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā, from Shaybān, from Manṣūr. He categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*, "good, authentic, (yet) unilateral".

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Rawḥ, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who stated that he was informed by Muzāḥim b. Abū Muzāḥim, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Mukharrish al-Kaʿbī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left al-Jiʿrāna one evening to make the *ʿumra*, entered Mecca and did so, then travelled that same night back to al-Jiʿrāna, being back there by morning, as if he had spent the night there. After sunset that day, he left from al-Jiʿrāna along the Sarif valley, joining the route to Medina there in Sarif. Mukharrish concluded, "That is why his *ʿumra* remained unknown to many people."

Imām Aḥmad related this similarly from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj; this *ḥadīth* is one of those that only the latter gave.

The significance of this is that (the fact of) the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna is well established from authentic sources that cannot be refuted or denied. Those who deny this can have no argument to compare with those who affirm it. But God knows best.

160. While later this word became associated with heretical dissent and unacceptable change from established precedent, its use here, and Ibn ʿUmar's presence along with ʿĀ'isha at the prayer, seem to provide an example of a more favourable connotation implying a praiseworthy new practice.

They are, moreover, essentially unanimous that it took place in Dhū al-Qa῾da after the attack upon al-Ṭā᾽if and the division of the spoils of Ḥunayn.

The treatment of this by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium is as follows, "Al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq al-Tusturī related to us, quoting ῾Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭaḥmān, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ῾Umayr, the freed-man of ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Abbās, from Ibn ῾Abbās, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ṭā᾽if, he made camp at al-Ji῾rāna where he distributed the spoils. He then made the *῾umra* pilgrimage from there, two days before the end of Shawwāl.'"

This is very *gharīb*, strange; its chain of authorities is controversial. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ya῾qūb b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Ismā῾īl, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that ῾Aṭā᾽ informed him that Ṣafwān b. Ya῾lā b. Umayya told him that Ya῾lā used to say, "I wish I could see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he is receiving divine revelation. While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Ji῾rāna being sheltered from the sun by a cloth, along with some of his Companions came a bedouin wearing a cloak and heavily perfumed. He approached him and asked, ('Messenger of God, what is your view of a man who adopts the state of *iḥrām* for the *῾umra* and puts on a cloak, after having applied perfume to himself?')[161] ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then signalled to Ya῾lā to approach. When Ya῾la did so and placed his head inside (beneath the sunshade) he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be very red in the face.[162] He was immersed in this (divine revelation) for some time and then he was relieved of it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Where is that person who earlier asked me about the *῾umra*?' The bedouin was searched out and brought and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Regarding the perfume you have on, wash it off three times. Also remove your cloak. Behave on the *῾umra* just as you would on the *hajj*.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. They (also) gave it from another route, from ῾Aṭā᾽, both attributing it to Ṣafwān b. Ya῾lā b. Umayya.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Usāma related to him quoting Hishām, from his father, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in at the time of the conquest from Kudā, from the heights of Mecca. And he also came in for the *῾umra* from Kudā."

Abū Dā᾽ūd stated that Mūsā Abū Salama related to him, from Ḥammād, from ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Sa῾īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ῾Abbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the *῾umra* from al-Ji῾rāna. They jogged around the *ka῾ba* three times, then walked around for four times. They tucked one end of their cloaks beneath their armpits, then tossed them over their left shoulders.

161. This sentence, necessary for the sequence of the narrative, is given in al-Bukhārī's text but omitted from the edited printed version of Ibn Kathīr's work.

162. That is, while receiving divine revelation.

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this. Ibn Mājah also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, but in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muslim related to him, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās informed him that Mu'āwiya told him, "I missed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with an arrow head." Or else the words he spoke were, "I saw him missed by an iron arrowhead (shot at him) at al-Marwa."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Muslim also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Hishām b. Ḥujayr, from Ṭāwus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Mu'āwiya.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Ṭāwus, from his father.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Nāqid, quoting Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Mu'āwiya, who said, "I missed (the arrow I fired at the) head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa."

What is implied above is that it is inferred that this was at the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna.

This is because on the *ʿumra* at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he did not enter Mecca but was prevented from so doing, as has been explained heretofore. Regarding the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, Abū Sufyān had not yet accepted Islam and none of the Meccans remained there when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered it, having preferred to leave for that three-day period of his stay. As for the *ʿumra* that was performed in conjunction with his *ḥajj*; it is unanimously accepted that he did not free himself thereof. And so it is obvious that the mistake committed by Mu'āwiya, son of Abū Sufyān, may God be pleased with them both, when he shot close to the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa, could only have occurred during the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, as we have stated. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God have mercy upon him, stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* and gave orders that the battle spoils be kept at Majanna, near Marr al-Ẓahrān."

I observe that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had retained some of the spoils to employ it to gain goodwill with those bedouin he might meet between Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed this *ʿumra* he headed back to Medina, leaving ʿAttāb b. Asīd as his deputy over Mecca. He also left with him Muʿādh b. Jabal to instruct the people in the faith and to teach them the Qur'ān."

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Muʿādh and ʿAttāb as his deputies in Mecca before he had gone out to battle Hawāzin, and then reappointed them when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Hishām stated that he was informed that Zayd b. Aslam stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed ʿAttāb b. Asīd in charge of Mecca, he awarded him payment of one dirham per day. ʿAttāb arose and gave the following address, 'May God make hungry indeed the liver of one who still hungers on a dirham! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has awarded me one dirham every day; I have need of no one!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The *ʿumra* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda and he arrived in Medina at the end of that month or early in Dhū al-Ḥijja."

Ibn Hishām stated that he arrived there six days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, according to Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī.

"That year the people performed the *ḥajj* in the same manner as the Arabs had previously. That year, 8 AH, ʿAttāb b. Asīd performed the *ḥajj* along with the Muslims.

"The people of al-Ṭāʾif continued their polytheism and their abstention (from Islam) in their own city for the period between Dhū al-Qaʿda and Ramaḍān of 9 AH."

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY KAʿB B. ZUHAYR B. ABŪ SULMĀ.

His father, a poet and son of a poet, was an author of one of the Seven *Muʿallaqāt*[163] odes. His *qaṣīda*, his ode, known by its opening words, *Bānat Suʿād* ..., "Suʿād has moved away", was heard by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) after his departure from al-Ṭāʾif, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his full brother Kaʿb b. Zuhayr to inform him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed at Mecca some of the men who had satirized and harmed him with their poetry. He also told him how the remaining Quraysh poets – Ibn al-Zibaʿrā and Hubayra b. Abū Wahb – had fled in disarray. He advised him, 'If you value your life, then hurry to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for he does not execute anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do this, then flee far away.' Kaʿb had previously spoken the lines,

'Transmit to Bujayr a message from me: "Confound you
for what you said!
Can you explain to us, since you have not yet, for what
other reason did he lead you
To a religion which I find none of his ancestors
followed, nor you find yours to have done.
If you do not accept it, I'll not be sorry nor merely
say, if you stumble, 'Good luck!'

163. See pages 83–86, Vol. I above.

"Al-Maʾmūn"[164] *has given you to drink* by *it a full cup;*
and after the first, 'al-Maʾmūn' has also given you a
second drink."'"

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar in the poetry also quoted to him the following verses,

"Who will deliver a message from me to Bujayr: 'Do you
agree with what I told you at the mountain slope?
You have drunk a full cup with "al-Maʾmūn", and after
the first draught he also gave you a second.
You abandoned good guidance by following him; to what
is it, damned that you are, that he has led you?
Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever
served, nor any brother of yours.
If you do not do as I say, I'll not be sad; though I'm
not one merely to say, "Good luck!" if you stumble.'"

He dispatched this to Bujayr who was reluctant to keep it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and finally recited it to him. When he heard the words, *saqā bihā al-Maʾmūn*, "al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink" he commented, "He speaks the truth here, terrible liar though he is. I am the 'al-Maʾmūn', the 'trustworthy one'.'" When he heard the words, "Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever served" he commented, "That's right; you'll not find his father or mother in it."

(Ibn Isḥāq narrated) "Bujayr then wrote back to Kaʿb the following verses,

'Who will inform Kaʿb, "Would you blame me for serving
something foolish when it is very serious?
It is to God, alone, not to al-ʿUzzā or to al-Lāt you
should flee, while flight and safety are still
possible,
At a time when none shall slip away and escape except
those who are Muslim, pure of heart.
For the religion of Zuhayr is nothing, and that of Abū
Sulmā is forbidden to me."'

(Ibn Ishāq went on) "When this message reached Kaʿb, he was very apprehensive and those about him who were his enemies spread false rumours about him, saying, 'He's as good as dead!'

"When he could see no alternative, he recited his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In it he referred to his fear and to the slander being spread by his enemies. He then left and went to Medina and stayed with a man he knew of Juhayna, so I have been told. That man took him next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was performing the morning prayer and prayed with him. The man of Juhayna then pointed out to him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'That is he. Go over to him and ask him for your safety.'

164. "The trustworthy", the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is.

"I have been told that Ka'b did approach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sat down beside him and placed his own hand in his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not know who he was. Ka'b then said, 'Messenger of God, Ka'b b. Zuhayr has come to ask you to guarantee his safety as a Muslim who is repentant. Would you accept this from him if he were to approach you with this request?' 'Yes, I would,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him. 'Then,' said Ka'b, 'I am Ka'b b. Zuhayr!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that one of the *anṣār* then jumped on him, saying, 'Messenger of God, let me execute the enemy of God!' He replied, 'Leave him alone! He has come expressing regret and repentance.'

"Ka'b b. Zuhayr was enraged at the *anṣār* for how one of them had treated him; this was because none of the *muhājirūn* spoke anything but good about him. In the ode that he delivered when he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said,

'Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to
her, unransomable, and chain-bound;
And Su'ād, the day of departure, when they left, was
like a gazelle, her eyes down-cast and black-rimmed
Slender as she approaches, full of rear when she turns
her back; she could not be faulted for being short or
tall.
When she smiles, she reveals gleaming teeth, sweet as
though bathed repeatedly in fine wine,
Wine mixed with ice-cold water from a pure pool on a
valley bend cooled by a north wind,
All dirt kept from it by the breeze, its sides brimming
over with white torrents stemming from a morning rain-cloud.
What a friend she would be if only she kept her
promise, or would accept advice!
But she is a friend whose blood is a mix of lust and
desire with deceit and changeability.
She never stays in one state but resembles a genie,
ever-changing its guise.
She only keeps promises made to the degree that a sieve
can hold water!
Be not deceived by her kindness and promises; one's
hopes and expectations can lead astray.
The false promises of al-'Urqub are her model and her
vows are mere foolishness.
How I hope and long for her intimate love; yet I think
women are never prepared for this.
Su'ād is in some land so far off that only fine, swift,
full-bloodied camels could reach,

Where only a big, strong she-camel, swift and sure-footed,
though tired, could attain her,
A camel whose ear-bone would stream with sweat, heading
into unknown featureless wastes.
She scans into the distance with the eyes of a lone
white bull in broiling rocky terrain
Stout her neck, full-fleshed her ankles, superior to
all others of the stallion's foals.
Strong her brother, her father from high-bred stock,
her uncles all swift and strong-necked.
When insects walk upon her, she shakes them off her
smooth chest and sides.
(Like a) wild ass with heavy flesh on her flanks, her
knee-joints set well away from her ribs
Her nostrils prominent; breeding is evident in her
ears, her cheeks smooth.
Her muzzle, jutting out past her eyes and neck and
jawbones, prominent like axe heads.
(Her tail) hanging down like a leafless palm frond with
hairy tufts over her udder, its teats unsucked.
Though merely playing, she flies on light, spear-like
feet that brush lightly on the ground.
On a hot day when the chamelion leaves a part of him
exposed to bake it in the sun,
A day when the guide tells his group to siesta, as the
ash-coloured locusts move over the pebbles,
Like the hand-clapping of a grey-haired woman rising in
mourning, while other childless women respond.
One wails, her muscles limp, senseless at the news of
her first-born's death when the mourners report it.
She tears at her breasts, her dress torn in shreds from
her shoulders.
Fools surround my mount, saying, "You're as good as
dead, Ibn Abū Sulmā!"
While every trusted friend responded, "I can't help
you – just too busy!"
"Then out of my way, confound you", I told them, "for
whatever the Most Merciful decrees is done!"
And everyone born to woman, even if safe for long, is
one day borne upon his funeral bier.
I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me,
yet one hopes for forgiveness from the Messenger of
God.
Go easy – may He guide you Who gave you that gift of the
Qurʾān in which there are exhortations and
explanations.

Do not punish me for slanderers' reports, for I have
not sinned, despite all the rumours.
Standing where I am, I see and hear what would, if he
stood and so heard, make an elephant
Tremble, unless there came to him from the Messenger,
with God's permission, some pardon.
(I will travel) until I place my right hand, never to
withdraw it, in that of him who takes revenge, he whose
word is final.
I am more afraid to speak with him – though people call
me of fine lineage and responsible –
Than with a lion in the jungle in the lowlands of
ʿAththār, deep within its thickets,
That each morning feeds two cubs, their meat human
flesh thrown down and ripped apart.
When he falls on his prey, he cannot conceive of
leaving it any other way but prostrate.
From him the wild asses flee in terror, and no men may
walk in his valley.
But in his vale there is man of trust, already eaten,
his weapons stained, in rags.
The Messenger is a light-giving illumination, an
unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel
Amidst a band of Quraysh whose spokesman said in
Mecca's valley, when they accepted Islam – "Go away!"
They left, but not from cowardice in battle, nor
without shields or weapons.
They walk like proud camels, striking out in defence
when the short, black men take flight,
Proud chiefs, dressed for battle in chain-mail made by
Dāʾūd,
Shining and full, its rings joined together like those
of the *qafʿāʾ* plant.
They do not exult if their lances strike home, nor are
they despairing if themselves struck.
Enemy thrusts only ever strike their throats, and they
are not afraid of the pools of death.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that in quoting the poem as above Muḥammad b. Isḥāq gave no chain of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave its text in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubūwwa* with a complete chain of transmission. He stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Asadī Bahmadhān, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥazāmī, quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhū al-Ruqayba b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'Kaʿb and Bujayr,

both sons of Zuhayr, travelled out as far as Abraq al-ʿAzzāf. There Bujayr told Kaʿb, "Stay here until I go to this man" – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – "and hear what he says." Kaʿb did remain there, while Bujayr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who offered Islam to him and he accepted it. When news of this reached Kaʿb, he spoke the following,

"Send from me a message to Bujayr: 'To what – confound
the rest – is it he is leading you?
To a faith you'll find no one – mother, father or
brother of yours – ever belonged.
Abū Bakr poured out a full cup of it for you, while al-Maʾmūn
refilled it again and again.'"

"'When these verses reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he made permissible the execution of Kaʿb, he said, 'Whoever encounters Kaʿb should kill him!'

"'Bujayr wrote to his brother telling him this and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had authorized his execution. He told him to escape while he could. Thereafter he again wrote him saying, "You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepts when anyone comes and makes an affirmation of his faith in Islam and considers the past over and done with. If this note of mine reaches you, do come and accept Islam."'"

The quoted source went on, "And so Kaʿb did accept Islam and composed his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and entered it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his Companions, like a food-table, with ring after ring of people seated around it, looking first towards one group and talking with them, next to another and talking with them."

Kaʿb stated, "So I made my mount kneel at the mosque door. I recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from his description and went and sat down near him. I then affirmed my acceptance of Islam, saying, 'I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. Safety, Messenger of God!' 'And who are you?' he asked. 'Kaʿb b. Zuhayr,' I replied. 'That fellow who recited …?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then turned and asked, 'What was it he recited, Abū Bakr?' Abū Bakr then recited,

'Al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first, al-Maʾmūr[165] has also given you a second drink.'

"Kaʿb said, 'Messenger of God, I did not recite like that.' 'How did you speak, then?' he asked. Kaʿb said that what he had said was,

'Al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first al-Maʾmūn has also given you a second
drink.'

165. In this version the name given al-Ma'mūr means "the one given orders"; al-Maʾmūn means "the one who is trusted".

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Yes indeed, Maʾmūn, "trustworthy".'

"Kaʿb then recited to him the entire ode, to its end."

This was the poem that begins,

> "Suʿād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to
> her, unransomable and chain-bound ..."

We have referred above to those phrases which differ in the versions of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bayhaqī, may God, Almighty and Glorious is He, have mercy upon them both.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his book *al-Istīʿāb* that when Kaʿb had completed the verses,

> "The Messenger is a light giving illumination, an
> unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel ...
> I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me; yet
> one hopes for pardon from the Messenger of God."

Abū ʿUmar went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to those with him to listen well."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba preceded Abū ʿUmar in stating this, in the former's military chronicles. To God belong all praise, all credit.

I observe that it is given in some accounts that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented Kaʿb with his cloak when he recited the ode. Al-Ṣarṣarī wrote a verse on this in some of his *madāʾiḥ*, "poems of praise". The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr gave a similar account in his work *al-Ghāba*. He stated, "It is this cloak that is in the possession of the Caliphs."

I note that this matter is very broadly known. However, I do not see in any of these well-known written accounts any chain of authorities that I find satisfactory. But God knows best.

It is related that when Kaʿb recited the line, "Suʿād has gone away ..." the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "And who is Suʿād?" "My wife, Messenger of God," responded Kaʿb. "Nay, she did not!" he then said.

However, that is not true. It seems to imply that he imagined that his wife had gone away because of his acceptance of Islam. But it is obvious that what he was referring to was an emotional distancing, not a juridical one.

But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda said, 'When Kaʿb, in his poem, spoke the words, "when the short black men take flight" he could only have been referring to the *anṣār* because of how one of us had treated him, whereas he had singled out the Quraysh *muhājirīn* for his praise. Since the *anṣār* were therefore angry at him, he recited the following verses after he had accepted Islam. In them he praised the *anṣār* and referred to the suffering they had undergone with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to their success:

"Let those who love a noble life remain in the cavalry of the fine *anṣār*.
They inherited noble qualities from father to son; the finest of men are they, sons of the finest,
Men who hurl from their arms strong spears, long like Indian swords.
And they stare ahead, their eyes red as embers but their sight untired.
Men who expend their souls for their Prophet by death in battles of hand and horse,
They cleanse themselves with piety by the blood of the unbelievers they spill.
They act like fierce, strong-necked lions used to hunting in secluded valleys.
If you go to them so they may protect you, you'll feel as safe as if in the haunts of young mountain goats.
At the battle of Badr they struck ʿAlī such a blow as to bring down all of Nizār.
If the tribes had my knowledge of them, those whom I oppose would believe me.
(They are) a people who, at times when the stars have given no rain, will still feed well their guests."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that when Kaʿb recited to him his poem, 'Suʿād has gone away' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Even though you have not spoken well of the *anṣār*, don't they still deserve that?' And so Kaʿb spoke these verses which are included in a *qaṣīda* of his."

He went on, "I learned on the authority of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān that Kaʿb b. Zuhayr recited the verses of 'Suʿād has gone away' to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the mosque."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it, with its chain of authorities given above, back to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī (who said), "Maʿan b. ʿĪsā related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Afṭas, from Ibn Jadʿān, who gave it." This chain of transmission is *mursal*, incomplete.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr, God have mercy upon him, stated in his book *al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb* after having given some biographical details about Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, "Kaʿb b. Zuhayr was a prolific poet considered pre-eminent in his class, along with his brother Bujayr. Kaʿb was the better poet of the two, while their father Zuhayr was superior to both. Among the fine poetry of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr are the lines,

'Were I surprised by anything, it would be how a young man goes forward though his fate is hidden from him.
He will strive to achieve what he cannot attain; the soul is one, while worry is all-encompassing.

As long as a man lives, hope extends before him; the
sight goes out as far as the full extent of space.'"

Thereafter Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr gave other verses too numerous to mention. He did not record the date of his death. Similarly, Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr, in his book *al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* did not give this information. However, it is related that his father died one year before the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "Among the finest verses of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr are those he spoke in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'The brown she-camel carries him on, wrapped in his
cloak, like the full moon shining bright on a dark
night
Inside his wrappings or folds of his cloak there is
such religion and such nobility that God well knows.'"

Chapter: Concerning those well-known events and deaths that occurred in 8 AH.

In Jumādā that year the battle of al-Muʾta took place. In Ramaḍān there was the expedition resulting in the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, in Shawwāl, there was the conflict with Hawāzin at Ḥunayn which was followed by the siege of al-Ṭāʾif. In Dhū al-Qaʿda the *ʿumra* was performed from al-Jiʿrāna and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina for the remainder of that year.

Al-Wāqidī stated that his return to Medina from that journey came six days prior to the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

Al-Wāqidī went on, "That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ to Jaʿfar and ʿAmr, sons of al-Julundī, of Banū Azd; the *jizya* tax was taken from the *magūs*, 'the Magians', of the country of these two men and from the bedouins in the areas around there.

"That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī, in Dhū al-Qaʿda. She, however, spoke a plea of refuge in God from him,[166] and so he forsook her. It is also said that he gave her the choice and that she chose the worldly life and so he left her.

"In Dhū al-Ḥijja that year, Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Mārīya, the Copt, was born. The envy of his other wives, the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, was aroused when she bore him a male child. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out and informed Abū Rāfiʿ, who went and delivered the good tidings to the Messenger

166. She invoked the *istiʿādha* when he first walked into his apartment where she was. Sources suggest that she had been tricked into saying this by the other wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were envious of her beauty.

of God (ṢAAS), who presented him with the gift of a slave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him (the baby) to Umm Barra, daughter of al-Mundhir b. Usayd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār and her husband al-Barāʾ b. Aws b. Khālid b. al-Jaʿd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl."

That year there occurred the deaths in military engagements of those martyrs to whom we made reference above.

We earlier referred to the destruction by Khālid b. al-Walīd of the temple where al-ʿUzzā was worshipped at Nakhla, between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. That was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That year the destruction was carried out of Suwāʿ, (the idol) at Rahāṭ that Hudhayl had worshipped. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it, but he found nothing in its treasury. (The idol) Manāt was also destroyed at al-Mushallal; it had formerly been venerated by Aws and Khazraj, the *anṣār* tribes. Saʿb b. Zayd al-Ashhalī, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it."

We referred to this event in a useful and full section of our exegesis of *sūrat al-Najm*, with reference to the words of the Almighty, "and have you considered al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the last?' (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.19–20).

Al-Bukhārī made reference, after the material relating to the conquest of Mecca, to Banū Khathʿam's destruction of the temple where they used to worship, and which they called the "*Yemenī*", the "southern" or "*Yemenī*", *kaʿba*, in imitation of the *kaʿba* at Mecca. The latter they knew as the "*Shāmī*", the "northern" or "Syrian", *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated: "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, "Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalaṣa?" "Yes indeed!" I replied. So I set off with a force of 150 cavalry from (Banū) Aḥmas, who were good horsemen. I used not to feel secure on horses and I told this to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He hit me on the chest with his hand so that I could see its imprint and said, "O God, set him firmly, and make him a guide who is rightly led." And I never fell off a horse thereafter.'"

Dhū al-Khalaṣa was a temple in Yemen belonging to Banū Khathʿam and Banū Bajayla which contained idols they worshipped.

Al-Bukhārī's account continued, "Jarīr went there and destroyed it. When he arrived he found a man who foretold using divining arrows. He was told, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is here! If he gets hold of you he will behead you!'

"While one day he was using his divining arrows, Jarīr came and stood over the man and said, 'You had better break them up and testify that there is no god but God! Otherwise, I'll strike your neck!' The fortune teller broke them and so testified.

"Then Jarīr sent one of the Banū Aḥmas men, called Abū Arṭāt to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to inform him of the good news. When the man reached him, he said, 'Messenger of God, by him who sent you with the truth, by the time I left it

(the temple) it was like nothing but a scabby camel!' Thereat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) blessed the horses and men of Banū Aḥmas five times."

Muslim related this with various lines, from Ismā῾īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ῾Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, in similar words.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Yaʿqūb b. 'Utba' means 'Yaʿqūb, son of ʿUtba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Yaʿqūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single qabīla (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's *ʿashīra* (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāḥib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure of pilgrims from ʿArafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

ka'ba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwā': 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *ka'ba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rak'āt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to 'Arafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and 'Arafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from 'Arafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabāʾil*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb, ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wuḍūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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